

### **Project Paper 13**

# Cross-country analyses and theoretical conclusions

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#### Introduction

The objective of this Project Paper is to make comparisons between countries on the various links of the theoretical framework. Hereby, research findings for special cases are lifted from a national level to an international and higher level of generalisation. This process further enhances understanding the role of perceptions on human rights and democracy in shaping migration aspirations and decision-making, and of the way in which macro, meso and micro factors influence this process.

At the 4th Consortium meeting in Rabat (18 & 19 April 2012) principles of analyses were decided upon for WP8 (within-country analysis) & WP9 (cross-country analysis). It was decided that bivariate analyses should be done in a first stage in both WP8 and WP9, so as to prepare for the multivariate analyses necessary to do the hypotheses testing, and which would be limited to WP9. Concretely, this means that Part 1 of both the within-country analysis reports in WP8 and the cross-country analysis report in WP9 concentrate on the bivariate analyses of a limited number of *core themes* based on the project's research questions. In Part 2 of the within-country analysis reports (PP9, 10, 11 &12), each GDT can choose which country specific themes it wishes to add and analyse using bivariate methods. Part 2 of the cross-country analysis report (PP13) will concern the multivariate analyses. Five themes were withheld as *core themes* common to Part1 of all country analyses as well as Part 1 of the cross-country analysis: (1) Socio-demographic description of respondents, (2) Perceptions on human rights and democracy in Europe and the country, (3) Migration perceptions and discourses, (4) Geographical imaginations and (5) Life satisfaction. As equally agreed upon in Rabat, each theme will be explored by analysing a number of survey questions.

Project Paper 13 contains three main parts. In *Part I* the results of the bivariate cross-country analysis on the five common core themes are presented and discussed. For each core theme a limited number of relevant survey questions are selected for explorative analysis by country across gender and migration aspirations and by type of research area across gender and migration aspirations. *Part II* of the paper concerns the multivariate cross-country analysis. In *Part III* we discuss the results presented in Part I & II, framing them in the on-going theoretical discussion and underpinning them with insights generated by the qualitative and quantitative data collected. More specifically we first look for qualitative evidence for the data resulting from the quantitative multivariate analyses and simultaneously report on additional insights springing from the cross-country qualitative analyses. Second, we search for quantitative confirmations for the insights emerging from the cross-country qualitative analyses. Finally, we end Part III with general conclusions.

#### I. Bivariate cross-country analysis on the common core themes

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In this first part of the project paper we discuss the results of the bivariate cross-country analysis on the five common core themes. The purpose is purely descriptive and explorative so as to prepare for the further analysis in Part II and III. For each of the five core themes presented in the introduction we have focused our analysis on a limited number of survey questions. Each theme is explored by analyzing the selected survey questions whereby we compare the results across sex (male – female) and migration aspirations (go abroad – stay in the country). In order to see if the trends for the analysed variables are either *country* specific or *research area* type specific, each survey question is analysed across countries and across the types of research area (RA). Thus, each of the selected survey questions is analysed and presented by country across gender and migration aspirations and by type of research area across gender and migration aspirations. The related figures and tables for the core themes can be found in ANNEX.

#### Theme 1: Descriptive socio-demographics

#### Age

The fact that the propensity to migrate tends to be the highest among the younger ones is confirmed in the information on all four countries. In the age category of 18 to 22 year olds, there are consistently more persons wishing to migrate than wishing to stay in the country; while the opposite is true for the age category 31 to 39 year olds, where we find in all research areas among men and women a majority wishing to stay in the country rather than migrate. The image is not so clear among 23 to 30 year olds, who in Morocco generally tend to wish to migrate rather than stay, yet in Turkey it seems to be the men in this category who wish to migrate while more women express the wish to stay in the country. In Senegal and Ukraine, in only half of the research areas this age category tends to prefer migration to immobility but there does not seem to be a clear indication in terms of gender nor of type of research area as to why this is so. See *Figures 1 & 2* and *Table 1* in Annex.

#### **Education**

The higher the level of education and thus exposure to the outside world, the more likely a person will have migration aspirations, this is the general trend assumed in migration studies. The four research countries in the EUMAGINE project give very different pictures as to this assumption, most likely because of the very different national education backgrounds. In Morocco, informants with one year of education or less generally tend to wish to stay in the country while in the categories of 2 to 7 and 8 to 14 years of education, the trend in most research areas among men and women is to have migration aspirations. Among the most highly educated there is no outspoken preference for either migration or staying on the country. Turkey seems to follow the patterns that appear in Morocco, however the majority among those with 2 to 7 and 8 to 14 years of education wishing to migrate is far less outspoken. In Senegal, where in all the non-urban research areas

there is a large part of the population that never frequented the official school system (passing through Quran schools instead), there is a distinct trend among the latter category and those having had one year of education or less to wish to stay in the country rather than migrate. Only among the men and women having enjoyed 2 to 7 years of education, there is a majority with migration aspirations. In the categories of 8 to 15 and 15 to 23 years of education, there are as many research areas where the majority in each of the categories (per gender) wishes to migrate as where they wish to stay in the country. In Ukraine, the country with the highest overall level of education where hardly 1% of the population has less than 8 years of education, the pictures is even less outspoken and trends in the relationship education versus migration aspirations hardly discernible. See *Figures 3 & 4* and *Table 2* in Annex.

#### Marital status and having children living in the household

As would be predicted by all migration theories, the overwhelming trend is to have far more persons with migration aspirations among the unmarried men or women in all countries (except among women in the high emigration area of Turkey, Emirdağ) than among the married ones, whether in monogamous or polygamous marriages. Married men or women, on the other hand, are as expected more less inclined to have migration aspirations than the unmarried ones. See *Figures 5 & 6* and *Table 3* in Annex.

The same trend appears when respondents are asked whether they have children living with them in the household. Far more men and women who do not have children living with them in the household foster migration aspirations than wishing to stay in the country. The reverse is true for the category of persons having children that live with them in the household, whether male or female; namely relatively more of them wish to stay in the country than migrate and this across gender, country and type of research area (except for men in the low emigration area of Ukraine, Znamyanska). See *Figures 7 & 8* and *Table 4* in Annex.

#### **Migration experience**

Having migration experience – whether international or internal – does not seem to affect the propensity of having migration aspirations in Morocco, at least at a descriptive level. In all three categories (having no migration experience, having internal migration experience, and having international migration experience) there do not seem to be substantial differences in the proportion of respondents across gender and type of research area, wishing to migrate and those wishing to go abroad. In Turkey, there is more often a bigger difference between the proportion that wishes to migrate and that which does not, yet they seem to occur haphazard across gender and type of research area and are nowhere very outspoken. More or less the same can be said for Senegal, except for the men in its human rights research area Orkadiéré, where almost twice as many male respondents with no migration experience express the wish to migrate rather than stay in the country. In the categories of respondents with internal and international migration experience, those who wish to remain in the country are three to four times as numerous as those with migration aspirations. The results for Ukraine, on the other hand, show the expected trends. In the category of persons without migration experience, there is always a majority wishing to stay in the country, whereas in the category of persons with international migration experience, there is a consistent trend of wishing to migrate (again) rather than stay in the country. The pattern in the category of persons with internal migration experience only is less clear and does not seem to follow either gender lines of the type of the research area. See Figures 9 & 10 and Table 5 in Annex.

#### Family member(s) over 16 years of age that are currently living abroad

Among women in each of the four countries and sixteen research areas, who do not have a family member older than 16 and currently living abroad more will prefer to stay in the country than migrate, while among those who do have a family member currently living abroad there is a higher propensity to have migration aspirations. On a descriptive level, this trend is as well visible among male respondents in most research areas but with a number of notable exceptions. In the low emigration research areas in Morocco (Central Plateau) and in Senegal (Lambaye) as well as in the high emigration areas in Turkey (Emirdag) and in Senegal (Golf Sud), the reverse trend appears. In these four research areas, there are more respondents without family members abroad that wish to migrate and more with family members that wish to stay in the country. In the human rights areas in Ukraine (Novovodolaz'ka) and in Senegal (Orkadiere), there is no noticeable difference among the proportion of persons having family members abroad (or not) and wishing to migrate versus those wishing to stay in the country. See *Figures 11 & 12* and *Table 6* in Annex.

# Theme 2: Perceptions on human rights and democracy in Europe and the country

This second core theme focuses on perceptions on human rights and democracy in Europe and the country. In the survey, different variables were used to measure respondents' perceptions on these rights in Europe and the own country. For this paper we have limited the bivariate cross-country analysis to an exploration of two of these variables: perceptions on the job opportunities in the own country and Europe and perceptions on corruption in the own country and Europe. The related survey questions are:

P8/PEU8 – It is easy to find a good job in this country/Europe P6/PEU6 – There is a lot of corruption in this country/Europe

#### It is easy to find a good job in this country/Europe

A comparison of the bivariate analysis results for survey question P8 by country and by type of research area suggest country related rather than research area related trends (see *Figures 13 & 14* and *Table 7* in Annex). In Ukraine, Senegal and Turkey the majority of the respondents disagreed/strongly disagreed that it is easy to find a good job in their respective country. Thus on a descriptive level, in these three countries negative perceptions about the possibility of finding work in the own country prevail over the positive perceptions. The qualitative data collected in Ukraine, Senegal and Turkey reflect these bivariate descriptive findings. When the economic situation in these three countries was discussed during the interviews, the lack of employment opportunities in the country was often cited by the informants:

"We live here as 20 families. The life here is good but there is a lot of unemployment. If government provide jobs, it would be ok. ... Are men happy in your opinion? Walla, men are not happy at all. Why not? Unemployed! They are unemployed, they do not have a job. They are fed up. [Turkey, Human Rights RA, female, 31-39 age group, without migration aspirations]

Only in one of the four research areas in Morocco we clearly observe the overall negative perceptions about employment opportunities in the own country. In the low emigration RA Central Plateau

the majority of the respondents disagreed/strongly disagreed that it is easy to find a good job in the country. In the other three research areas in Morocco an important percentage of the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that it is easy to find a good job in the country. The qualitative data collected in Morocco are, however, more in line with the trend observed in the bivariate descriptive findings in Ukraine, Senegal and Turkey: in the interviews conducted in the four research areas in Morocco negative perceptions about the possibility of finding work in the own country prevail over the positive perceptions:

« Bon, tu as dit, si l'occasion t'est offerte, tu émigrerais en Europe ? Pourquoi ? Par exemple, je suis actuellement désœuvrée, je suis forcée de rester à la maison, car je n'ai pas trouvé d'emploi sachant que j'ai tenté ma chance dans pas mal d'activités, mais en vain, et je suis obligée d'émigrer vers une ville du Maroc pour travailler, mais si je dois partir je préfère que ce soit contre un bon salaire surtout en Europe et non au Maroc aussi pour pouvoir réaliser mes objectifs dans un laps de temps assez court. » [Morocco, Human Rights RA, female, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

The bivariate analysis for the survey question PEU8 suggests – similar to the previous survey question – country related rather than research area related findings (see *Figures 15 & 16* and *Table 8* in Annex). In Turkey and Senegal positive perceptions about the possibility of finding work in Europe clearly prevail over the negative perceptions. In these two countries overall, more respondents agreed/strongly agreed than disagreed/strongly disagreed that it is easy to find a good job in Europe. The bivariate analysis in Morocco suggests more diversity among the respondents. This is especially the case in the high immigration RA Tanger and in the high emigration RA Todgha Valley. Notwithstanding this diversity, based on the bivariate analysis we observe a general trend in Morocco towards more positive perceptions about job opportunities in Europe, which is also reflected in the qualitative data. As stated by a female informant in Morocco: « l'Europe c'est l'endroit de la fortune et de la chance de trouver un emploi ». The bivariate analysis in Ukraine shows a higher tendency among the respondents to neither agree nor disagree that it is easy to find a good job in Europe. However, the qualitative data collected in Ukraine reveal similar to the other three countries a general tendency among the informants to perceive in a positive way the job opportunities in Europe:

"When you hear the word Europe, what kind of associations do you have? A lot of people are leaving their homes and go to Europe for earnings. ... For me personally, I wish I worked in Europe. I prefer it because there are more opportunities and possibilities to earn more money for me and for my family." [Ukraine, Low emigration RA, female, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations]

#### There is a lot of corruption in this country/Europe

A comparison of the bivariate analysis results for the survey question P6 "there is a lot of corruption in this country" by country and by type of research area suggest country related rather than research area related trends (see *Figures 17 & 18* and *Table 9* in Annex). In Ukraine, Senegal, Turkey and Morocco almost all respondents agreed/strongly agreed that there is a lot of corruption in their respective country.

The bivariate analysis results for PEU6 "there is a lot of corruption in Europe" suggest that the trends for this survey question are rather research area related than country related (see *Figures 19 & 20* and *Table 10* in Annex). Compared to the other three research areas, the high emigration

research areas in the four countries count the highest percentage of respondents that disagreed/strongly disagreed with the statement that there is a lot of corruption in Europe. Compared to the high emigration research areas, more respondents in the low emigration research areas in the four countries agreed/strongly agreed that there is a lot of corruption in Europe. But the highest percentages of respondents that agreed/strongly agreed that there is a lot of corruption in Europe are observed in the high immigration research areas. There is, however, one exception: the high immigration RA in Ukraine. Whereas in the high immigration research areas in Morocco, Senegal and Turkey the majority of the respondents agreed/strongly agreed that there is a lot of corruption in Europe, the majority of the respondents in the high immigration RA in Ukraine disagreed/strongly disagreed. In the human rights research areas in the four countries we observe a general tendency among the respondents to neither agree nor disagree with the statement that there is a lot of corruption in Europe. Compared to the other research areas more respondents were not able to give a concrete answer to the question whether or not there is a lot of corruption in Europe.

#### Theme 3: Migration perceptions and discourses

This section focuses on the descriptive analysis on migration perceptions and discourses. As stated in the EUMAGINE conceptual and theoretical framework (Project Paper 1), perceptions have become very important in the context of today's international migration, in which an increasing number of people are exposed to the idea of migrating because of the spread of mass communication and transportation possibilities and due to the rise in facilitating migration institutions such as human smugglers, international recruitment offices and marriage bureaus. The EUMAGINE project not only analyses the link between individuals' perceptions on human right and democracy and their migration aspirations (see Theme 2), but also takes into account the role of migration perceptions or ideas and meaning attached to the 'migratory project'. The concept migratory project "both encompasses and transcends physical displacement, as it designates the range of desired and desirable identities and lifestyles through which potential migrants imagine themselves" (see Project Paper 1). In this regard, the EUMAGINE project incorporates two types of imaginations, which are generally approached as two different stages in migration decision-making: a general decision to move (migratory imaginations) followed by a place specific imagination (geographical imaginations, see Theme 4) at the second stage. For this third theme on migration perceptions and discourses we specifically focus on the first type, namely the migratory imaginations or imaginations of migration as a valuable life project.

From the different variables included in the survey to measure respondents' migration perceptions and discourses, the following three survey questions are explored with the bivariate cross-country analysis:

A13 – Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women

A14 – Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men

A29 – If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe, would you...

#### Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women/men

A comparison of the bivariate analysis results for both survey questions A13 & A14 by country and by type of research area suggest country related rather than research area related trends. In the four countries we observe a general tendency among the respondents to agree/strongly agree that going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for both men and women. See *Figures 21 & 22* and *Table 11* and *Figures 23 & 24* and *Table 12* in Annex.

## If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe, would you...

The bivariate analysis for survey question A29 show that in the four countries not all respondents with a migration aspiration would go to Europe if given the necessary papers to do so; and inversely, among respondents without a migration aspiration some would go to Europe if given the necessary papers to do so (see *Figures 25 & 26* and *Table 13* in Annex). In line with these descriptive findings we find in the qualitative data that among the informants with no migration aspirations some would go to Europe if given the opportunity to do so. This female informant in Morocco explains that, although she had no prior migration aspirations, she migrated because there was an opportunity to do so:

« S'il vous plait, pouvez-vous nous parler de la façon dont vous avez émigré ? Franchement je n'ai jamais pensé à émigrer ou à travailler en Europe, je comptais rester au Maroc malgré les conditions de vie sévères ici, jusqu'à ce que l'occasion s'est présentée. Pouvezvous nous parler de votre émigration plus précisément ? J'ai entendu que la liste est ouverte aux femmes voulant émigrer pour travailler en Europe, alors je me suis déplacée vers Boumia pour m'inscrire, ils m'ont posé des questions concernant le nombre et l'âge de mes enfants. Après j'ai donné mon numéro de téléphone, après une courte période ils m'ont contacté en me demandant de fournir des documents administratifs comme le passeport, cela m'a demandé une somme de cinq mille Dirhams. Ensuite j'ai déposé mes documents, après ils m'ont contacté, avec d'autres femmes, pour rejoindre la ville de Tanger, enfin nous avons pris le bateau vers l'Espagne. Nous avons passé quatre heures sur le bateau, à cause du mauvais temps il ne pouvait pas aller vite. Donc nous sommes arrivées en Espagne en pleine nuit. Après notre arrivée nous sommes restés toute la nuit sur les chaises en attendant le matin pour rejoindre nos patrons de travail. A l'occasion de cette migration comment a réagi votre famille? Comme j'ai dit, l'occasion d'émigrer n'était pas prévue, j'ai hésité un peu au début à cause des rumeurs concernant le travail en Europe, malgré cela j'ai décidé de partir par ce que je souffrais du chômage ici, les avis de ma famille étaient différents les uns des autres, certains m'ont encouragé les autres m'ont découragé. » [Morocco, Human Rights RA, female, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

#### Theme 4: Geographical imaginations

Within this theme of geographical imaginations as a socio-cultural construction potentially playing a role in the migration decision making process, two replies to the two following survey questions were explored:

A10 – Where do you think most men in this area would like to live and work?

A11 – Where do you think most women in this area would like to live and work?

#### Where do you think most men/women in this area would like to live and work?

With regard to the first question, the presumed migration preference for men (A10), it appears that in general, both male and female respondents who themselves have migrations aspirations usually assume that the men in their area wish to migrate to Europe, especially in Morocco and Senegal, whereas male and female respondents without migrations aspirations do so to a lesser extent. In some RA's in Turkey and Ukraine, on the other hand, there is a majority of respondents (male and female, with or without migration aspirations) who believe that the men in their area would prefer to

stay in the area or at least stay in another part of the country. The reply patterns to the questions A11, exploring women's presumed migration preferences, are somewhat different except in Morocco and Ukraine, where still more persons with migration aspirations assume women wish to migrate to Europe than do respondents without migration aspirations. Senegal follows this trend, except in the high emigration area, where women are mostly presumed to not wish to migrate, whereas in Turkey both male and female respondents, with or without migrations aspirations presume women wish to stay in the area or at the most migrate to another area in the same country. Interestingly there appears from this analysis that both men and women have the same perceptions on the presumed aspirations of "the men" and "the women" who live in their respective research areas. Unsurprisingly, there also seems to be more similarity in perceptions among the different types of research areas in the countries then among countries because of the distinct sociocultural differences between the different countries that outweigh those between the different types of research areas. What does differ in all research areas are the perceptions on the presumed preferred migrations destination of either men or women of respondents who have migration aspirations themselves and they who wish to stay in the country. The respondents wishing to migrate themselves assume to a much larger extent than those who do not, that the men --and to a somewhat lesser extent women-- in their research areas share their own migrations aspirations. See Figures 27 & 28 and Table 14 and Figures 29 & 30 and Table 15 in Annex.

#### Theme 5: Life satisfaction

In order to determine the impact of (perceptions on) human rights on migration aspirations, we need to be able to control for other factors that are likely to affect migration aspirations and intentions. Therefore factors at both individual-level and household-level socio-economic background variables were included in the survey (see Project Paper 6A: 10). At individual level, perceptions on current welfare and future opportunities were collected including subjective wellbeing/life satisfaction, self-reported health and subjective relative deprivation. For this paper we have limited the bivariate cross-country analysis to an exploration of these two life satisfaction variables:

L6 – When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...

L7 – Do you feel your standard of living is...

### When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...

A comparison of the bivariate analysis results for survey question L6 by country and by type of research area, suggests country related rather than research area related trends (see *Figures 31 & 32* and *Table 16* in Annex). While in Ukraine and Senegal there is a general tendency among the respondents to perceive that the standard of living of their parents was better/much better than theirs now, in Turkey and Morocco we observe a general tendency among the respondents to perceive that the standard of living of their parents was worse/much worse than theirs now. Two exceptions are the human rights RA Orkadiéré in Senegal where more respondents stated that the standard of living of their parents was worse/much worse than their own standard of living now; and the high immigration RA Tanger in Morocco where more respondents stated that the standard of living of their parents was about the same as their own standard of living now.

#### Do you feel your standard of living is...

The bivariate analysis for survey question L7 too suggest country related rather than research area related trends (see *Figures 33 & 34* and *Table 17* in Annex). In Ukraine we observe a general tendency among the respondents to perceive that their standard of living is getting worse/much worse. In Turkey, Senegal we observe a tendency among the respondents to perceive that their standard of living is getting better/much better. The bivariate analysis for Morocco suggest more diversity across the research areas: in Tounfite and Central Plateau more respondents stated that their standard of living is remaining the same; in Todgha Valley and Tanger on the other hand we observe a tendency among the respondents to perceive that their standard of living is getting better/much better.

If we take into consideration the bivariate analysis results for both life satisfaction survey questions in Ukraine, we can suggest that there is an overall negative life satisfaction among the respondents: the majority of the respondents perceive that the standard of living of their parents was much better than their own now and feel that their standard of living is getting worse/much worse. These descriptive findings are also reflected in the qualitative data collected in Ukraine. Informants expressed their negative satisfaction over the low salaries combined with the high prices of gas, electricity and food. As illustrated by the following interview extract:

"You've just described the state of affairs for the time being. If you compare it with the one which was 5 years ago...Did anything change? I mean the standards of living, conditions, opportunities... 5 years ago? Well, about 4-5 years ago, you know? I don't know... I think that earlier... Conditions? The standards of living? I think life used to be easier. What do you mean? The standard of living was definitely higher. We had stability. Prices on food stuff, accommodation or clothes did not change that often, unlike now. You come to the shop and see that things have gone up in price. It happens every single day. Take alone accommodation expenses. Every month you have to pay more and more. You do understand that service hasn't changed. Nevertheless, prices go up. Aha. To say nothing of the food stuff...You come to the shop and each day you see new prices. I think 5 years ago there was some kind of stability. Prices were the same everywhere. They were in control of this process. Aha. Unlike now. Because every month prices go up. Take alone petrol. Every month the prices on petrol go up. Aha. I can't find the reason. Why should the prices go up so much? Only a year or half a year ago the prices were stable. What do you think, how is the situation going to change in 5 years? What do you expect to come up? In the future? In 5 years? Well, I don't know...honestly...I really doubt that the situation will change for the better. Do you? We will be lucky if nothing changes, you know. But the situation is unlikely to change for the better. Do you really think so? Yes. I'm sure." [Ukraine, High Immigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

In the case of Turkey, the bivariate analysis results for the two life satisfaction survey questions suggest an overall positive life satisfaction among the respondents: the majority of the respondents perceive that the standard of living of their parents was much worse than their own now and feel that their standard of living is getting better/much better. Expressions of a positive life satisfaction are also found in the qualitative interviews conducted in Turkey:

"How is life here in Molla Gürani neighbourhood? What are positive and negative aspects of living here? Depends on the person. For me, living here is good, I am happy to be here. What do you specifically like here? Nobody intervenes in my affairs. Nobody would say anything bad about me just because I am going out alone. I also love the location of this

place. A shopping-mall and parks are very near here. I can go to the parks and chill out there. ... How is the standard of living here? Is it good? Are you happy living here? As I said earlier, I am very happy being here. How are the natives? Fine. I have my own neighbour and my fellow townsmen. They are very nice. Is it safe to live here? It is quite safe. So you feel safe as a woman living here? Yes yes. ... What do you think about the future of this area in general? Which aspects of life is going well here? It is good in every aspect." [Turkey, High Immigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, without migration aspirations]

In Morocco, the bivariate analysis results for the two life satisfaction survey questions suggest more diversity across the research areas. In the qualitative data collected in Morocco we find that, although some informants expressed to be satisfied with their life, many of the informants interviewed – even informants without migration aspirations – expressed feelings of a negative life satisfaction:

« Comment vous voyez la vie ici à Tanger, plus exactement à CHARF? Pour moi la vie ici est très difficile, on arrive juste à se nourrir, parfois on arrive à payer le loyer, et parfois non...des fois on tombe malade et on ne trouve pas de quoi acheter les médicaments, ici on voit passer la vie, notre futur est sombre, on n'a pas de salaire... l'été on arrive, un peu, à satisfaire nos besoins, mais en hiver des fois on travaille d'autres non. Les conditions de vie à Tanger sont difficiles surtout pour les personnes qui sont mariées et qui ont des enfants à nourrir et du loyer à payer... la vie ici est très difficile. » [Morocco, High Immigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

In Senegal, we observe that, while the majority of the respondents perceive that the standard of living of their parents was much better than their own now, the majority feel that their standard of living is getting better. Looking at the qualitative data we find indeed that some informants perceive that their standard of living is getting better because of the developments that have occurred over the past years like the availability of electricity and potable water. And migration has contributed to these developments:

« Donc les changements notés sont négatifs dans l'ensemble dans la localité ? Les changements qui ont eu lieu dans la localité ? Oui il y'en a. On dit que c'est comme aller puiser de l'eau au puits, pour la quête de l'eau on a maintenant un forage avant on allait chercher de l'eau au puits mais actuellement on n'a des robinets. Il y'a de l'électricité, ceci n'existait pas. Ça fait partie de la belle vie, tu bois et tu te laves chez toi sans te déplacer, c'est bien un changement positif n'est-ce pas ? Nous avons aussi des machines, il y'a des moulins à mil et des machines à décortiquer le riz, des machines qui enlèvent le son de mil et des broyeuses d'arachide et de gombo, toutes ces machines se trouvent actuellement ici. Comme aussi il y'a des banques, il n'y en avait pas avant une banque comme WESTERN UNION n'était pas ici ... » [Senegal, Human Rights RA, female, 31-39 age group, without migration aspirations]

Although migration brought about important developments, the standard of living of people is getting worse because life has become expensive. The standard of living of older generations was better, meaning cheaper:

« Quel est le degré de satisfaction de la vie au village ? Aujourd'hui la vie n'est pas belle. Si vous regardez un peu en arrière un sac de riz coutait six mille francs. Moi j'ai acheté un sac de riz à six mille francs et même à dix mille francs. Mais aujourd'hui tu achètes un sac de

riz à dix-huit mille francs. Quant au sac de mil tu peux l'acheter à quinze mille ou seize mille voire dix-sept mille cinq cent francs. Deux kilogrammes de mil peuvent coûter mille francs ou mille quatre cents francs. Avant cela coûtait quatre cents francs. ... Orkadiéré d'aujourd'hui est différent d'Orkadiéré d'hier. Comment vous vivez avec ces changements sur le plan social, culturel et économique? Pour les changements je dirais qu'Orkadiéré d'hier est différent d'Orkadiéré d'aujourd'hui. C'est vrai. Peut-être qu'hier à Orkadiéré il y avait pas d'électricité ou de robinets. Peut-être qu'il n'avait pas d'étages (maisons à étages). Mais aujourd'hui Dieu nous a gardé et protégé jusqu'à ce que nos parents ont pu émigrer. Ils sont revenus avec leurs biens. Ils ont bien construit. L'électricité est venue, l'eau également etc. Nous rendons grâce à Dieu. Mais la solidarité qui existait hier était meilleure que celle qui existe aujourd'hui. Avant si tu passais la nuit dans une case paille tu pouvais aller pêcher pour manger. Mais aujourd'hui tu passes la nuit sous la terrasse mais tu ne peux pas pêcher ni cultiver. Si tu cultives, il n'y a pas de pluie, les marres ne sont pas remplies. » [Senegal, Human Rights RA, male, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

#### **Conclusions**

As stated above, the purpose of the bivariate analyses was purely descriptive and explorative so as to prepare for the further analysis in Part II and III. Notwithstanding the descriptive character, the bivariate analyses shed light on some interesting trends. Regarding the socio-demographic characteristics, the bivariate analyses suggest the influence of age, marital status, having children and having a family member abroad on migration aspirations. For perceptions on human rights and democracy in Europe and the country, the bivariate analysis suggest that in the four countries people tend to perceive the economic situation and corruption in Europe in a more positive way than in their own country. An interesting finding suggested by the bivariate analyses regarding migration perceptions and discourses in the four research countries is the perception of migration to Europe as a good experience for both men and women. Regarding life satisfaction, the bivariate analyses suggest a negative life satisfaction among the respondents in Ukraine, Morocco and Senegal, and an overall positive life satisfaction among the respondents in Turkey.

In the following parts of the Project Paper these descriptive results are explored more in-depth. More specifically we will verify if our earlier formulated hypothesis hold using both multivariate (Part II) and in-depth cross-country qualitative (Part III) analyses.

#### II. Multivariate cross-country analysis

de Haas Hein & Jolivet Dominique

#### **Hypothesis**

Following the conceptual and theoretical framework of EUMAGINE (cf. project paper 1), we hypothesize that perceptions on human rights and democracy, and migratory and geographical imaginations play a crucial role in shaping migration aspirations. From this, we consider two basic hypotheses for the multivariate analysis; firstly, there is a negative relation between the perceived human rights and democracy in the current country of residence and migration aspirations. Secondly, there is a positive relation between the perceived degree of human rights and democracy in Europe and the aspirations to migrate.

#### **Data, Variables and Method**

By means of a logistic regression analysis we have explored the effect of the perceptions on the human rights and democracy situation in the country of residence and in Europe on migration aspirations, while controlling other determinants of migration aspirations and decisions. This analysis draws on the EUMAGINE survey conducted on a representative sample of 8000 households in 16 regions in the four countries under study.

The dependent variable is "aspirations" (a1), which a dichotomous variable standing for the following survey question "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to go abroad to live or work some time during the next five years, or would you prefer staying in this country". The variable has been coded 1 if the respondent answered "go abroad" and 0 if the answer was "stay in this country".

The key independent variables proxy the perceptions on the human rights and democracy situation in the country of residence and in Europe. EUMAGINE applies a broad definition of human rights and democracy, comprising concepts of "negative" as well as "positive" freedom. The survey focused on a number of key indicator variables relatively easy to measure using closed answer categories. Perceived "negative" rights where estimated with variables measuring democracy and corruption, safety and security, individual liberties (freedom of expression and cultural freedom), and women's rights<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, perceived positive rights were measured with variables estimating perceptions on the quality and access to employment, social security, health care and education<sup>2</sup>.

In order to achieve a parsimonious empirical model, this exploratory analysis focuses on two key types of the perceptions on human rights and democracy: The first dimension is the perception on corruption in the country of origin and in Europe (survey questions p6 and peu6). Respondents had

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Variables p6, p7, p9, p10, p11, p12, p13, peu 6, peu7, peu9, peu10, peu11 and peu13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Variables p3, p4, p5, p8, p14, peu3, peu4, peu5, peu8 and peu14.

to react to the statement "there is a lot of corruption in [this country]/Europe" choosing on a scale from 1 to 5 whether they "strongly agree", "agree", "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree" or "strongly disagree" with this affirmation. The second dimension pertains to the perceptions on the quality and access to employment both in the country of residence and in Europe (questions p8 and peu8). With the same scale as for corruption, respondents had to react to the statement "it is easy to find a good job in [this country]/Europe".

We have selected corruption because it is the most frequently mentioned dimension of "negative rights" violations in the four research countries of the EUMAGINE project. On average, more than 80% of the population in the study areas agree or strongly agree with the statement that there is a lot of corruption in their country of residence. The average scores on this variable range from 75.2% in the Senegalese regions up to nearly 92% in Morocco. Corruption and bribery undermines the rule of law and can affect access to basic human rights like health care or education. According to Transparency International (2011), corruption affects mostly civil servants and public officials in Morocco and Turkey, the police in Senegal and the judiciary sector in Ukraine<sup>3</sup>.

Among the surveyed communities, the quality and access to employment with good working conditions is the dimension of "positive human rights" most frequently criticized. There are however striking differences between the four countries. Nearly 79% of the population in the Turkish regions disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that it is easy to find a job in the country of residence, whereas less than half of the population of the Moroccan regions (47.5%) disagree with the same statement – with considerable variations among the four regions, for instance between Tangier and the Central Plateau, where respectively 32.2% and 71.2% of the population disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. This seems obviously related to different unemployment rates across countries and regions.

In Morocco, negative perceptions are more pronounced with regards to the quality and access to health care and education as well as to the lack of social security, but these other aspects of positive human rights are generally more positively perceived in the other three countries, with the exception of negative perceptions on health care in Ukraine. Despite these national and regional differences, access and quality of employment remain one of the recurrent subjects of negative perceptions in all four countries, which was why we selected this dimension of perceptions on positive human rights as the focus of our analysis.

In our multivariate analysis, we have inverted the scale of the two variables measuring corruption (p6 and peu6) in order to ease the interpretation of the variables measuring perceptions on human rights and democracy. With this inversion, both perceptions on corruption and employment can be read with a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means a very positive perception and 5 a very negative one.

We control for other factors that are likely to affect migration aspirations on theoretical grounds and based on insights from prior empirical studies. These include both individual and household level socioeconomic background variables, and variables measuring the migration experience of the respondent and in his or her family.

<sup>3</sup> According to the 2011 report on the corruption perceptions index developed by Transparency International measuring the perceived levels of public-sector corruption, Turkey, Morocco ,Senegal and Ukraine respectively score 4.2, 3.4, 2.9 and 2.3 in a scale from 0 to 10 ranging from highly corrupt (0) to very clean (10). Ukraine scores particularly high, ranking position 152 out of 183 countries. Transparency international, 2011, Global Corruption Barometer http://gcb.transparency.org/gcb201011/infographic/.

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#### The EUMAGINE wealth index

The literature frequently mentions the importance to take into account the socioeconomic background of households as an important factor determining the capability of people to migrate. Based on a series of household asset variables, we have created an asset index using principal component analysis, which proxies the household wealth. To create this index, we have considered the survey questions on the items available in the household's main residence or owned by any of the households members (questions w2 up to w14, and w17 up to w20)<sup>4</sup>.

The technique of constructing asset indices (mainly using principal component analysis) has been increasingly used in socio-economic research as a relatively efficient and reliable method to estimate long-term household wealth, particularly compared to often unreliable and erratic income data and also expenditure data. It is seen as particularly useful in context in developing countries, where income is unreliable and prone to high variations and where the prominence barter and own production make it difficult to express household wealth in monetary terms. It is also considered to be a more reliable estimate of long-term wealth, as income and, to a lesser extent, consumption is more prone to short to medium term fluctuations. Another additional advantage is that information on assets is easier to collect and that this information is more reliable than income data (cf. Moser and Felton 2007).

The use of recorded household income levels can be criticized on several grounds. First of all, they are notoriously unreliable because of deliberate under or over-reporting. Second, respondents often have difficulties estimating their yearly income, certainly if income comes from various sources and are subject to fluctuations. Third, cash income does ignore income in nature and barter. In case of significant subsistence agriculture and remittances sent in nature this might lead to serious underestimations of actual income level. Fourth, even if they are recorded correctly, actual income levels are no more than 'snapshots'. They do not reflect accumulated wealth and are particularly inappropriate in case of high income fluctuations common in most EUMAGINE regions, where many people work in informal jobs and lack access to social security.

Moser and Felton (2007) summarize three principal ways to estimate household wealth based on assets owned by the household:

- Prices through summing up monetary values of the assets. However, price information is
  often difficult to obtain and it may be difficult to assign prices to intangible assets such as
  human or social capital
- 2. **Unit values** through summing up the number of assets owned. This method has the virtue of simplicity, but assigns equal weight to ownership of each asset. For instance, this would assign equal worth to a radio and a computer, although in their contributions to the wealth variable are different (Moser and Felton 2007)
- 3. **Principal component analysis** allowing to aggregate several binary asset ownership variables into a single dimension. PCA is easy to compute and understand, and provides more accurate weights than summation of unit values (Moser and Felton 2007)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Country-specific variables on air conditioning (w16) and carts (w18B) have not been used in the EUMAGINE wealth index.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Stata command: pca

In their study on the relationship between household wealth and children's school enrolment in Indian states, Filmer and Pritchett (1999) and Filmer and Pritchett (2001) proposed and defended the use of a linear index proxying household wealth, based on asset ownership indicators and using principal-components analysis (PCA) to derive weights. They used data on asset ownership (e.g., owning a bicycle or radio) and housing characteristics (e.g., number of rooms, type of toilet facilities) to construct this index. They used 21 types of assets from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), covering both consumer durables and housing stock, to create a single wealth variable. Their econometric evidence suggests that the asset index variable is at least as reliable as conventionally used consumption data.

Principal components analysis allows to construct a single wealth index from a set of variables. The principal components procedure is a form of data reduction which extracts from a set of variables a few linear combinations to capture their common information. Principal components analysis allows for extracting "from a set of variables those few orthogonal linear combinations of the variables that capture the common information most successfully" (Filmer and Pritchett 2001: 116). Intuitively, *the first principal component* of a set of asset indicator variables is the linear index of all the variables that captures the largest amount of information that is common to all of the variables, and is *usually used as the indicator of household wealth*. In other words, the first linear combination of the variables (i.e., the first principal component) contains the most information on the variation in the underlying set of variables. The scores of households on this first linear combination can be stored as a new variable, and be used as a variable indicating the latent, 'wealth' variable.

The underlying initiation of this method is that there is a latent (unobservable) variable (i.e., household wealth) for each type of capital that manifests itself through ownership of the different assets. Another advantage is that the PCA coefficients have a fairly intuitive interpretation (Moser and Felton 2007). However, an important assumption of PCA is that the observed variables are positively correlated.

As Moser and Felton (2007: 4) argue, this makes PCA excellent for modelling a presumed underlying continuous variable, such as household wealth:

"If ownership of a certain asset is highly correlated with owning the other assets that were asked about in the survey, then it is likely also correlated with owning other types of assets that were not in the survey . . . [for instance] wealthy households are more likely to own a computer than poor ones, but radio ownership is spread evenly across the spectrum. Therefore, knowing that one household owns a computer provides us with more information about that household's wealth than a radio does, and it receives a higher weighting."

Therefore, it seems better to proxy household wealth as a more reliable indicator of permanent household income by extracting a linear 'wealth index' from asset ownership and housing characteristics indicators using principal components analysis to derive weights.

Particularly in the context of developing countries where reliable measures of socioeconomic status are mostly not available, such wealth indices are increasingly recognised as reliable and stable indicators of household wealth. There is evidence that asset indexes and household income represent extremely similar measures (Stewart and Simelane 2005). Asset indexes are often more reliable than recorded income data and are less sensitive to outliers. They are at least as reliable as a proxy of economic status than the conventionally used consumption expenditures, which mostly preferred above the less reliable income data (cf. Adams 1991), and may sometimes even perform better (Filmer and Pritchett 1999, 2001). An additional advantage is that assets-based wealth index is much better able to capture past, accumulated income. It is therefore also more

compatible with the migration variables which we constructed to measure the total years of past internal and international migration experience within households. Finally, the wealth index allow for more objective cross-region and cross-countries comparisons than is possible with income data. The condition is that the same asset list is used across countries and regions, which obviously precludes the inclusion of wealth indicator variables that are cultural-specific or linked to particular climatic conditions (e.g., central heating; or air conditioning).

We can assume that household wealth plays a significant role in shaping both capacities and aspirations to migrate of household members. While household wealth partly determines the ability to afford the nominal and opportunity costs as well as risks of migration, it also plays a role in shaping feelings of internal and international relative deprivation. Assuming that such household-level factors play an important role in migration decision making (de Haas 2010; Stark 1991), quantitative (and qualitative) assessments of the role of perceptions on human rights in countries of origin and destination need to control for the effect of household wealth on migration aspirations and intentions. For instance, while poor people may have more negative perceptions about opportunities in origin countries, they may not aspire to migrate, simply because they perceive that this is beyond their means (cf. the capacity to aspire - (Appadurai 2004). On the other hand, relatively well-off people may aspire to migrate because this is a real option for them, while they may have more positive perceptions about opportunities in their origin countries. Not controlling for the effect of wealth on migration aspirations and intentions may therefor inadvertently create insignificant or otherwise distorted estimates of the effects of household wealth.

#### Other variables measuring the socio-economic background

The regression analyses also control for drive individual variables which have a potentially significant effect on migration aspirations. Firstly, the sex of the respondents, with a dummy variable called "gender", coded 1 for women. Secondly, the age of the respondents, controlled with a continuous variable (age) created after the survey deducting 2011 (considered as the year the survey was carried out) from the year of birth of the respondents (question hh4),; thirdly, the level of education, measured by a continuous variable indicating the respondents' years of schooling. We also control for the marital status of the respondents. For this we created a dummy variable (partner) coded 1 if the respondents were married (no distinction is made in our analysis between monogamous or polygamous marriages) or living with a partner but not married, and 0 if their marital status was otherwise -never married, separated, divorced or widowed). Finally, in order to control for the effect of having descendants, we created the dummy variable "children", coded 1 for those who have children -independently if they live in the same household or if they live somewhere else, and coded 0 if the respondents do not have children.

#### Variables measuring the migration experience

We also included variables which proxy migration experience, as the literature suggests that prior migration experience or migration experience of family members has a positive effect on migration aspirations. This experience is measured at an individual and at a family level by three variables. Only migration experiences from the age of 6 were included in the analysis. We did so based on the assumption that only migration experiences that can be remembered and have been consciously experiences will affect migration aspirations. Two dummy variables control the respondent's internal and international migration experience. Both dummies are coded 1 if the respondent had migrated previously and 0 if she or he has no prior migration experience.

Another dummy variable captures the migration experience of the respondent's family. It is coded 1 when the respondents answered "yes" to the question "do you have any family members who are at least 16 years old, who are currently living in another country, and who have been in contact with you at least once over the past 12 months", and coded 0 when the answer was "no".

#### Variables measuring fixed effects

In order to capture unobserved variance, we propose an analysis per country and include a dummy variable to control the effect of the research areas. The reference categories are the high emigration areas of the project, that is, the Todgha Valley (Morocco), Emirdağ (Turkey), Darou Mousty (Senegal) and Zbaraz (Ukraine).

In order to test eventual non-linearities for the variables measuring age, years of education, and household wealth we have compared several models with and without squared variables.

#### Results

Table 1 presents the results of the logistic regression analyses. The results seem to partially confirm our initial hypothesis that perceptions on human rights and democracy, and migratory and geographical imaginations play a significant role in shaping migratory aspirations. But the effects of perceptions on the country of residence and of those of Europe are not equally significant in the four countries.

In Morocco, the two initial hypotheses are partially confirmed. Negative perceptions on the access to a "good job" in the country of residence increases migration aspirations while positive perceptions about job opportunities in Europe have the opposite effect. However, perceptions on corruption in Morocco and in Europe have no significant effect on migration aspirations. It is not entirely clear how this can be explained, but it may indicate that cross-country comparisons of economic opportunities dominate in the formation of migration aspiration. Another factor may be that the two variables are interrelated. For instance, a high level of corruption may obstruct access to the formal job market for non-elite groups, in which case the two variables may measure the same concept. Further research is needed to understand these results.

In Turkey, perceptions on employment opportunities in Turkey and Europe have the expected, significant effects. In contrast to Morocco, negative perceptions on corruption in Turkey also have a significant positive effect on migration aspirations, while perceptions on corruption in Europe have no significant effect.

Senegal is the only country where perceptions on neither employment opportunities nor corruption in Europe have a significant effect on migration aspirations. Perceptions on the situation in Senegal do have significant effects, but not necessarily in the expected directions. Negative perceptions on employment opportunities in Senegal have the expected positive, significant effect on migration aspirations. However, negative perceptions on corruption in Senegal have a *negative* effect on migration aspirations, which is counterintuitive, and difficult to explain. It is unclear whether the absence of significant effects of perceptions about Europe may have something to do with limited knowledge about the situation in Europe compared to the other survey countries, and further investigation is required to understand these results. Ukraine is the only country where all hypotheses are confirmed. Negative perceptions on corruption and job opportunities in Ukraine have a signifi-

cant positive effect on migration aspirations, positive perceptions on the same issues in Europe also have a positive and significant effect.

#### Other determinants of migration aspirations and controls

Household wealth has a highly significant, negative effect on migration aspirations in the Moroccan and Turkish regions, whereas the effect in Senegal is also negative but hardly significant. Separate analyses that investigated possible nonlinearity of this relationship did not yield significant result. This seems to contrast the notion that the poorest migrate less, but this may possibly be explained by the gap between migration aspirations and capabilities. Although the poor may have higher migration aspirations as a result of relative deprivation (partly influenced by the confrontation with the relative wealth of migrants), but they still migrate less because of a lack of resources or social connections with migrants. In Ukraine we do not see a relation between household wealth and migration aspirations, and also non-linearity tests did not yield significant results. This is possibly related to the fact that the profile and dominant destination (Russia) of Ukrainian migrants differ from the other countries, but this requires further investigation.

Female gender has a significant negative effect on migration aspirations in all four countries.

The effects of the age and marital status variables highlight the importance of life-cycle factors on migration aspirations. As expected, and as found in almost all migration surveys, age has a negative effect on migration aspirations, although the effect is not significant in Turkey. Having a partner also reduces the likelihood of having migration aspirations in all countries but Turkey.

The relation between education and migration aspiration is less unequivocal. Turkey is the only country where education has a linearly positive effect on migration, although the significance of the estimator improves considerably when testing for non-linearity by including the squared value. This seems to indicate a curvilinear, inverted U-shaped relationship between education and migration aspirations. This may indicate that those with an intermediate level of education have the highest migration aspiration.

This might be explained as followed: the higher educated in Turkey can find better social and economic opportunities within the booming economy of Turkey than if they had migrated. At the same time, the lowest educated may have lower capabilities and aspirations to migrate. However, these explanations are tentative and require further investigation. This pattern may also exist in Morocco and Senegal, but the results are not significant. Also in this case, the pattern in Ukraine seems to deviate from the other countries, although the results are not significant.

Although personal experience with internal or international migration does seem to increase migration aspirations (as expected), these results are not significant with the exception of Ukraine, where the effect of internal migration experience is strong and highly significant. With regards to having family members with migration experience, this effect is positive in all countries, but only significant in the Moroccan study areas. There is no simple explanation, but what these results suggests is that it should not be taken for granted that migration experiences do necessarily lead to higher migration aspirations. After all, negative experiences of people or their family may also lead to lower migration aspirations.

Significant regional fixed effects are only observed in Morocco and Senegal. Controlling for all other factors, the likelihood of having migration aspirations is higher in Lambaye and Orkadiéré than in Darou Mousty, which has been categorized in the EUMAGINE project as the Senegalese high emigration area. According to the survey, the share of the population with family members abroad with whom they have been in contact with in the last twelve months is actually *lower* in

Darou Mousty than in the other three regions (34.9% in Darou Mousty, 35.8% in Lambaye, 44.9% in Orkadiéré and 49.3% in Golf Sud).

Although the results are not significant, the same pattern is observed in Turkey, where migration aspirations are higher in Dinar and Fatih than in the high emigration area of Emirdağ. However, other than in the Senegalese case, Emirdağ share of respondents population with family abroad is remarkably higher (73.6%) than in the other regions (22.2% in Dinar, 32% in Fatih and 3.9% in Van Merkez. Interestingly, the survey also revealed that respondents in Emirdağ have more negative perceptions on migration than in other regions. Although results are not significant, this might indicate that in areas with strong emigration traditions, also negative information may flow back. Alternatively, such lower aspirations in high-emigration areas might be explained by a certain saturation effects, where almost all respondents have family in Europe. However, further analysis is needed to explain these findings.

In the case of Morocco, when controlling for all other factors, migration aspirations are significantly lower in Tangier (p<0.001), in Tounfite (p<0.001) and the Central Plateau region (p<0.05) compared to the Todgha Valley, the high emigration region. These results seem to make sense. Tangier is a fast growing region, with large infrastructure projects, a booming housing sector, and target of investments by foreign companies which outsourced labour-intensive activities. This is creating more job opportunities for its inhabitants and for internal migrants. Hence, Tangiers has developed into a major internal migration destination. Despite the proximity of Europe and the fact that Tangier is a major point of transit to Europe, the booming local economy and the negative perceptions about current opportunities in crisis-ridden Europe combined with the negative perceptions on the situation of Moroccan migrants in Spain (the main destination of Tangier's migrants) may explain why migration aspirations are relatively low. While the Todgha valley has a long tradition and possible 'culture' of emigration, the regions of Tounfite and the Central Plateau are geographically and economically more marginal. What might also play a role is that as a result of higher poverty rates and lower access to education and information, people do not have the resources and aspirations which shape migration aspirations.

#### **Conclusions**

The analysis give only partially confirm our hypotheses about the effects of perceptions on human rights and democracy in countries of residence and in Europe on migration aspirations. While all hypotheses are confirmed in the case of the Ukrainian research areas, the results vary across the other countries. Generally, the results are in the expected direction, with negative perceptions on job opportunities and corruption in the own country having positive effects, and positive perceptions about the situation in Europe having positive effects. However, particularly the effect of perceptions on corruption loses significance for the surveys conducted in Morocco (for both perceptions on Europe and the own country) and Turkey and Senegal (for perceptions on Europe). The results also suggest that perceptions on job opportunities in the own country and Europe play a more important role in shaping migration aspirations than perceptions on corruption. This seems to make sense; there is a more direct relationship with personal opportunities for advancement. Another factors may be that corruption also affects access to job opportunities, and that the two variables are somehow related.

The analysis also highlighted the importance of factors such as gender and life-cycle related factors such as age and marital status. Also household wealth and education play a significant role, although this role seems to differ considerably across countries and regions.

Overall, the results seem to confirm that the EUMAGINE project has endeavoured into an important, but hitherto underexplored research field by empirically showing that perceptions do matter in shaping migration aspirations and, eventually, migration decision making. This highlights that migration is more than a rational, utility-optimising individual decision making process. However, the other main conclusion is that the role of aspirations and other migration determinants such as education, wealth and prior migration experience significantly differs across countries and regions. However, such results should not discourage, but rather encourage us as they point to the importance of *context*.

We have given some tentative explanations for these varied results, but these need further investigation to be confirmed. What this analysis exemplifies, is that it is crucial to take into account the particular context in which migration occurs, and the particular types (e.g., low or high skilled) and destinations of migration. For instance, it would be misleading to assume that the experiences of Senegalese and Ukrainian migrants are comparable. While this does not mean that they cannot be compared, the different contexts in which migration occurs can explain different outcomes of the analyses. This exemplifies the important of combining quantitative research with qualitative work, which can provide the necessary contextual knowledge so as to better understand the results.

	Morocco	0000			Turkey		Jag.	Senegal		Ukraine	aine	
ı		Model 1	Model 1 Model 2		Model 1	Model 2		Model 1	Model 2		Model 1	Model 2
Socio-economic factors:												
Wealth index		0.82***	0.82***		0.85***	0.85***		06.0	*68.0		1.03	1.03
Female		0.60***	0,62***		0.56***	0.57***		0.71*	0.71		.94.0	0.76*
Age		0.98*	0.93		0.99	0.94		**96.0	1.01		0.97**	0.94
Age squared			1.00			1.00			1.00			1.00
Years of education		0.99	1.08		1.03*	1.17**		0.99	1.07		1.04	0.94
Years of education squared	820		0.99*			0.99**			0.99			1.00
Partner		0.48**	0.49**		0.75	0.74		0.46**	0.46**		0.72*	0.72*
Children		0.78	0.76		0.83	0.82		0.77	0.75		0.85	0.85
Migration experience:												
International mig. exp.		1.18	1.16		1.09	1.16		1.29	1.28		2,86***	2.85***
Internal mig. exp.		1.05	1.09		1.19	1.27		1.17	1.17		1.05	1.05
Family migration exp.		1.52**	1.50**		1.26	1.26		1.39	1.38		1.29	1.29
Perceptions of [country]:												
Corruption		0.93	0.94		1.16*	1.16*		0.82	0.82**		1.43***	1.43***
Job apportunities		1.20**	1.20**		1.20*	1.21*		1.26***	1.26***		1.20*	1.21*
Perceptions of Europe:												
Corruption		86'0	1.00		1.00	1.00		96.0	0.97		0.72***	0.72***
Job opportunities		0.76***	0.76***		0.86*	0.87*		1.02	1.02		0.73***	0.73***
Research Area:												
	Todgha Valley (Ref.) 1.00	1.00	1.00	Emirdag (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	Darou Mousty (Ref.)	1.00	1.00	Zbaraz (Ref.)	1.00	1.00
	Central Plateau	0.65*	0.70	Dinar	1.24	1.23	Lambaye	2.00*	2,00	Znamyanska	0.79	0.79
	Tangler	0.40***	0.40***	Fatih	1.13	1.17	Golf Sud (Dakar)	2.03	1.98	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	0.80	0.80
	Tounfite	0.40***	0.43***	Van Merkez	0.89	0.93	Orkadiere	2.89***	2.88***	Novovodolaz ka	0.85	0.85
>		1979	1979		1839	1839		1732	1732		1934	1934

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001
The results have been controlled for stratification and clustering

Source: Individual questionnaire - STUM 20120820 - incl hh and mgcount - mv (weighted data)

Table 9: Logistic regression of factors shaping migration aspirations: Odds ratios

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#### III. Concluding cross-country analyses

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In this part of the paper we discuss the results presented in Part I & II by framing them in the ongoing theoretical debates and underpinning them with insights generated by the qualitative and quantitative cross – country analyses. First, we look for qualitative evidence for the main bivariate and multivariate analysis findings on the influence of perceptions on human rights and democracy – in terms of job opportunities and corruption – in the own country and Europe on migration aspirations. These cross-country qualitative analysis generated in turn additional, new insights on other (democracy and human rights) related determinants of migration aspirations. In the second section of Part III we look for quantitative confirmations for the insights emerging from the cross-country qualitative analyses. Based on these qualitative and quantitative findings we end the paper with general conclusions.

#### Qualitative evidence leading to additional, new insights

As stated above in Part II, the multivariate quantitative data analysis has focused on two key types of perceptions on human rights and democracy: the perceptions on the quality and access to employment and the perceptions on corruption, both in the country of residence and in Europe. Corruption was selected because it is the most frequently mentioned dimension of "negative rights" violations in the four research countries of the EUMAGINE project. And among the surveyed communities, the quality and access to employment with good working conditions is the dimension of "positive human rights" most frequently criticized. The multivariate analysis concludes that negative perceptions on job opportunities and corruption in the own country have positive effects on migration aspirations and positive perceptions about the situation in Europe have positive effects on migration aspirations. The analysis also suggest that perceptions on job opportunities in the own country and Europe play a more important role in shaping migration aspirations than perceptions on corruption. Furthermore, Part II concluded with stressing the importance of "combining quantitative research with qualitative work, which can provide the necessary contextual knowledge so as to better understand the results."

Taking this conclusion into account, we start Part III with additional cross-country qualitative data analyses using NVivo to better contextualize the quantitative bivariate and multivariate analysis results presented above. Given the centrality of the variables "corruption" and "job opportunities" in the EUMAGINE hypotheses, we first focus our qualitative analysis on these two key types of perceptions on human rights and democracy.

#### Migration aspirations to Europe

Although in the four research countries we found qualitative evidences for a strong presence of migration aspirations to Europe among the informants interviewed, the qualitative cross-country analysis reveal that the "enthusiasm" for migration to Europe is more prominent among informants in Morocco and Senegal compared to Turkey and Ukraine.

#### Perceptions on job opportunities in the own country and Europe

The qualitative cross-country data analysis reveal a general tendency among the informants in the four research countries – irrespective of research area and main socio-demographic characteristics of the informants – to perceive the economic situation in general and job opportunities in particular in the own country as negative and in Europe as positive. As presented in the bivariate analyses (see Part I), we find in the qualitative data that in the four countries negative perceptions about the possibility of finding work in the own country prevail over the positive perceptions. When the economic situation in the own country was discussed during the interviews, the lack of employment opportunities was often cited by the informants. In contrast, informants talked in general in a more positive way about job opportunities in Europe. As illustrated by these interview extracts:

"Very well, then lets pass on directly to our conversation. At the beginning, let's talk about your life, how it passes in Vodolaga. What can you say about the life in Vodolaga? Mainly, there is no work. Men can drink alcohol. There is nothing to do. It is good that I have some education, and therefore I can work in the drugstore, but the main part of the population is unemployed. In Vodolaga, where we live and exist, there are very many problems. As I have mentioned before, we have no jobs. Practically no one has a job. ... I mean there is nothing useful to do. Young people gather either near the house of culture, or near the market to smoke and to hang near the bar, the shop, to drink something...in the Internet-café. I mean that today our youth is not interested in anything, they have nothing to do in their leisure time, they drink, swear, throw bottles, jars, they can offend people passing by. There were even such cases when one of them even hit his mother who came to take home her drunken son." [Ukraine, Human Rights RA, female, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

"There are all kinds of employment opportunities there. Men can work, women can work. Their earnings are so much higher compared to here. And you earn money there even if you do not work. They give you your right if you do not work. They give you unemployment money. Why should you return to Emirdağ? That is why people do not want to come here. You can pay your rent even if you do not work. The state pays money for you to eat and drink. Let it be Belgium, let it be Germany, let it be Holland. When you cannot find a job, they give you somaj money (unemployment benefits). Somaj money is famous." [Turkey, High Emigration, male, 31-39 age group, without migration aspirations]

This female informant interviewed in Senegal complains about the difficulties she has to find a job in Senegal although she has a university degree:

« Eh bien, vous parlez surtout au niveau du quartier, mais au niveau de la ville de Dakar et le Sénégal en général comment vois-tu la vie ici ? Bon c'est dur, c'est difficile mais bon, on s'accroche quand même ... On est un peu courageux car on s'accroche malgré toutes ces difficultés-là. C'est quoi les difficultés ? Bon par exemple comme moi je pourrais dire que c'est dans le fait de chercher un emploi tout simplement parce que c'est ça qui me pose problème actuellement. Qu'est-ce qui fait que ce soit difficile de trouver de l'emploi ? Ah peut-être parce qu'il n'y a pas assez d'offres peut-être je dirais. Même ayant eu une licence, ça ne facilite pas la tâche ? Non pas du tout, ça rend plus difficile je dirais. Eh bon ? Pourquoi ça ? Je dirais on a tendance à voir que quand on a beaucoup plus de diplômes on a plus de difficultés à s'insérer dans le milieu professionnel, parce que auparavant peut être que c'était pas comme ça mais j'ai vu des gens qui cachaient leurs diplômes, par exemple qui avaient le Master mais qui limitaient leur CV à la licence pour pouvoir se faire

embaucher. Parce qu'ils étaient surqualifiés ? Oui c'est ça, parce que dans certaines entreprises on te dit même le D.G (Directeur Général) n'a pas ce niveau-là donc si tu es recruté ça lui pose problème. Hum ? Quel genre de problème ? Oui parce que si tu es beaucoup plus compétent que ton Directeur peut être qu'il va craindre de se faire remplacer par vous. » [Senegal, High Immigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

And according to this Moroccan informant the positive aspects about Europe are the job opportunities and the good salaries:

« Qu'est-ce que vous pouvez me dire de positif sur l'Europe ? Les opportunités de travail, les gens ne vivent pas en misère comme ici, eux (les européens) donnent une valeur (respecte) à l'homme. ... Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres avantages pour l'Europe ? Je vous ai dit que tu peux travailler, et que tu es vraiment un humain, tu as un bon salaire mieux qu'ici, même pour les études les européens sont mieux que nous. ... Tout à l'heure vous avez parlé de l'emploi en Europe, comment percevez-vous l'emploi en Europe ? Tous ceux que je connais là-bas travaillent bien et ils sont tranquilles dans leurs jobs. Le salaire là-bas est mieux qu'ici. Une femme (au Maroc) ne veut pas aller travailler au nettoyage de la vaisselle dans un café, là-bas si tu le fais tu es bien payé, pas comme ici. Le salaire qu'il te donne ici n'est pas suffisant, mais là-bas tu es payé le double. » [Morocco, Low Emigration RA, female, 18-22 age group, without migration aspirations]

Moreover, we find in the four countries that when informants express their perceptions on the economic situation or job opportunities in the own country and Europe they tend to relate this directly to their migrations aspirations. Negative perceptions on the economic situation (job opportunities) in the own country and positive perceptions on the economic situation (job opportunities) in Europe are main motivations for migration to Europe. If job opportunities in the own country were good, however, informants would not migrate but rather stay in the own country.

"What are the main reasons people leave Ukraine? In your opinion, what makes people go abroad? They need to earn money, perhaps, most likely because there is no way to earn here. There not enough job in Ukraine, and especially in our town. Of those who have gone there, most of them has gone just because of earnings, because they have to earn, and some go there because their husband or wife are abroad." [Ukraine, Low Emigration RA, female, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations]

This Senegalese informant explains that people prefer to work in Europe because in Senegal people are not well paid:

« Les gens ils préfèrent travailler en Europe, peu importe le travail ils préfèrent travailler en Europe parce qu'ils pensent au Sénégal ils ne paient pas assez. » [Senegal, High Immigration RA, female, 18-22 age group, without migration aspirations]

These informants interviewed in Morocco and Turkey would migrate to Europe if they had the opportunities to do so because of job opportunities. However, if they would find a job in their own country they would not migrate:

"Would you go to Europe if you had the chance? Certainly. I would not even think. There are many opportunities there. I think it is a good idea to go. ... What would be the main thing that attracts you to Europe? It would be employment. I would not go to Europe if the

employment here would be good. If I could work here, I would not go there. If I had a good job here, I would only go to Europe as a guest." [*Turkey, Low Emigration RA, female, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations*]

« Si vous aviez l'occasion d'émigrer vers l'Europe, vous agiriez comment ? Bien sûr je choisirais d'émigrer, pourquoi ? Par ce que là-bas il y a des chances d'emploi alors je peux travailler avec un salaire respectable, mais franchement si j'avais l'occasion de travailler ici au Maroc je ne choisirai pas d'émigrer. S'il vous plait, pouvez-vous nous clarifier les facteurs pouvant vous pousser à émigrer ? Le facteur principal ... est en rapport avec le travail, au cas où je ne trouve pas d'emploi au Maroc, peut-être je peux émigrer si j'avais une occasion de travailler là-bas. Alors le travail est le facteur déterminant pour émigrer pour moi. » [Morocco] [Morocco, Human Rights RA, female, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations]

The qualitative data analysis in the four countries thus reveal a clear relation between the informants' perceptions on the economic situation (job opportunities) in the own country and Europe and their migration aspirations and therefore provide strong qualitative evidences for the multivariate analysis conclusion that "generally, the results are in the expected direction, with negative perceptions on job opportunities in the own country having positive effects, and positive perceptions about the situation in Europe having positive effects."

#### Perceptions on corruption in the own country and Europe

The qualitative cross-country data analysis reveal – similar to the perceptions on job opportunities in the own country and Europe – a general tendency among the informants in Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine to perceive corruption in their own country in a negative way and in Europe in a more positive way, meaning inexistent or at a lower level than in the own country. This finding is in line with the bivariate analyses (see Part I) where we found that in the four research countries almost all respondents agreed/strongly agreed that there is a lot of corruption in their respective country.

As stated in Project Paper 11 (page 44) a broad consensus exists among informants that the phenomenon of corruption is horizontally and vertically widespread in Ukraine. When the informants in Ukraine talk about corruption in their country or research area, they often refer to situations in the employment sector, health sector and education:

"Now let's pass over to the problem of corruption. This question might seem rather tough, but still how do you think, is there such a notion as bribes here? Of course, there is. Everywhere. Corruption is present far and wide here, actually. Even in hospitals themselves: you have to buy something for us, so that we will do what you want. That is, treatment is possible only on certain conditions? Yes." [Ukraine, Low Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

These two informants interviewed in Ukraine explain why in their perception there is no corruption in Europe:

"I understand. But is there such thing as corruption in Poland? I think there is no need in it. Why? Because the salary of the doctor or lawyer both in Europe and in Poland, are the highest and it is better for them to live having the high, stable salary than to get a small

bribe once, lose the job and remain at the mercy of fate. No one wants such thing to happen. No one wants to risk for nothing. It is more real for our country. Because we have very low salary and in this case it is justified. It is common to get a bribe, to get as a support, because it is almost impossible to live for such salary." [Ukraine, High Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

"And what do you think, can there exist a corruption in Europe? Is it not typical for them? We hear on television that it is in European countries separately, but I don't think that this corruption there is the same as in our country. So massive, so basically... everywhere, in every area, in each case here we have this corruption. I don't think that there are similar elements in Europe. Probably it is somewhere partially because it is still the human factor, but not so much as here. If we compare with our country, the corruption in Europe can be equated to zero, as compared with the real corruption here. It is so rampant today in our country that there are no limits. I currently think so." [Ukraine, High Emigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, without migration aspirations]

The perceptions that there is a lot of corruption in the own country and no or less corruption in Europe is also shared by most of the informants interviewed in Turkey, Senegal and Morocco. Informants give examples of corruption in the own country among the police (Turkey), in the employment sector (Senegal),

"What about the police here? The police here is good. But they are still suffering from the system of bribe. There is still bribe. You saw the woman in the living room now with my mother. Have you seen her? She, her husband and her son entered a man's house last week. The man had beaten up her youngest son. This is why as a family they came together and went to the man's house at night. They broke everything in the house. The man suffers from heart problems. He had a heart spasm after they went. All right, he made a mistake when he beat up the woman's youngest son. But they should not have responded this way. The police came later on. They did not do anything against this family. The police just told them to leave the house. That is it. Why? Because the police knows this family. That is why they did not do anything against them. So knowing people in state institutions helps someone? I do not know if it works in the governor's office. But it certainly helps in the municipality if you have an acquaintance there. Some business that will normally take 10 days, will finish in 2 days if you know someone. I was in the municipality in the morning. Municipality workers are so comfortable. They are just sitting. There are too many employees." [Turkey, Low Emigration RA, female, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations]

« Donc les conditions de vie ont changé en mal ? Oui. Et quelle est la solution. Je crois que c'est dans tout le Sénégal, j'imagine ? Oui c'est dans tout le Sénégal. Quelles sont les difficultés que rencontrent les jeunes au Sénégal ? C'est vrai que le taux de chômage est en hausse, c'est pourquoi les jeunes arrivent difficilement à trouver du travail. Est-ce que c'est normal que les jeunes à la fin de leurs études ne trouvent pas de travail ? On voit que dans le public, il y a des gens qui sont riches, qui ne sont pas diplômés et qui occupent des postes importants. Est-ce que c'est normal ? Non, pas du tout. C'est le bras long. Si on est un protégé du ministre de la santé, une fois les études terminées, tu intègres un district sanitaire. » [Senegal, High Emigration RA, male, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations]

« Y-a-t'il la corruption à Tinerhir? On ne peut pas éliminer la corruption au Maroc et surtout à Tinerhir, car, tu attends ton tour dans une administration pour avoir un papier, mais certains personnes arrivent après toi se dirigent vers le responsable pour être servis sans

respecter la queue, car il connait ce responsable ou quelqu'un d'autres. L'origine de la corruption ce sont les citoyens et le personnel de l'administration. Car quand tu donnes *le bakchich* à un fonctionnaire, un autre citoyen donne *le bakchich*, ainsi on encourage la corruption. Quant aux fonctionnaires ils s'habituent à recevoir de l'argent en contrepartie de chaque service. » [Morocco, High Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

On the contrary, perceptions on corruption in Europe are more positive:

"Do you think that there is corruption in Europe or France? It might be but I do not think there is corruption in Europe. But in Turkey there is corruption and bribery. In Europe people takes what they deserve but in Turkey it is not the case." [*Turkey, Low Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations*]

« De nos jours on parle d'insécurité, de corruption, de criminalité... est-ce que selon vous, ces phénomènes existent en Europe ? Non, d'après ce que je sais, la corruption, la criminalité, l'insécurité sont beaucoup plus visibles en Afrique qu'en Europe. En Europe on veille bien sur la sécurité des gens. » [Senegal, Human Rights RA, male, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

« Y-a-t-il de la corruption en Europe ? Je ne pense pas que la corruption en Europe est aussi grave qu'au Maroc où il faut payer pour avoir accès à n'importe quel service. » [Morocco, High Immigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

« Que signifie pour vous le mot Europe ? On imagine l'Europe comme un bon endroit. Quand tu arrives chez eux les européens, ils te considèrent comme un être humain, même si tu es négligé. Quand tu arrives dans une administration tu trouves tout en ordre, chacun attend son tour, il n'y a pas de discrimination les gens sont égaux. Lorsque tu arrives à l'hôpital dans un état grave, le personnel te reçoit avec soin, il te donne des soins sans qu'il te demande de l'argent. En Europe, il n'y a pas de corruption, mais dernièrement en raison de la présence d'un grand nombre d'immigrés en Europe, ces immigrés essaient de diffuser petit à petit la corruption. Mais, ils ne vont pas réussir, car en Europe il y a de la loi. » [Morocco, High Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

In contrast, however, to the qualitative findings about perceptions on the economic situation (job opportunities) we do not find qualitative evidence that people explicitly link perceptions on corruption in the own country and Europe with their migration aspirations. Whereas we find that informants in the four research countries tend to relate their perceptions on job opportunities in the own country and Europe directly to their migrations aspirations, we do not find this explicit relation in the case of informants' perceptions on corruption. When informants express their perceptions on corruption in the own country and Europe they do not tend to relate this directly to their migrations aspirations. Positive perceptions on corruption in Europe and negative perceptions on corruption in the own country were not brought up by the informants as a reason or motivation for migration to Europe.

Thus the qualitative cross-country analysis reveal (1) a general tendency among the informants in the four countries to perceive corruption and job opportunities in the own country negatively and in Europe positively, (2) an explicit relation between informants' perceptions on job opportunities and their migration aspirations and (3) no clear relation between informants' perceptions on corruption and their migration aspirations. These qualitative cross-country analysis results are thus in line with

the multivariate analysis conclusions of Part II that "The results also suggest that perceptions on job opportunities in the own country and Europe play a more important role in shaping migration aspirations than perceptions on corruption."

## Other democracy and human rights related determinants of migration aspirations

As stated in Project Paper 6A, the EUMAGINE project applies a broad definition of human rights and democracy, comprising concepts of negative as well as positive freedom. The project included as negative rights democracy and political rights (democracy and state/police corruption), safety and security, individual liberties (freedom of expression and cultural freedom) and women's rights. The positive definition of human rights and democracy applied by the project not only includes quality of and access to employment and social security, but also the possibility of receiving fair chances in society like access to education and equality between men and women. Therefore, we have also looked for qualitative evidences for the potential influence of other democracy and human rights related determinants of migration aspirations. The qualitative data reveal the importance of education opportunities and equal gender opportunities for migration aspirations.

#### **Educational opportunities**

Cross-country qualitative data analysis suggest the influence of perceptions on education opportunities in the own country and Europe on migration aspirations to Europe. In the four research countries informants tend to perceive education opportunities in the own country negatively compared to education opportunities in Europe. Moreover, positive perceptions on education opportunities in Europe (for the informant him/herself or for the informant's children) are generally expressed as a reason for migration to Europe. As illustrated by following interview extracts:

"And speaking about studying, is studying abroad popular? Well I think that it's also very popular. And you, would you go studying abroad? Well, I would go, but in this case I should urgently improve my language skills. Which ones? Knowledge of English of course. English? Yes, yes. And if I were sure, that more or less I know the language then I would go there with pleasure." [Ukraine, High Immigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

« Quels sont les autres facteurs qui encouragent la population à émigrer ? Pour celui qui veut assurer une bonne école à ses enfants, ils les emmène à l'étranger. Car, leurs établissements scolaires sont bien équipés et assez développés. Egalement, ils n'ont pas assez d'absences, de grèves fréquentes comme chez nous. » [Morocco, High Emigration RA, female, 18-22 age group, without migration aspirations]

Another interesting qualitative finding on the education opportunities is that among the informants who expressed a migration aspiration to Europe motivated by education opportunities, many also stressed the "temporary" character of their migration. After their education in Europe they want to come back to the own country to work:

« Qu'est ce qui peut vous pousser à émigrer personnellement ? ... Si j'avais reçu des possibilités de sortir du pays, c'est pas l'argent que je vais chercher, je vais chercher que de la connaissance ou (le savoir). Je veux étudier, pousser les études, si je décide de porter mes chaussures c'est d'aller apprendre. Si j'ai terminé mes études, je vais revenir pour travailler

pour mon pays. » [Senegal, Human Rights RA, male, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

« Est-ce que vous avez une ambition pour émigrer en Europe ? Je souhaite continuer mes études en Europe et revenir au Maroc. » [Morocco, High Immigration RA, male, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations]

« Si vous aviez l'occasion d'émigrer en Europe, choisiriez- vous d'émigrer ou non, et pourquoi ? J'ai une perception vis-à-vis de l'émigration comme une solution provisoire ; alors si j'ai l'occasion d'émigrer je vais le faire pour une période limitée, je ne pense pas m'installer en Europe, et franchement, pour moi si j'émigre ce sera pour poursuivre mes études, et ce n'est pas pour m'installer là-bas, à mon avis, ce n'est pas une bonne affaire. Mon but c'est de poursuivre mes études, pas plus. Pouvez-vous préciser vos objectifs concernant l'émigration ? Mon but, c'est de partir vers l'Europe pour poursuivre mes études afin d'obtenir un diplôme supérieur qui me permettra de trouver un bon emploi ici au Maroc et pas dans un autre pays. » [Morocco, Human Rights RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

"I would like to get my education in Europe in order to be more beneficial in Turkey." [*Turkey, High Emigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations*]

#### **Equal gender opportunities**

We did not only find evidence for the influence of education opportunities on migration aspirations. The qualitative data analysis also reveal the influence of perceptions on equal gender opportunities in the own country and Europe. In general, equal gender opportunities in the own country were perceived negatively compared to opportunities in Europe. For some informants we found qualitative evidence for a relation with migration aspirations: positive perceptions on equal gender opportunities for women in Europe and negative perceptions on opportunities in the own country were given as motivation for migration to Europe. These findings are in line with the bivariate findings discussed in Part I on the perceptions on migration to Europe as a good experience for both men and women. In the four countries we observed a general tendency among the respondents to agree/strongly agree that going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for both men and women. These findings are also reflected in the qualitative data:

« Et là-bas (en Europe) est-ce que les hommes et les femmes sont égaux ? Oui, là-bas les hommes et les femmes sont égaux. Ils ont les mêmes droits. Parce que ce que fait la femme est la même chose que ce que fait l'homme. Là-bas, on ne touche pas [frappe] à une femme, on n'humilie pas les femmes. Ni les enfants. Oui. Est-ce que c'est différent avec ici ? Ici, c'est différent ! ... Maintenant, on dit qu'on a pris cela [les droits des femmes] en charge ici, mais jusqu'à présent, cela n'empêche pas qu'il y ait des gens qui tracassent des femmes et... on ne fait rien au respect. Donc là-bas la vie d'un homme est celle d'une femme... ? Elle est pareille. Elle est pareille ? Elle est pareille, là-bas. Oui ! Bien sûr, la vie de l'homme et de la femme sont pareilles là-bas. Oui, parce que les droits des hommes sont les mêmes que les droits des femmes. » [Senegal, Low Emigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

"Do men and women in Europe have different opportunities in job-seeking? No, there is no difference. I think men and women are absolutely equal in their rights." [Ukraine, High Immigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

Another interesting qualitative finding is that the positive perceptions on more equal gender opportunities in Europe than in the own country was also expressed by male informants:

"What do you think about lives of women in Europe? Same as men. Women are safer in Europe. People are more understanding and kind to women there. I think this is because of religious differences between Europe and Turkey. Women are not considered as equal to men in Turkey. Women do not rely on men because they are educated. Women in Turkey are less educated than women in Europe and dependent on men. Women in Europe are more faithful to their men." [Turkey, High Immigration RA, male, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

"What do you think about men-women difference in Europe? Men and women are in equal status there. Women can work. Here there is no such thing. There is no equality between men and women. In Van, women cannot work and even go somewhere alone." [Turkey, Human Rights RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

« Pourriez-vous nous parler de l'égalité des femmes et les hommes en Europe ? La femme en Europe est dans une bonne situation, elle peut accéder aux services comme l'homme, il y a l'égalité entre les deux sexes. La situation de la femme est plus avancée que celle de la femme marocaine. La femme européenne est instruite pour des raisons historiques, économiques, sociales. La femme en Europe, peut faire le même travail que l'homme et même mieux. Par contre, on ne fait pas encore confiance aux capacités de la femme. L'Europe nous donne la preuve que la femme peut assumer les tâches qui étaient réservées aux hommes, dans le domaine de l'armé, l'économie, la politique, dans tous les domaines. La femme a donné la preuve de ces capacités, parce qu'ils sont conscients du rôle de la femme. » [Morocco, High Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

"What do you think: do men and women live in a different way in Europe? Unlike us they do not have any infringements and prejudices because of sex characteristics. Everything is absolutely equal. Woman in her area and man in his area strive for something and achieve it based on their possibilities." [Ukraine, Human Rights RA, male, 18-22 age group, with migration aspirations]

#### Other determinants of migration aspirations

As stated in Project Paper 1 the EUMAGINE project aims to analyse the influence of human rights and democracy related perceptions on migration compared to the effect of other migration determinants. The multivariate analysis in Part II controlled for other factors that are likely to affect migration aspirations on theoretical grounds and based on insights from prior empirical studies. These include both individual and household level socioeconomic background variables, and variables measuring the migration experience of the respondent and in his or her family. The multivariate analysis highlighted the importance of factors such as gender and life-cycle related factors such as age and marital status. Also household wealth and education play a significant role, although this role seems to differ considerably across countries and regions.

We might assume that all these factors are strongly related to specific family situations. Therefore, we have looked for qualitative evidences for the potential influence of these family related determinants on migration aspirations. The qualitative data reveal the influence of three family related

variables: having transnational family networks, marital status and having children. Remarkable is that we found qualitative evidence for the influence of these family related variables on migration aspirations mainly among female informants rather than among men.

#### **Transnational family networks**

We found qualitative evidence for the positive influence of having family members abroad on migration aspirations. Informants – mainly women – in the four research countries brought transnational family networks up as a condition for migration. As clearly illustrated by following interview extract:

"What are the desirable destinations for migration for the Ukrainian people, especially for you, or maybe for your friends? What country would you like to migrate to or what country most people would like to go to? Well, it was a time when a lot of women went to work to Italy, some went to Portugal. There is no such thing that people go to some specific country. Some of them go to Germany, other to France. It all depends on the person, whether it has some relatives or friends out there who can help. It also depends whether you know languages, do not know at all or know at least a little bit... There are, of course, those who go abroad and do not know the language, but have friends there which help them to find a job, and give them place to live." [Ukraine, High Emigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

These female informants interviewed in Morocco explain that, if they would migrate, they would go to the country where they have family:

- « Si tu veux partir quelle serait ta destination préférée ? Je vais là où il y a ma famille. J'ai le désir de partir en Espagne chez mon frère. » [Morocco, High Emigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]
- « Si vous émigriez quels sont les pays souhaitables ? Peut-être, je choisirais le Canada par ce que j'ai quelques membres de ma famille là-bas, la présence des membres de la famille peut offrir une sorte de sérénité à l'immigré. Nous les populations habitant les petits villages nous ne sommes pas habituées à la vie dans les grandes villes, alors quand quelqu'un émigre il a besoin de soutien pour s'habituer à la vie dans les autres pays. » [Morocco, Human Rights RA, female, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

Similarly, these Senegalese female informants explain their choice for certain destinations by the presence of their family members or friends in these countries who would help or take care of them:

- « *Tu quitterais le pays ? Où irais-tu ?* Peut-être que j'irais en France, ou en Italie. Peut-être que j'irais en Amérique. *Pourquoi ces choix ? Pourquoi je les choisis ?* Parce que c'est làbas que mes parents sont plus nombreux, et si j'allais là-bas, eux, ils pourraient m'aider. » [Senegal, Low Emigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]
- « Mais en Europe ça sera où par exemple, où en Europe ? En Europe ça sera en Italie ou bien en Espagne. Pourquoi vous avez une préférence pour ces deux pays ? Parce que j'ai des camarades là-bas. Parce que vous avez des amis qui peuvent vous accueillir ? Accueillir, oui. » [Senegal, High Immigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, without migration aspirations]

This finding on the importance of transnational family networks for women in considering migration is in line with the bivariate analyses presented in Part I. For the survey question "family member(s) over 16 years of age that are currently living abroad" we found that among women in each of the four countries and sixteen research areas, who do not have a family member older than 16 and currently living abroad more will prefer to stay in the country than migrate, while among those who do have a family member currently living abroad there is a higher propensity to have migration aspirations.

#### Marital status and having children

Two other family related variables that were revealed by the qualitative data analysis as important to considerate in relation to migration aspirations are marital status and having children. The importance of these variables was already suggested by the bivariate analyses. Moreover, in the multivariate analysis in Part II marital status was found to have an effect on migration aspirations. The qualitative data thus support the bivariate and multivariate analyses results. Informants – mainly women – in the four research countries brought being married and having children up as a reason not to aspire migration.

"No, I won't go to another country. This is how I think. *In your opinion, how does your husband think?* Same with my husband. For our daughter, for her education, this is why probably, we won't go anywhere. *You would like to stay?* Yes. *One reason for you to stay here is the education of children. Are there other reasons?* No, I mean, the friends of my husband are here, his acquaintances are here. This is why." [*Turkey, High Immigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations*]

"What sort of reasons do you have to stay here? In Istanbul? In general in Turkey. If I understand correctly you intend to go to Europe in the next 5 years, either for Erasmus, masters or PhD? If I find a firm that values my opinion, doesn't exploit me and asks me how to do this and that, I would stay here. ... But family relations are very important for us. This is why I would like to stay here more." [Turkey, High Immigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, without migration aspirations]

"Let's imagine that you were offered an ideal proposal - to go for 5 years to some foreign country and work there. You may choose any country, do not stick to Europe only. Would you agree or not? Yes, I would. You would go there? Certainly. What would be your purpose? Earning money. Is it the main reason? Yes. Any other reasons? Well, I would like to see how other people live. That is to say, you would go there to work? Sure. Well, imagine you have such an opportunity. What could make you refuse the proposal? What could keep you here, in Ukraine? What could it be? What is the restrictive factor? Children." [Ukraine, High Immigration RA, female, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

This female informant interviewed in Morocco explains why it is unacceptable that a married mother migrates. She could never go leaving her husband and children behind:

« Alors que pouvez-vous nous dire concernant les femmes qui ont émigré seules, ici à Tounfite, abandonnant leurs maris pour aller travailler en Europe dans le secteur agricole ? Ah, pour ce sujet, je ne sais vraiment qu'est-ce qui pousse ces femmes à émigrer, je respecte leur choix par ce que je ne connais pas leurs situations sociales, mais je suis contre l'idée, pour moi je ne peux pas quitter mon foyer en laissant mon mari ou mes enfants, c'est inacceptable pour moi, je ne pense pas qu'il y a des facteurs qui puissent justifier cet acte,

c'est mon point de vue personnel. » [Morocco, Human Rights RA, female, 18-22 age group, without migration aspirations]

And this female informant from Senegal has no migration aspirations because she is a married woman:

« Partiriez-vous en migration si tous les moyens étaient réunis? Je suis une femme mariée, je ne préfère pas aller à l'étranger» [Senegal, Human Rights RA, female, 18-22 age group, without migration aspirations]

# The influence of the economic crisis in Europe: a relevant element in evaluating one's 'life satisfaction'

We assumed that next to human rights (as access to economic and social justice); several other determinants influence people's migration aspirations. We already demonstrated – on the basis of bivariate, multivariate and qualitative analyses – that family related elements matter. Another determinant we assumed to play a role in aspiring to migrate or not is 'life satisfaction' (see Part I). Life satisfaction comprises an important comparative element, be it in time or in space. As described in Part I, people compare their actual situation with the past and what they expect from the future, and/or with the situation of other significant persons or places. One of the most striking characteristics of contemporary Europe is its on-going economic crisis. We might assume that this macro-economic phenomenon impacts on how people currently evaluate their 'life satisfaction', especially those who find Europe a relevant point of reference. The EUMAGINE data was collected within the context of this global economic crisis which hits Europe specifically hard. In this respect, an important contribution of the qualitative research has been that it has provided insight into the influence of the economic crisis on migration related perceptions and aspirations. An insight that we would not have reached with the quantitative research alone.

The qualitative data reveals the negative influence of the economic crisis in Europe on perceptions on Europe and migration aspirations to Europe. This is clearly observed in the qualitative data collected in Turkey, Ukraine and Morocco. This informant interviewed in Morocco for example, explains how his imaginations about Europe have changed due to the economic crisis in Europe. Before, he says, Europe was considered as "paradise" because of the important job opportunities. However, now the living conditions in his area are less hard than in Europe since Europe was hit by the economic crisis. This has led to changes in the perceptions on the youth of Europe and migrants are coming back to live in Morocco:

« Y-a-t-il un changement au niveau de ton imagination sur l'Europe avant et aujourd'hui ? Il y a un grand changement, car, avant, en raison des offres de l'emploi importantes l'Europe était considérée comme le paradis. Mais depuis la crise qui frappe l'économie européenne, les conditions de vie dans notre région sont moins dures qu'en Europe. Ainsi certains émigrés installés déjà là-bas, ont fait revenir leurs enfants, d'autres sont revenus avec leurs enfants pour s'installer au Maroc. Les jeunes ont changé leur perception sur l'étranger. Ainsi, les jeunes cherchent à gagner leur vie au bled. ... Encourages-tu ceux qui veulent partir à l'étranger ou non ? Autrefois, je les encourageais, mais en raison de la crise en Europe, je ne les encourage plus. Je leur dis, il faut qu'on travaille beaucoup pour arriver aux compétitions internationales au Maroc. Malgré que les conditions de vie des jeunes sont difficiles, telles que le manque d'emploi... De toute façon je les encourage à rester au Maroc. » [Morocco, High Emigration RA, male, 31-39 age group, with migration aspirations]

Other illustrative extracts from interviews conducted in Morocco:

« Que pensez-vous quand vous entendez le mot Europe? Avant j'avais l'idée que l'Europe est la destination de rêve mais dernièrement et si j'aurais l'opportunité de partir là-bas je ne le ferai pas. Et pourquoi ? Parce que je vois mes amis qui sont partis à l'Europe et qui sont revenu à cause de la crise économique. » [Morocco, Low Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

« Est-ce que vous pensez qu'il y a des opportunités d'emploi en Europe? Pour ce qui est de l'emploi, il y a des pays Européens où l'emploi existe et d'autres ou non, comme l'Espagne. En plus tout le monde aujourd'hui connaît le niveau de la crise à laquelle l'Europe est confronté. Personnellement je préfère rester au Maroc; ce n'est pas comme autrefois quand entre 2000 et 2002 je pensais sérieusement quitter mon pays. Pourquoi vouliez-vous partir? Peut-être parce que je chômais à l'époque, je n'avais rien à faire ici, maintenant ce n'est plus le cas, je travaille, et les circonstances par lesquelles passe l'Europe n'encouragent personne à partir. » [Morocco, High Immigration RA, male, 31-39 age group, undecided migration aspirations]

In Turkey and Ukraine too informants are well aware of the economic crisis and this has had an influence on the perceptions on Europe and migration aspirations of some:

"Would you ever like to go? I used to want to go when I was younger. I do not want to go now. In the past, I used to look at the Europeans who come here in summers. They come here for vacation. They come here with cars that they buy abroad. They earn a lot of money and they show it. When they come here, they drive that car and go everywhere here to see. They have fun all the time. They even go to Antalya, Bodrum, Kusadasi. They go to those places for vacation after visiting the village. I used to see them and be jealous. But I did not want to go when I heard the difficulties involved. They say now Europe is not the same Europe as it was in the past. The employment opportunities now are not like they were in the past. It is not that easy to find a job as it was in the past. They say the employment opportunities are the same here in Turkey. They say sometimes Turkey is better in employment opportunities." [Turkey, Low Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

"What do you think about the employment opportunities in Europe? ... We heard that it was easier in the past, they could easily have a job, now I think, after the economic crisis they also have hard times. For the time being, it is going worse." [Turkey, Low Emigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

"How do you think is it hard to do these days? I do not think that it is hard to go abroad these days in principle. Well, there are also problems with jobs in Europe now, I think... Because once if we take the period before 2008, I think it was easier to find a job. Many people in Europe who had a good salary, a decent job, now after the crisis have to work on some lower positions." [Ukraine, High Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

Like in Morocco, Turkey and Ukraine informants interviewed in Senegal are well aware of the economic crisis. As explained by this informant, it is difficult to find work in Europe because of the crisis.

« Est-il facile de trouver un emploi en Europe ? Ce n'est pas facile. Même trouver du travail chez eux les Européens ce n'est pas facile, il sont en crise là-bas. Si tu écoutes la radio ou tu suis la télévision tu entends ce qui se passe là-bas, une grande crise se passe en Europe. Ils parlent de 80% de chômeurs là-bas, tu entends, donc nous si nous allons là-bas pour trouver du travail ce ne sera pas facile parce qu'eux aussi ils n'ont pas de travail. » [Senegal, High Immigration RA, female, 23-30 age group, without migration aspirations]

This awareness does, however, not always seem to have a negative influence on people's migration aspirations:

« Mais est-ce que maintenant ils sentent la crise qui sévit en Europe ? Ils vont la sentir, ils vont la sentir, parce que... il y a eu une période passée où on peut voir que c'est là que l'Europe était mieux, quoi, si je peux le dire ainsi. Bon, les émigrés qui étaient là-bas, ce qu'ils gagnaient par rapport à ce qu'ils gagnent maintenant était plus important. Avant il y avait plus du travail par rapport à cette période. Mais quelle que soit la dureté de la vie... même si c'est dur, tu vas travailler, c'est mieux. Donc même s'ils disent cela, ceux qui sont ici... vous voulez toujours partir ? Même s'ils disent cela, mes semblables veulent toujours partir. Nous voulons... Donc la crise ne change pas votre position pour vouloir partir ? Non, la crise ne change pas notre position parce que la crise est mondiale, tu sais, la crise est mondiale. Mais il y a peut-être des côtés qui sont mieux que d'autres. Cela ne change rien par rapport à notre désir, ça ne change rien. » [Senegal, Low Emigration RA, male, 23-30 age group, with migration aspirations]

It is clear from the qualitative analyses that the current economic crises in Europe has an impact on how people perceive their life satisfaction, when comparing to the situation in Europe.

#### **Conclusions**

The qualitative cross-country analyses reveal some important findings. First, they show that especially in Senegal and Morocco people were particularly outspoken to consider migration to Europe. Secondly, the qualitative data in the four research countries suggest an important and direct influence of *perceptions on job opportunities* in the own country and Europe on migration aspirations to Europe. Thirdly, we find in the qualitative data that although *perceptions on corruption* in Europe and the own country were relevant in many discourses, they are seldom explicit in relation with migration aspirations. Furthermore, we find that two other democracy and human rights related variables – *educational opportunities* and *equal gender opportunities* – are relevant migration motivations in many interviews. The qualitative data also reveal an influence of other variables, namely marital status, having children and transnational family networks on migration aspirations, especially among female informants. Finally, the qualitative data also provide insight into the influence of the economic crisis on migration related perceptions and aspirations.

## Confirming the qualitative findings by additional statistical analyses

The qualitative analyses gave us new insights that ask for more investigations. Firstly, in the qualitative part of this Project Paper, it was found that, besides job opportunities and corruption, there is evidence for other specific human rights and democracy related determinants of migration aspiration: educational opportunities and equal gender opportunities influence migration aspirations in a positive way. Secondly, gender specific family related determinants were found in the qualitative study. More specifically, we found that being married and having children are relatively more important elements in considering migration for women than for men. Both elements have a negative influence on migration aspirations. We also found in our qualitative study that having migrant family members is a relatively more important motivation to migrate for women than for men. Thirdly, we also found in the qualitative study that especially in Senegal and Morocco people were outspoken in considering migration to Europe.

In this section, we will search for additional quantitative evidence for these new qualitative findings reported in the previous section of Part III. In order to do this, we will primarily build upon the work of de Haas & Jolivet and use the coding of variables of the multivariate analysis carried out in Part II.

The dependent variable in this section measures the migration aspiration to Europe. Europe is central to the migration's aspirations of most people involved in this study. Moreover, the on-going European economic crisis makes this continent different compared to other possible destinations. Thus it is relevant to focus specifically on Europe as a possible destination for migration. Of 8000 respondents in the four countries (Morocco, Turkey, Senegal and Ukraine), 3605 have aspirations to migrate to "Europe" (compared to 3626 with no aspirations to migrate). People who want to migrate to a country in a different continent than Europe were not included in the analysis.

The following independent variables were used to test the new qualitative findings in a statistical analysis of the whole sample: age, marital status, children, family migration experience, perception on corruption in the own country and Europe, perception on job opportunities in the own country and Europe, gender, years of education, the wealth index and four dummies for country (one for Turkey, Ukraine, Senegal with Morocco as reference category) (see also Ersanilli, Carling & de Haas 2011: 9-32). The coding of the independent variables is based on the work of de Haas & Jolivet in Part II of this Project Paper.

We also constructed one new variable to test our new qualitative findings: a variable measuring the perceptions on social opportunities in Europe. We also investigated statistically whether we could find gender specific family related determinants of European migration aspirations. To this end, we have split up our analysis according to gender to investigate possible gender specific determinants. In order to test whether respondents in Senegal and Morocco have a higher probability to have migration aspirations we analysed the full sample with the variable "country" as dummy variable. As in the multivariate analysis of part II, we interpret the variables measuring perception on job opportunities and corruption on the interval level (see also Pasta 2009 on continuous versus categorical predictors).

## **Hypotheses**

As already noted, in this section we check for quantitative confirmation of the new qualitative crosscountry findings presented in the previous section. We therefore postulate a number of hypotheses.

Concerning perceptions on corruption in Europe and the own country, we found in the qualitative data that they were relevant in many discourses but seldom explicit in relation with migration aspirations. In the statistical analysis of de Haas & Jolivet in Part II, the effect of a negative perception on corruption on migration aspiration was found (strongest in Ukraine). The influence of perceptions of job opportunities on migration aspirations proved to be more convincing, this was also confirmed within our cross-country qualitative analyses: being more positive on job opportunities in Europe resulted more often in an aspiration to migrate.

In our qualitative cross country analyses, we also found evidence for the relevance of other democracy and human rights related determinants for explaining migration aspirations. More specifically, in our qualitative research we found that perceptions on educational opportunities and equal gender opportunities were a relevant migration motivation in many interviews. In our statistical research, we therefore hypothesize that a positive perception on social opportunities in Europe will lead to a higher probability to have an aspiration to migrate to Europe (H1). In the qualitative crosscountry analyses, we found that especially for women, being married and having children was associated with less migration aspirations. Additionally, in our qualitative research we found that especially for women, the fact that they know family members who are migrants and who live abroad (above 16 years old) was a relevant motivation for being positive on migration. Therefore we postulate that family related determinants (having children, being married, belonging to transnational family networks) are relatively more relevant for women in modeling the probability to have migration aspirations (H2). Finally, the qualitative cross-country data analysis showed that especially in Senegal and Morocco people were particularly outspoken in considering migration to Europe. We therefore postulate that Senegalese respondents have the highest probability to have migration aspirations followed by Moroccan, Ukrainian and Turkish respondents (H3).

## **Analysis**

The method of binary logistic regression was used with migration aspiration to Europe as the dependent variable and age, marital status, children, family migration experience, perception on corruption in the own country and Europe, perception on job opportunities in the own country and Europe, gender, years of education, the perception on social opportunities and three dummies for country as independent variables. The variables were checked for multicollinearity in the full model (model one) and there were no serious problems. The existence of non-linearities of the variables measuring education, age, the perception on social opportunities, corruption and the wealth index in the full model (model one) were checked. Only the effects of education, perception on job opportunities in the own country and Europe will be modeled with a squared variable to control for nonlinearity (see results). In the following sections we present a full model (all respondents), a model with only female respondents and a model with only male respondents (model two and three). All models were calculated for all four countries together. Although in reality, the decision to migrate as such can be a collective decision between males and females, we decided to focus also on the individual aspiration to migrate for men and women separately. In order to perform statistical analysis, the data had to be weighted in order to account for differences in the selection probability of respondents (see Ersanilli 2012: 26).

#### Description of the full model: all respondents

In the first model we report the analysis on the full sample (see next table). We see that the qualitative findings of the previous section are confirmed in the quantitative data. We notice that Turkish respondents have the lowest probability to have aspirations to migrate to Europe, followed by respondents living in the Ukraine, Morocco and Senegal. Senegalese respondents have the highest probability to have an aspiration to migrate.

Model 1: full model (n=6318)

Variables	Odds ratio	Significance
Turkey	,568	,000
Senegal	2,034	,000
Ukraine	,824	,040
Wealth index	,838,	,000
Age	,983	,001
Marital status	,652	,000
Children	,819	,020
Gender	,692	,000
Family migration experience	1,438	,000
Scale of social opportunities in Europe	1,495	,000
Perception on job opportunities in the own country	1,602	,000
Perception on job opportunities in the own country <sup>2</sup>	,912	,000
Perception on job opportunities in Europe	,706	,000
Perception on job opportunities in Europe <sup>2</sup>	1,091	,000
Years of education	1,042	,034
Years of education <sup>2</sup>	,997	,003
Perception on corruption in the own country	1,068	,037
Perception on corruption in Europe	,946	,047

Source: individual questionnaire (STUM20121001); weighted data

#### Description of the models with female and male respondents

If we split our analysis up according to gender, we see gender specific determinants of migration aspirations to Europe. It is important to emphasize that women in one country are compared to women in the other countries (idem for men).

Model 2: female respondents only (n=3465)

Variables	Odds ratio	Significance
Turkey	,490	,000
Senegal	2,267	,000
Ukraine	,902	,459
Wealth index	,888,	,009
Age	,991	,191
Marital status	,579	,000
Children	,744	,009
Family migration experience	1,744	,000
Scale of social opportunities in Europe	1,355	,000
Perception on job opportunities in the own country	1,393	,008
Perception on job opportunities in the own country <sup>2</sup>	,952	,160
Perception on job opportunities in Europe	,764	,004
Perception on job opportunities in Europe <sup>2</sup>	1,076	,003
Years of education	1,028	,300
Years of education <sup>2</sup>	,997	,104
Perception on corruption in the own country	1,063	,156
Perception on corruption in Europe	,973	,483

Source: individual questionnaire (STUM20121001); weighted data

The positive effect of family migration experience is stronger for women than for men. Also the negative effect of being married and having children is stronger for women than men. Male respondents also are more likely to have migration aspirations to Europe when they are more positive on social opportunities in Europe. Although this positive effect is stronger for men than for women, it is positive for both groups. Interestingly, the effects of material wealth, age and the perception on job opportunities in Europe do not change dramatically when we analyze male and female respondents separately.

Model 3: male respondents only (n=2853)

Variables	Odds ratio	Significance
Turkey	,675	,001
Senegal	1,755	,000
Ukraine	,777	,053
Wealth index	,788	,000
Age	,970	,000
Marital status	,751	,026
Children	,904	,451
Family migration experience	1,172	,074
Scale of social opportunities in Europe	1,706	,000
Perception on job opportunities in the own country	1,768	,000
Perception on job opportunities in the own country <sup>2</sup>	,887	,000
Perception on job opportunities in Europe	,640	,000
Perception on job opportunities in Europe <sup>2</sup>	1,109	,000
Years of education	1,049	,106
Years of education <sup>2</sup>	,996	,017
Perception on corruption in the own country	1,073	,139
Perception on corruption in Europe	,927	,057

Source: individual questionnaire (STUM20121001); weighted data

#### **Conclusions**

In this section, we reported quantitative confirmation for the new qualitative findings through additional statistical analyses. Hypotheses that were suggested by the qualitative data analysis were tested. In hypothesis one, we assumed that a positive perception on social opportunities in Europe would lead to a higher probability to have an aspiration to migrate to Europe (H1). We also claimed that family related determinants (having children, being married, belonging to transnational family networks) would be especially relevant for women in modeling migration aspirations (H2). We also stated that that Senegalese respondents have the highest probability to have migration aspirations followed by Moroccan, Ukrainian and Turkish respondents (H3). In order to test these hypotheses, we analyzed the quantitative survey data with the technique of binary logistic regression analysis. The three hypotheses were confirmed.

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#### **General conclusions**

As already stated in Project Paper 1 of the EUMAGINE project (Timmerman, Heyse & Van Mol 2010: 12-14), the aspiration to migrate to another country might be influenced by different elements. Determinants of migration aspirations can be analysed at three different levels: the macro, meso and micro level (Faist 2000: 30-35) (see Figure 1).

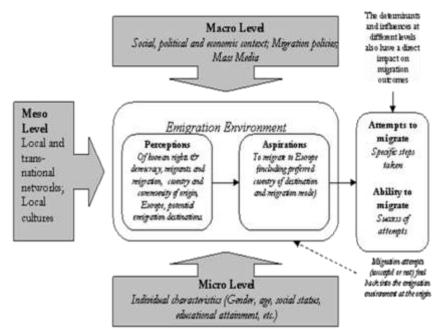


Figure 1. EUMAGINE theoretical framework

More specifically in this study, we formulated the hypotheses that migration aspirations will be influenced by perceptions on democracy and human rights – broadly defined - while controlled for other relevant factors that are situated on a macro, meso and / or micro level.

On the basis of our analyses in Part I, Part II and Part III of the data collected with quantitative (survey) and qualitative (in-depth interviews, observations) methodologies we are able to (partially) confirm our hypothesis.

We operationalized perceptions on human rights and democracy by looking to people's perception on job opportunities and corruption (Part II), educational opportunities and gender equality (Part III). In Part II it was demonstrated that our hypotheses on the impact of perceptions on job opportunities and corruption were fully confirmed in the case of the Ukrainian research areas. For the other countries the results are in the expected direction, with negative perceptions on job opportunities and corruption in the own country having positive effects, and positive perceptions about the situation in Europe having positive effects. It has to be noted that no significant effects were found of perceptions on corruption in Morocco (for both perceptions on Europe and the own country) and Turkey and Senegal (for perceptions on Europe). Interestingly these results demonstrate that perceptions on job opportunities in the own country and Europe play a more important role in shaping migration aspirations than perceptions on corruption. The qualitative cross-country analyses (Part III) underpinned these findings. People in all the four countries linked explicitly job opportunities with migration aspirations. Although people often complained about corruption in their own country and had the perception that corruption was less widespread in Europe, this was seldom explicitly linked to the motivation to migrate in the interviews. The qualitative cross-country analyses informed us also about the relevance of other human rights and democracy related factors. People

often motivated their desire to migrate by referring to the better educational opportunities in Europe compared to their own region. In addition, the perceived gender equality in Europe proved to be – for both men and women – an explicit motivation to migrate. Both insights were indeed confirmed by a multi-regression analysis.

As we expected migration aspirations are also influenced by other factors that are situated on different social levels as visualized in Figure 1.

We assumed that the general macro context of the countries of origin and destination influence peoples migration aspiration. In our back ground country reports (Project Papers 2-5) it was demonstrated that the overall social, political and economic context of the four countries was very different with Turkey having made most progress over the past decades in terms of economic growth. Currently Turkey is considered to be one of the fastest growing economies in the world. On the other hand, Europe – despite its high level on all kind of economic and development indicators - is suffering a huge economic crisis. We did find evidence for the impact of these macro factors on the overall perceptions of migration aspirations when comparing the four countries. Migration aspirations are the highest in Senegal, followed by Morocco, Ukraine and they were the lowest in Turkey. This came also to the fore in the qualitative cross-country analyses.

We also assumed that at the meso level several factors would influence people's ambition to migrate. Our qualitative cross-country analyses informed us about the relevance of belonging to transnational family networks for considering migration. Especially women mentioned explicitly the relevance of the presence of family members abroad when considering migration. These results were also confirmed with a multi-regression analysis. The specific community to which people belong is equally expected to influence people's migration aspirations. In our research design we selected within each country four regions that are affected by different levels of migration and/or democracy and human rights related issues as research areas. Regions that are characterized by a 'culture of migration' - the high emigration region in our research design - were expected to experience the highest migration aspirations. Our qualitative analyses demonstrated that this was specifically the case for Morocco, where migration aspirations were clearly outspoken in the high emigration region. in Morocco. In Turkey, however, we observed the opposite. In the Turkish high emigration region, we learned from our qualitative research that people were often critical about Europe and definitely took the on-going economic crisis in Europe into consideration. Although not significant, the survey results for Turkey are suggestive and show that migration aspirations are lower in the high migration region, compared to those in the low migration region. One possible explanation might be that in the Turkish high emigration region, where a lot of people have family members living in Europe, they receive by means of these transnational family networks negative feedback on the current situation on Europe. Given the positive economic prospects in Turkey, this negative feedback may result in less eagerness to consider migration compared to a comparable region that is less connected to Europe by transnational family networks, namely the low emigration region. In Morocco, which experiences less positive economic prospects, the comparison still turns out in favour of Europe, as demonstrated both by the quantitative as well as the qualitative analyses. This proves how macro and meso level characteristics interfere in explaining migration aspirations. It might, however, also be possible that the stock of potential migrants is exhausted in the Turkish high emigration region, due to high emigration rate over the last decades.

We also find evidence for the importance of several individual and/or household characteristics in predicting migration aspirations. In Part II it was demonstrated that factors such as gender and lifecycle related factors (e.g. age and marital status) have an influence on migration aspirations. Household wealth and education also play a significant role, although this role seems to differ considerably across countries and regions. The cross-country qualitative analyses demonstrated that

especially women explicitly linked being married and / or having children with less migration intentions. This was also confirmed by a multiple regression analysis.

To conclude, the results of the EUMAGINE project demonstrate the relevance of perceptions in explaining migration aspirations, and eventually, migration decision making. The results show that people are not only motivated by economic opportunities that might come with migration, also perceptions on educational opportunities, gender equality and the perceived absence of corruption in Europe impact on their migration aspiration. At the same time, it was demonstrated that factors situated at different social levels also have an influence on people's migration aspirations. At the macro level, the overall socio-economic situation of the country proves to impact on migration aspiration; at the meso level we can identify the relevance of living in a migration impacted region, belonging to transnational family networks - which are arguably forceful instruments of feedback; and at the micro level, the wealth of the household, age, gender, marital status, having children, previous migration experience and educational level are proven to have an impact on migration aspirations. Regarding gender as well, there are indications that it affects perceptions differently, for example when considering the relevance of transnational family networks for women. Further research, however, would have to delve deeper into these assumptions.

Finally, the EUMAGINE project also demonstrated the benefit of combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Each methodology inspired the other: quantitative analysis results inspired the qualitative data analysis to look for specific evidence, which in turn brought to the fore new insights on a qualitative level that further asked for confirmation on a statistical level.

All in all, we may conclude that the initial theoretical framework that we put forward for analyzing our hypotheses (see figure 1) on the impact of democracy and human rights related factors on migration aspirations proves to be a valuable model for understanding and predicting migration aspirations and for inspiring further avenues for research .

#### ANNEX - FIGURES & TABLES PART I

Figures 1-2 Age categories (country) - (type RA)

Table 1. Age categories

Figures 3-4 Education categories (country) - (type RA)

Table 2. Education categories

Figures 5-6 Marital status (country) - (type RA)

Table 3. Marital status

Figures 7-8 Do you have children who live in the household with you? (country) - (type RA)

Table 4. Do you have children who live in the household with you?

Figures 9-10 Migration experience (country) - (type RA)

Table 5. Migration experience

Figures 11-12 Family members (>16y) currently living abroad (country) - (type RA)

Table 6. Family members (>16y) currently living abroad

Figures 13-14 It is easy to find a good job in this country (country) - (type RA)

Table 7. It is easy to find a good job in this country

Figures 15-16 It is easy to find a good job in Europe (country) - (type RA)

Table 8. It is easy to find a good job in Europe

Figures 17-18 There is a lot of corruption in this country (country) - (type RA)

Table 9. There is a lot of corruption in this country

Figures 19-20 There is a lot of corruption in Europe (country) - (type RA)

Table 10. There is a lot of corruption in Europe

Figures 21-22 Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women (country) – (type RA)

Table 11. Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women

Figures 23-24 Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men (country) - (type RA)

Table 12. Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men

Figures 25-26 If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe. What would you do? Would you... (country) - (type RA)

Table 13. If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe. What would you do? Would you...

Figures 27-28 Where do you think most young men in this area would like to live and work? (country) - (type RA)

Table 14. Where do you think most young men in this area would like to live and work?

Figures 29-30 Where do you think most young women in this area would like to live and work? (country) - (type RA)

Table 15. Where do you think most young women in this area would like to live and work?

Figures 31-32 When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was... (country) - (type RA)

Table 16. When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...

Figures 33-34 Do you feel your standard of living is... (country) - (type RA)

Table 17. Do you feel your standard of living is...

Figure 1

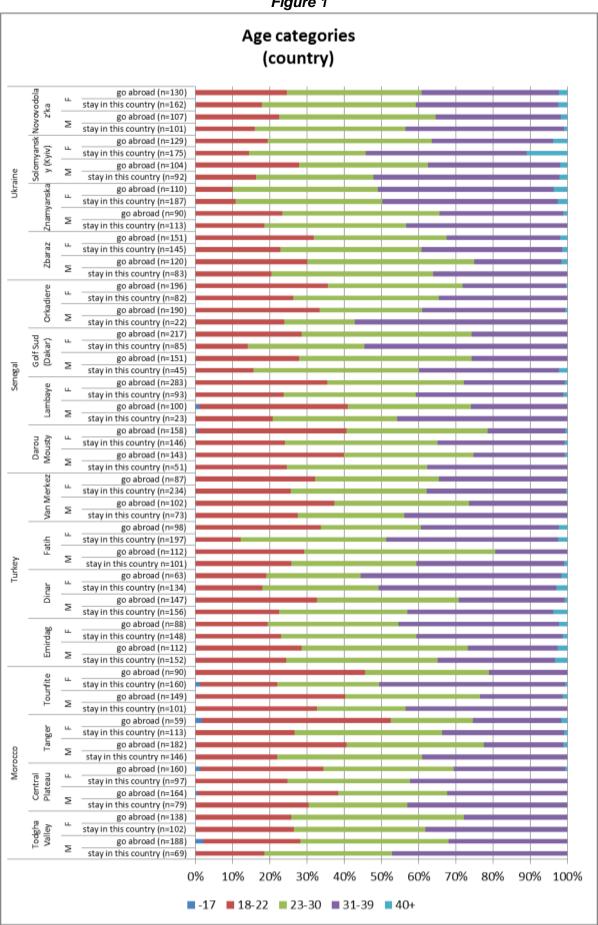


Figure 2

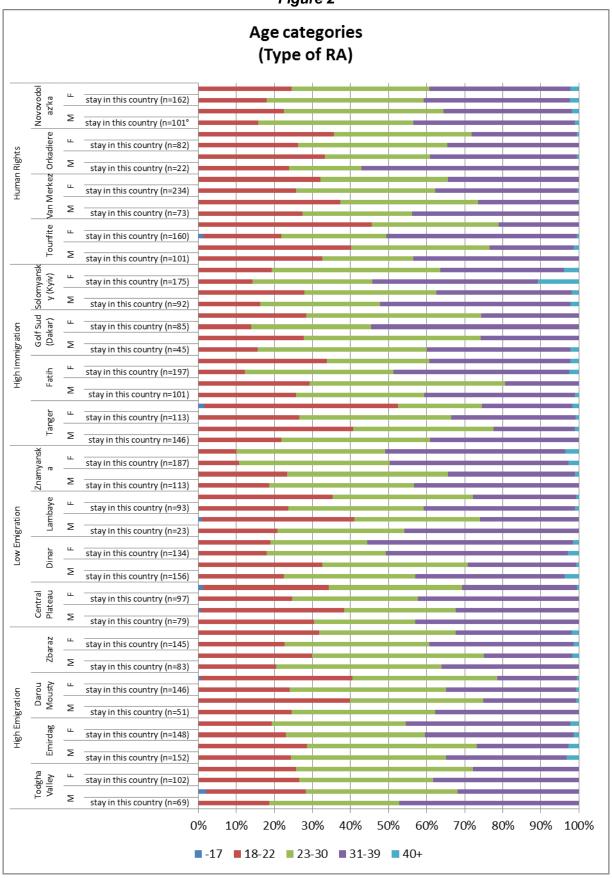


Table 1. Age categories

			rable I. Age	-17	18-22	23-30	31-39	40+
			stay in this country (n=69)	0,0%	18,6%	34,3%	47,1%	0,0%
		M	go abroad (n=188)	2,1%	26,1%	39,9%	31,9%	0,0%
	Todgha Valley		stay in this country (n=102)	0,0%	26,5%	35,3%	38,2%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	0,0%	25,7%	46,4%	27,9%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=79)	0,0%	30,4%	26,6%	43,0%	0,0%
		М	go abroad (n=164)	0,6%	37,8%	29,3%	32,3%	0,0%
	Central Plateau		stay in this country (n=97)	0,0%	24,7%	33,0%	42,3%	0,0%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	1,3%	33,1%	35,0%	30,0%	0,6%
rocc			stay in this country n=146)	0,0%	21,9%	39,0%	39,0%	0,0%
ŏ		М	go abroad (n=182)	0,0%	40,7%	36,8%	21,4%	1,1%
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	0,0%	26,5%	39,8%	32,7%	0,9%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	1,7%	50,8%	22,0%	23,7%	1,7%
			stay in this country (n=101)	0,0%	32,7%	23,8%	43,6%	0,0%
	_	М	go abroad (n=149)	0,0%	40,3%	36,2%	22,1%	1,3%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	1,3%	20,6%	27,5%	50,0%	0,6%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	0,0%	45,6%	33,3%	21,1%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=152)	0,0%	24,3%	40,8%	31,6%	3,3%
		М	go abroad (n=112)	0,0%	28,6%	44,6%	24,1%	2,7%
	Emirdag -		stay in this country (n=148)	0,0%	23,0%	36,5%	39,2%	1,4%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	0,0%	19,3%	35,2%	43,2%	2,3%
	Dinar -		stay in this country (n=156)	0,0%	22,4%	34,6%	39,1%	3,8%
		М	go abroad (n=147)	0,0%	32,7%	38,1%	28,6%	0,7%
			stay in this country (n=134)	0,0%	17,9%	31,3%	47,8%	3,0%
Tu		F	go abroad (n=63)	0,0%	19,0%	25,4%	54,0%	1,6%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	0,0%	25,7%	33,7%	39,6%	1,0%
•		М	go abroad (n=112)	0,0%	29,2%	51,3%	19,5%	0,0%
	Fatih	_	stay in this country (n=197)	0,0%	12,2%	39,1%	46,2%	2,5%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	0,0%	33,7%	27,0%	37,1%	2,2%
			stay in this country (n=73)	0,0%	27,4%	28,8%	43,8%	0,0%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	0,0%	37,3%	36,3%	26,5%	0,0%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	0,0%	25,6%	36,6%	37,4%	0,4%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	0,0%	32,2%	33,3%	34,5%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=51)	0,0%	24,5%	37,7%	37,7%	0,0%
		М	go abroad (n=143)	0,0%	39,9%	35,0%	24,5%	0,7%
	Darou Mousty	-	stay in this country (n=146)	0,0%	24,0%	41,1%	34,2%	0,7%
		F	go abroad (n=158)	0,6%	39,9%	38,0%	20,9%	0,6%
Senegal		N 4	stay in this country (n=23)	0,0%	20,8%	33,3%	45,8%	0,0%
ega	Lomborro	М	go abroad (n=100)	1,0%	40,0%	33,0%	26,0%	0,0%
_	Lambaye	F	stay in this country (n=93)	0,0%	23,7%	35,5%	39,8%	1,1%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	0,0%	35,3%	36,7%	27,2%	0,7%
	Golf Sud	N 4	stay in this country (n=45)	0,0%	15,6%	44,4%	37,8%	2,2%
	(Dakar)	M	go abroad (n=151)	0,0%	27,8%	46,4%	25,8%	0,0%

		_	stay in this country (n=85)	0,0%	14,0%	31,4%	54,7%	0,0%
	F		go abroad (n=217)	0,0%	28,4%	45,9%	25,7%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=22)	0,0%	23,8%	19,0%	57,1%	0,0%
		М	go abroad (n=190)	0,0%	33,3%	27,6%	38,5%	0,5%
	Orkadiere	_	stay in this country (n=82)	0,0%	26,2%	39,3%	34,5%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	0,0%	35,6%	36,1%	27,7%	0,5%
			stay in this country (n=83)	0,0%	20,5%	43,4%	36,1%	0,0%
		М	go abroad (n=120)	0,0%	30,0%	45,0%	23,3%	1,7%
	Zbaraz		stay in this country (n=145)	0,0%	22,8%	37,9%	37,9%	1,4%
		F	go abroad (n=151)	0,0%	31,8%	35,8%	30,5%	2,0%
		M F	stay in this country (n=113)	0,0%	18,6%	38,1%	43,4%	0,0%
	_ ,		go abroad (n=90)	0,0%	23,3%	42,2%	33,3%	1,1%
	Znamyanska		stay in this country (n=187)	0,0%	10,7%	39,6%	47,1%	2,7%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	0,0%	10,0%	39,1%	47,3%	3,6%
ain			stay in this country (n=92)	0,0%	16,3%	31,5%	50,0%	2,2%
P	Solomyansky	М	go abroad (n=104)	0,0%	27,9%	34,6%	35,6%	1,9%
	(Kyiv)		stay in this country (n=175)	0,0%	14,3%	31,4%	43,4%	10,9%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	0,0%	19,4%	44,2%	32,6%	3,9%
			stay in this country (n=101)	0,0%	15,8%	40,6%	42,6%	1,0%
		М	go abroad (n=107)	0,0%	22,4%	42,1%	33,6%	1,9%
	Novovodolaz'ka	_	stay in this country (n=162)	0,0%	17,9%	41,4%	38,3%	2,5%
		F	go abroad (n=130)	0,0%	24,6%	36,2%	36,9%	2,3%

Figure 3

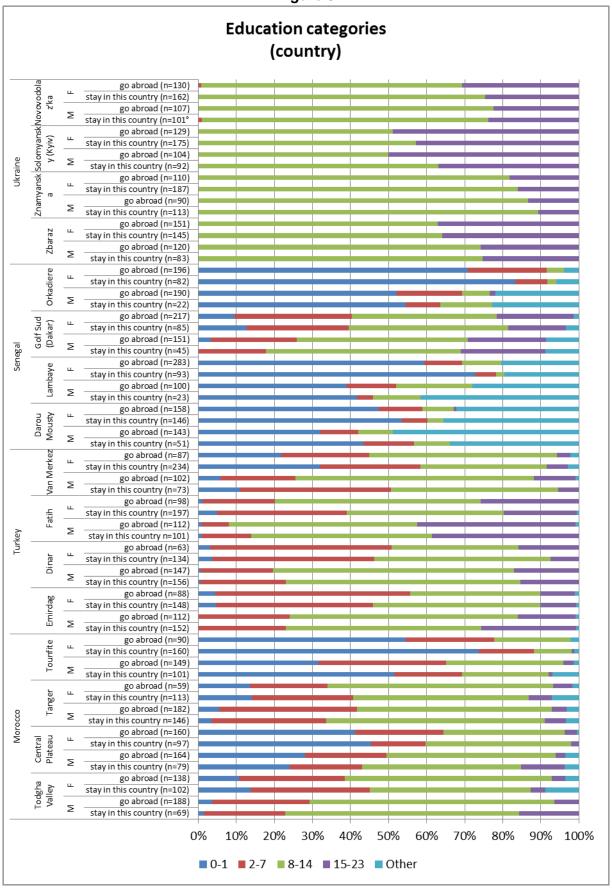


Figure 4

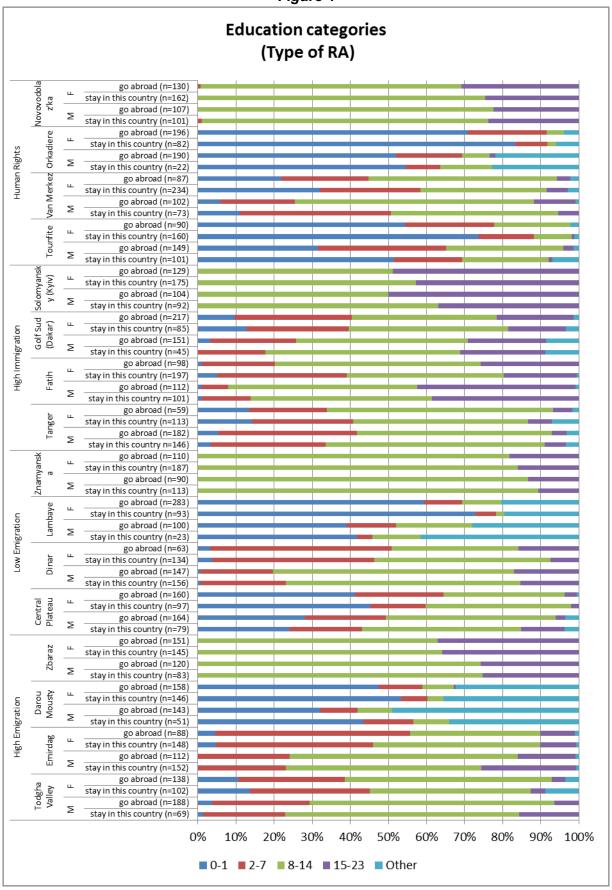


Table 2. Education categories

	lable 2. Education categories							
				0-1	2-7	8-14	15-23	Other
			stay in this country (n=69)	1,4%	21,4%	61,4%	15,7%	0,0%
		M	go abroad (n=188)	3,7%	25,5%	64,4%	6,4%	0,0%
	Todgha Valley		stay in this country (n=102)	13,7%	31,4%	42,2%	3,9%	8,8%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	10,7%	27,9%	54,3%	3,6%	3,6%
			stay in this country (n=79)	24,1%	19,0%	41,8%	11,4%	3,8%
		M	go abroad (n=164)	28,0%	21,3%	44,5%	2,4%	3,7%
	Central Plateau	F	stay in this country (n=97)	45,4%	14,4%	38,1%	2,1%	0,0%
Morocco			go abroad (n=160)	41,3%	23,1%	31,9%	3,1%	0,6%
rocc			stay in this country n=146)	3,4%	30,1%	57,5%	5,5%	3,4%
0		M	go abroad (n=182)	5,5%	36,3%	51,1%	3,8%	3,3%
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	14,2%	26,5%	46,0%	6,2%	7,1%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	13,6%	20,3%	59,3%	5,1%	1,7%
			stay in this country (n=101)	51,5%	17,8%	22,8%	1,0%	6,9%
		M	go abroad (n=149)	31,5%	33,6%	30,9%	2,7%	1,3%
	Tounfite	F	stay in this country (n=160)	73,8%	14,4%	10,0%	0,6%	1,3%
			go abroad (n=90)	54,4%	23,3%	20,0%	0,0%	2,2%
			stay in this country (n=152)	0,0%	23,0%	51,3%	25,0%	0,7%
	Emirdag -	M	go abroad (n=112)	0,0%	24,1%	59,8%	15,2%	0,9%
		1	stay in this country (n=148)	4,7%	41,2%	43,9%	9,5%	0,7%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	4,5%	51,1%	34,1%	9,1%	1,1%
	Dinar -		stay in this country (n=156)	0,6%	22,4%	61,5%	15,4%	0,0%
		М	go abroad (n=147)	0,7%	19,0%	63,3%	17,0%	0,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=134)	3,7%	42,5%	46,3%	7,5%	0,0%
Tuı			go abroad (n=63)	3,2%	47,6%	33,3%	15,9%	0,0%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	1,0%	12,9%	47,5%	38,6%	0,0%
,	F - 49-	M	go abroad (n=112)	0,9%	7,1%	49,6%	41,6%	0,9%
	Fatih	-	stay in this country (n=197)	5,1%	34,0%	41,1%	19,3%	0,5%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	1,1%	19,1%	53,9%	25,8%	0,0%
		M	stay in this country (n=73)	11,0%	39,7%	43,8%	5,5%	0,0%
	Von Markon	М	go abroad (n=102)	5,9%	19,6%	62,7%	10,8%	1,0%
	Van Merkez	F	stay in this country (n=234)	31,9%	26,5%	33,2%	5,5%	2,9%
		Г	go abroad (n=87)	21,8%	23,0%	49,4%	3,4%	2,3%
		M	stay in this country (n=51)	43,4%	13,2%	9,4%	0,0%	34,0%
	Darou Mousty	М	go abroad (n=143)	32,2%	9,8%	9,1%	0,0%	49,0%
	Darou Mousty	F	stay in this country (n=146)	53,4%	6,8%	4,1%	0,0%	35,6%
,,		Г	go abroad (n=158)	47,5%	11,4%	8,2%	0,6%	32,3%
Senegal		М	stay in this country (n=23)	41,7%	4,2%	12,5%	0,0%	41,7%
egal	Lambaye	IVI	go abroad (n=100)	39,0%	13,0%	20,0%	0,0%	28,0%
_	Lambaye	F	stay in this country (n=93)	72,8%	5,4%	2,2%	0,0%	19,6%
		ı 	go abroad (n=283)	59,4%	9,9%	10,2%	0,0%	20,5%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	stay in this country (n=45)	0,0%	17,8%	51,1%	22,2%	8,9%
	Jon Jua (Danai)	141	go abroad (n=151)	3,3%	22,5%	45,0%	20,5%	8,6%

		_	stay in this country (n=85)	12,8%	26,7%	41,9%	15,1%	3,5%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	9,6%	30,7%	38,1%	20,2%	1,4%
			stay in this country (n=22)	54,5%	9,1%	13,6%	0,0%	22,7%
		M	go abroad (n=190)	52,1%	17,2%	7,3%	1,6%	21,9%
	Orkadiere		stay in this country (n=82)	83,3%	8,3%	2,4%	0,0%	6,0%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	70,8%	20,8%	4,5%	0,0%	4,0%
			stay in this country (n=83)	0,0%	0,0%	74,7%	25,3%	0,0%
		M	go abroad (n=120)	0,0%	0,0%	74,2%	25,8%	0,0%
	Zbaraz	F	stay in this country (n=145)	0,0%	0,0%	64,1%	35,9%	0,0%
			go abroad (n=151)	0,0%	0,0%	62,9%	37,1%	0,0%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	0,0%	0,0%	89,4%	10,6%	0,0%
			go abroad (n=90)	0,0%	0,0%	86,7%	13,3%	0,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	0,0%	0,0%	84,0%	16,0%	0,0%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	0,0%	0,0%	81,8%	18,2%	0,0%
ain			stay in this country (n=92)	0,0%	0,0%	63,0%	37,0%	0,0%
Ф	Solomyansky	M	go abroad (n=104)	0,0%	0,0%	50,0%	50,0%	0,0%
	(Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	0,0%	0,0%	57,1%	42,9%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	0,0%	0,0%	51,2%	48,8%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=101°	0,0%	1,0%	75,2%	23,8%	0,0%
		M	go abroad (n=107)	0,0%	0,0%	77,6%	22,4%	0,0%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	0,0%	0,0%	75,3%	24,7%	0,0%
			go abroad (n=130)	0,0%	0,8%	68,5%	30,8%	0,0%

Figure 5

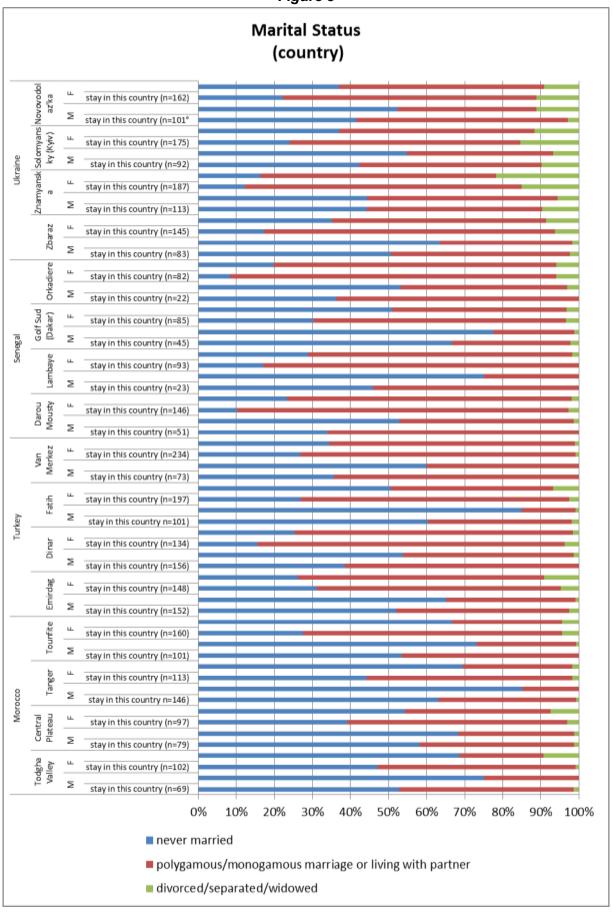


Figure 6

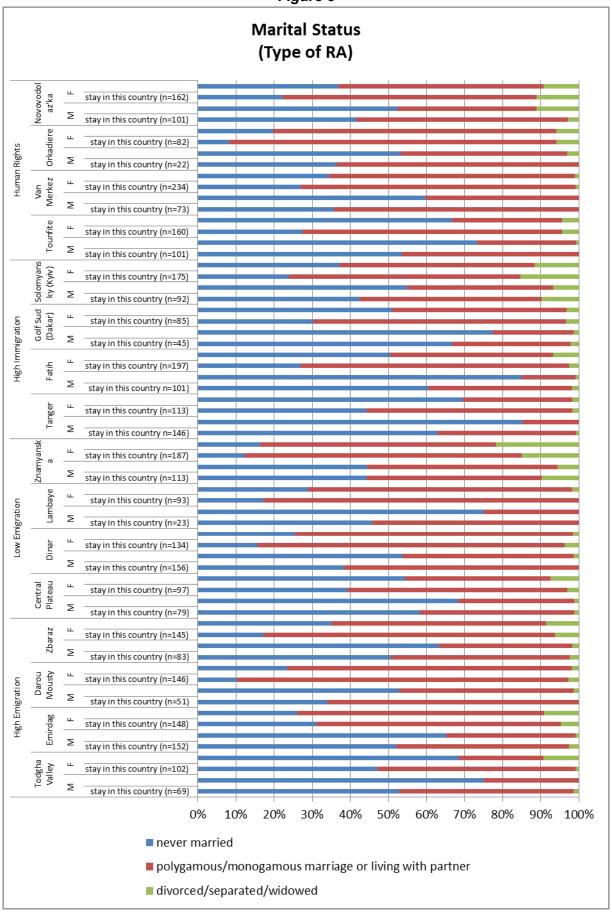


Table 3. Marital status

			Table	J. Mari	าเลา รเลเนร	
				never married	polygamous/monogamous marriage or living with partner	divorced/separated/widowed
		М	stay in this country (n=69)	52,9%	45,7%	1,4%
	Todgha Valley		go abroad (n=188)	75,0%	25,0%	0,0%
	rougha valley	F	stay in this country (n=102)	47,1%	52,0%	1,0%
			go abroad (n=138)	68,6%	22,1%	9,3%
		М	stay in this country (n=79)	58,2%	40,5%	1,3%
	Central Plateau		go abroad (n=164)	68,3%	30,5%	1,2%
~	•••••	F	stay in this country (n=97)	39,2%	57,7%	3,1%
lorc			go abroad (n=160)	54,4%	38,1%	7,5%
Morocco		М	stay in this country n=146)	63,0%	36,3%	0,7%
	Tanger		go abroad (n=182)	85,2%	14,8%	0,0%
	Ü	F	stay in this country (n=113)	44,2%	54,0%	1,8%
			go abroad (n=59)	69,5%	28,8%	1,7%
		М	stay in this country (n=101)	53,5%	46,5%	0,0%
	Tounfite		go abroad (n=149)	73,2%	26,2%	0,7%
		F	stay in this country (n=160)	27,5%	68,1%	4,4%
			go abroad (n=90)	66,7%	28,9%	4,4%
	Emirdag	М	stay in this country (n=152)	52,0%	45,4%	2,6%
		F	go abroad (n=112)	65,2%	33,9%	0,9%
			stay in this country (n=148) go abroad (n=88)	31,1%	64,2%	4,7%
			stay in this country	26,1%	64,8%	9,1%
		М	(n=156) go abroad (n=147)	38,5%	61,5%	0,0%
	Dinar		stay in this country	53,7%	44,9%	1,4%
7		F	(n=134) go abroad (n=63)	15,7%	80,6%	3,7%
Turkey			stay in this country	25,4%	73,0%	1,6%
γ		М	n=101) go abroad (n=112)	60,4% 85,0%	37,6% 14,2%	2,0% 0,9%
	Fatih		stay in this country			
		F	(n=197) go abroad (n=98)	26,9% 50,6%	70,6% 42,7%	2,5% 6,7%
			stay in this country			
		М	(n=73) go abroad (n=102)	35,6% 59,8%	64,4% 40,2%	0,0% 0,0%
	Van Merkez	_	stay in this country (n=234)	26,9%	72,3%	0,8%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	34,5%	64,4%	1,1%
Se		М	stay in this country (n=51)	34,0%	66,0%	0,0%
Senegal	Darou Mousty		go abroad (n=143)	52,8%	45,8%	1,4%
		F	stay in this country	10,3%	87,0%	2,7%

			(n=146)			
			go abroad (n=158)	23,4%	74,7%	1,9%
		М	stay in this country (n=23)	45,8%	54,2%	0,0%
	Lambaua	IVI	go abroad (n=100)	75,0%	25,0%	0,0%
	Lambaye	_	stay in this country (n=93)	17,2%	82,8%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	29,0%	69,3%	1,8%
		М	stay in this country (n=45)	66,7%	31,1%	2,2%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	IVI	go abroad (n=151)	77,5%	21,2%	1,3%
	Goil Sud (Dakar)	F	stay in this country (n=85)	30,2%	66,3%	3,5%
		Г	go abroad (n=217)	50,9%	45,9%	3,2%
		М	stay in this country (n=22)	36,4%	63,6%	0,0%
	Oukadiara	IVI	go abroad (n=190)	53,1%	43,8%	3,1%
	Orkadiere	F	stay in this country (n=82)	8,3%	85,7%	6,0%
			go abroad (n=196)	19,8%	74,3%	5,9%
	Zbaraz	M	stay in this country (n=83)	50,6%	47,0%	2,4%
		IVI	go abroad (n=120)	63,3%	35,0%	1,7%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	17,2%	76,6%	6,2%
			go abroad (n=151)	35,1%	56,3%	8,6%
		M	stay in this country (n=113)	44,2%	46,0%	9,7%
	Znamyanska	М	go abroad (n=90)	44,4%	50,0%	5,6%
	Znamyanska	F	stay in this country (n=187)	12,3%	72,7%	15,0%
Ukraine		'	go abroad (n=110)	16,4%	61,8%	21,8%
ine		М	stay in this country (n=92)	42,4%	47,8%	9,8%
	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	IVI	go abroad (n=104)	54,8%	38,5%	6,7%
	Coloniyanoky (Kylv)	F	stay in this country (n=175)	24,0%	60,6%	15,4%
		•	go abroad (n=129)	37,2%	51,2%	11,6%
		М	stay in this country (n=101°	41,6%	55,4%	3,0%
	Novovodolaz'ka	171	go abroad (n=107)	52,3%	36,4%	11,2%
	1101010uolaz ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	22,2%	66,7%	11,1%
		í	go abroad (n=130)	36,9%	53,8%	9,2%

Figure 7

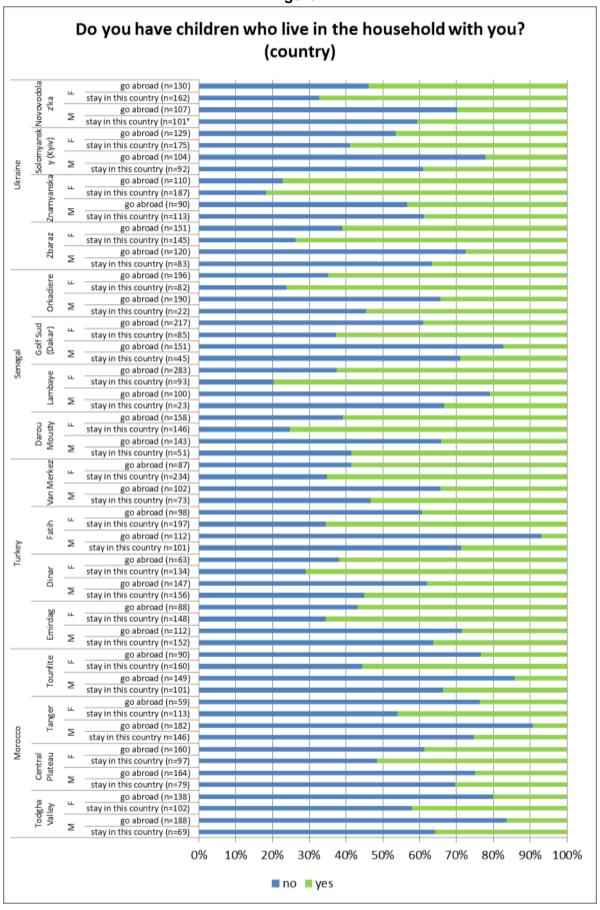


Figure 8

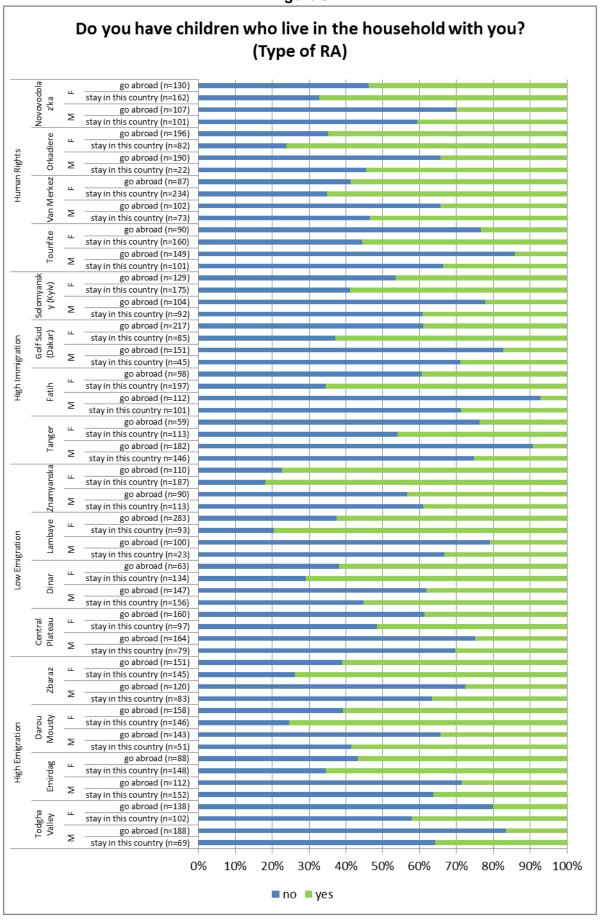


Table 4. Do you have children who live in the household with you?

	Tubic 4. Do	you nave c	hildren who live in the house	inola with you!	
				no	yes
			stay in this country (n=69)	64,3%	35,7%
		М	go abroad (n=188)	83,5%	16,5%
	Todgha Valley		stay in this country (n=102)	57,8%	42,2%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	80,0%	20,0%
			stay in this country (n=79)	69,6%	30,4%
		M	go abroad (n=164)	75,0%	25,0%
_	Central Plateau	_	stay in this country (n=97)	48,5%	51,5%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	61,3%	38,8%
rocc			stay in this country n=146)	74,7%	25,3%
Ö		М	go abroad (n=182)	90,7%	9,3%
	Tanger	_	stay in this country (n=113)	54,0%	46,0%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	76,3%	23,7%
			stay in this country (n=101)	66,3%	33,7%
		М	go abroad (n=149)	85,9%	14,1%
	Tounfite	F	stay in this country (n=160)	44,4%	55,6%
			go abroad (n=90)	76,7%	23,3%
	Emirdag -		stay in this country (n=152)	63,8%	36,2%
		М	go abroad (n=112)	71,4%	28,6%
		F	stay in this country (n=148)	34,5%	65,5%
			go abroad (n=88)	43,2%	56,8%
		M	stay in this country (n=156)	44,9%	55,1%
			go abroad (n=147)	61,9%	38,1%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=134)	29,1%	70,9%
Tu		F	go abroad (n=63)	38,1%	61,9%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	71,3%	28,7%
_		М	go abroad (n=112)	92,9%	7,1%
	Fatih	_	stay in this country (n=197)	34,5%	65,5%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	60,7%	39,3%
			stay in this country (n=73)	46,6%	53,4%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	65,7%	34,3%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	34,9%	65,1%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	41,4%	58,6%
			stay in this country (n=51)	41,5%	58,5%
		М	go abroad (n=143)	65,7%	34,3%
	Darou Mousty		stay in this country (n=146)	24,7%	75,3%
S		F	go abroad (n=158)	39,2%	60,8%
Senegal			stay in this country (n=23)	66,7%	33,3%
gal		М	go abroad (n=100)	79,0%	21,0%
	Lambaye		stay in this country (n=93)	20,4%	79,6%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	37,5%	62,5%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	stay in this country (n=45)	71,1%	28,9%

			go abroad (n=151)	82,8%	17,2%
		_	stay in this country (n=85)	37,2%	62,8%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	61,0%	39,0%
			stay in this country (n=22)	45,5%	54,5%
		M	go abroad (n=190)	65,6%	34,4%
	Orkadiere	_	stay in this country (n=82)	23,8%	76,2%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	35,1%	64,9%
			stay in this country (n=83)	63,4%	36,6%
		M	go abroad (n=120)	72,5%	27,5%
	Zbaraz	F	stay in this country (n=145)	26,2%	73,8%
			go abroad (n=151)	39,1%	60,9%
		М	stay in this country (n=113)	61,1%	38,9%
			go abroad (n=90)	56,7%	43,3%
	Znamyanska	F	stay in this country (n=187)	18,2%	81,8%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	22,7%	77,3%
ain			stay in this country (n=92)	60,9%	39,1%
Ф		М	go abroad (n=104)	77,9%	22,1%
	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	41,1%	58,9%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	53,5%	46,5%
			stay in this country (n=101°	59,4%	40,6%
		M	go abroad (n=107)	70,1%	29,9%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	32,7%	67,3%
			go abroad (n=130)	46,2%	53,8%

Figure 9

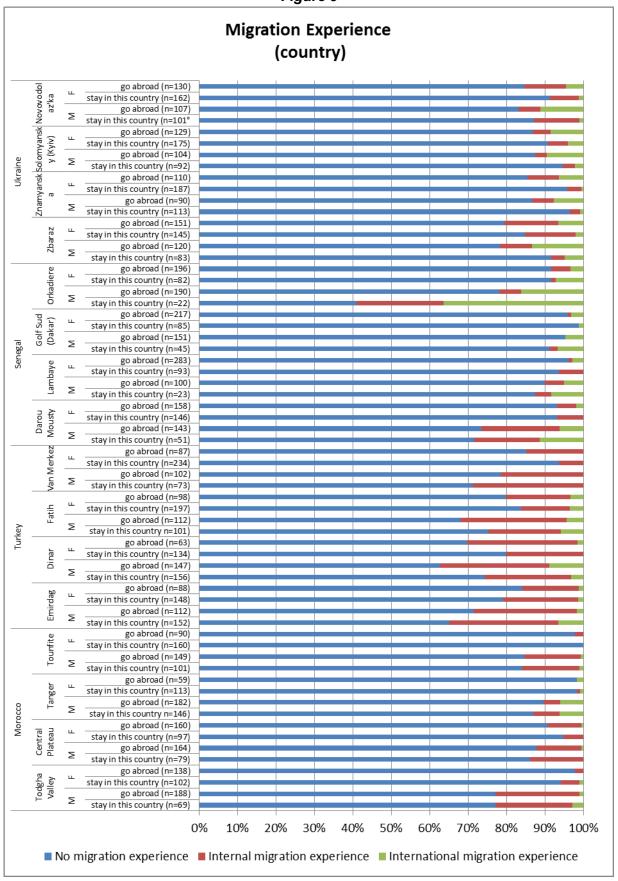


Figure 10

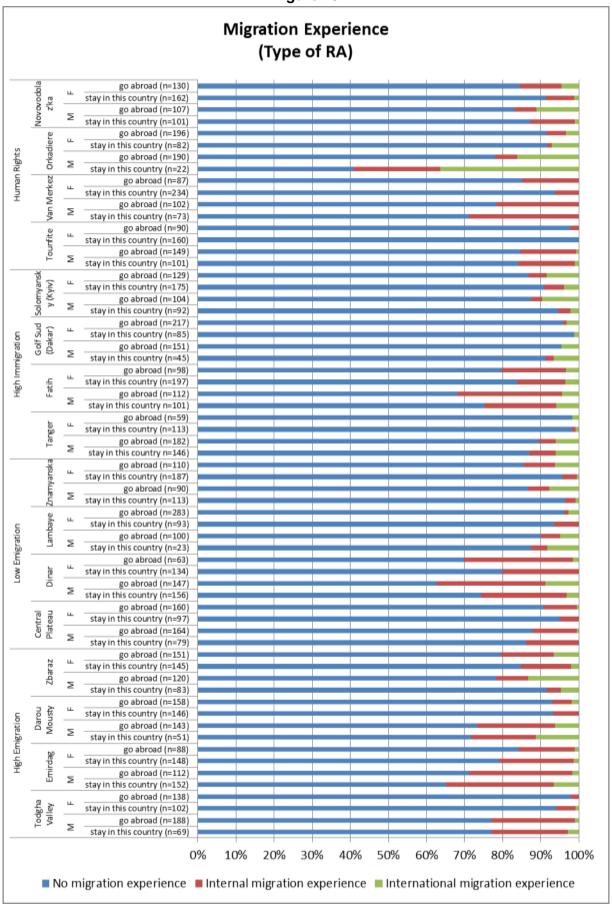


Table 5. Migration experience

			Table 5. Migration	No migration experience	Internal migra- tion experi- ence	International migration ex- perience
			stay in this country (n=69)	77,1%	20,0%	2,9%
	Tadaha Vallasi	M	go abroad (n=188)	77,1%	21,8%	1,1%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	94,1%	4,9%	1,0%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	97,9%	2,1%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=79)	86,1%	13,9%	0,0%
	Central Plateau	М	go abroad (n=164)	87,8%	11,6%	0,6%
_		_	stay in this country (n=97)	94,8%	5,2%	0,0%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	90,6%	8,8%	0,6%
200.			stay in this country n=146)	87,0%	6,8%	6,2%
Ö	_	М	go abroad (n=182)	89,6%	4,4%	6,0%
	Tanger	F	stay in this country (n=113)	98,2%	0,9%	0,9%
			go abroad (n=59)	98,3%	0,0%	1,7%
			stay in this country (n=101)	84,2%	14,9%	1,0%
		М	go abroad (n=149)	84,6%	14,8%	0,7%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	97,8%	2,2%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=152)	65,1%	28,3%	6,6%
	Emirdag	М	go abroad (n=112)	71,4%	26,8%	1,8%
			stay in this country (n=148)	79,1%	19,6%	1,4%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	84,1%	14,8%	1,1%
		М	stay in this country (n=156)	74,4%	22,4%	3,2%
			go abroad (n=147)	62,6%	28,6%	8,8%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=134)	79,9%	20,1%	0,0%
T <sub>u</sub>		F	go abroad (n=63)	69,8%	28,6%	1,6%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	75,2%	18,8%	5,9%
~		М	go abroad (n=112)	68,1%	27,4%	4,4%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	83,8%	12,7%	3,6%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	79,8%	16,9%	3,4%
			stay in this country (n=73)	71,2%	28,8%	0,0%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	78,4%	21,6%	0,0%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	93,7%	6,3%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	85,1%	14,9%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=51)	71,7%	17,0%	11,3%
		М	go abroad (n=143)	73,4%	20,3%	6,3%
	Darou Mousty		stay in this country (n=146)	93,2%	6,8%	0,0%
ပ္ခ		F	go abroad (n=158)	93,0%	5,1%	1,9%
Senegal			stay in this country (n=23)	87,5%	4,2%	8,3%
gal		М	go abroad (n=100)	90,0%	5,0%	5,0%
	Lambaye		stay in this country (n=93)	93,5%	6,5%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	96,1%	1,1%	2,8%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	stay in this country (n=45)	91,1%	2,2%	6,7%

			go abroad (n=151)	95,4%	0,0%	4,6%
		F	stay in this country (n=85)	98,8%	0,0%	1,2%
			go abroad (n=217)	95,9%	0,9%	3,2%
	Orkadiere	М	stay in this country (n=22)	40,9%	22,7%	36,4%
			go abroad (n=190)	78,1%	5,7%	16,1%
		F	stay in this country (n=82)	91,7%	1,2%	7,1%
			go abroad (n=196)	91,6%	5,0%	3,5%
	Zbaraz	М	stay in this country (n=83)	91,6%	3,6%	4,8%
			go abroad (n=120)	78,3%	8,3%	13,3%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	84,8%	13,1%	2,1%
			go abroad (n=151)	79,5%	13,9%	6,6%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	96,5%	2,7%	0,9%
			go abroad (n=90)	86,7%	5,6%	7,8%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	95,7%	3,7%	0,5%
ř			go abroad (n=110)	85,5%	8,2%	6,4%
Ukraine	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	М	stay in this country (n=92)	94,6%	3,3%	2,2%
Э			go abroad (n=104)	87,5%	2,9%	9,6%
		F	stay in this country (n=175)	90,9%	5,1%	4,0%
			go abroad (n=129)	86,8%	4,7%	8,5%
	Novovodolaz'ka	M	stay in this country (n=101°	87,1%	11,9%	1,0%
			go abroad (n=107)	83,2%	5,6%	11,2%
		F	stay in this country (n=162)	91,4%	7,4%	1,2%
			go abroad (n=130)	84,6%	10,8%	4,6%

Figure 11

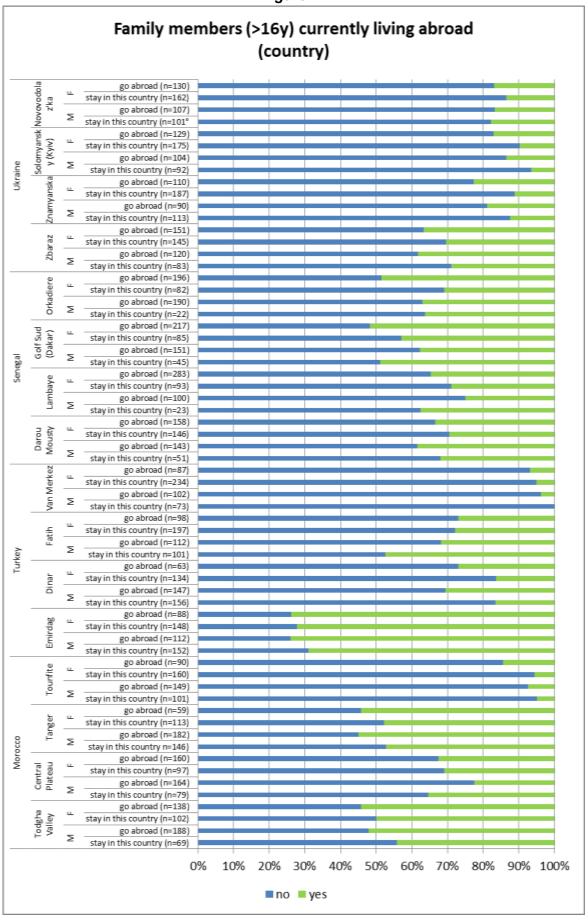


Figure 12

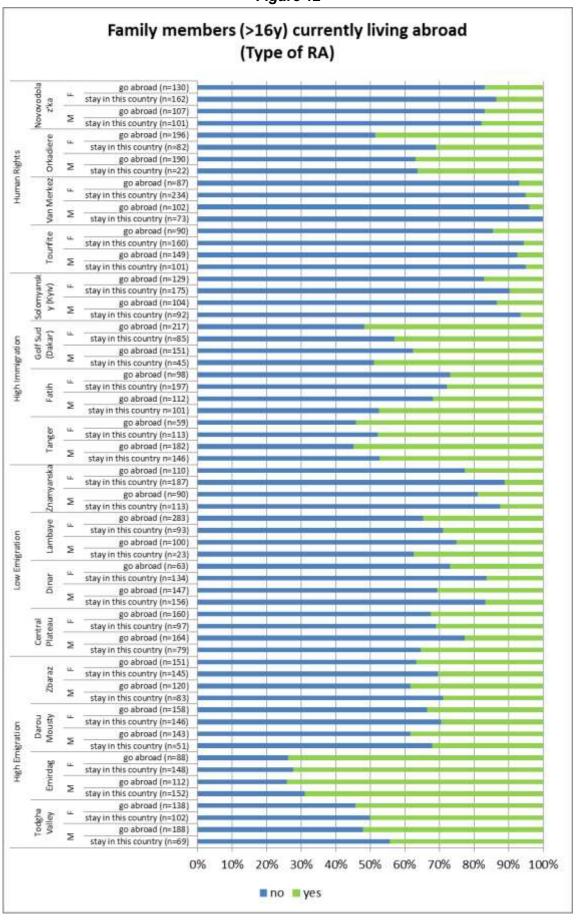


Table 6. Family members (>16y) currently living abroad

	Table 6. Family members (>16y) currently living abroad				
				no	yes
	Todgha Valley		stay in this country (n=69)	55,7%	44,3%
		M	go abroad (n=188)	47,9%	52,1%
		F	stay in this country (n=102)	50,0%	50,0%
			go abroad (n=138)	45,7%	54,3%
F	Central Plateau -	M	stay in this country (n=79)	64,6%	35,4%
			go abroad (n=164)	77,4%	22,6%
_		F	stay in this country (n=97)	69,1%	30,9%
Morocco			go abroad (n=160)	67,5%	32,5%
occ	Tanger	M	stay in this country n=146)	52,7%	47,3%
°			go abroad (n=182)	45,1%	54,9%
		F	stay in this country (n=113)	52,2%	47,8%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	45,8%	54,2%
		M	stay in this country (n=101)	95,0%	5,0%
	Tamefita	М	go abroad (n=149)	92,6%	7,4%
	Tounfite	F	stay in this country (n=160)	94,4%	5,6%
			go abroad (n=90)	85,6%	14,4%
		M	stay in this country (n=152)	30,9%	69,1%
	Funda a	М	go abroad (n=112)	25,9%	74,1%
	Emirdag	F	stay in this country (n=148)	27,7%	72,3%
			go abroad (n=88)	26,1%	73,9%
	Dinar -	М	stay in this country (n=156)	83,3%	16,7%
			go abroad (n=147)	69,4%	30,6%
		F	stay in this country (n=134)	83,6%	16,4%
Tur			go abroad (n=63)	73,0%	27,0%
key	Fatih -	М	stay in this country n=101)	52,5%	47,5%
			go abroad (n=112)	68,1%	31,9%
		F	stay in this country (n=197)	72,1%	27,9%
			go abroad (n=98)	73,0%	27,0%
	Van Merkez	M	stay in this country (n=73)	100,0%	0,0%
			go abroad (n=102)	96,1%	3,9%
		F	stay in this country (n=234)	95,0%	5,0%
			go abroad (n=87)	93,1%	6,9%
	Darou Mousty	М	stay in this country (n=51)	67,9%	32,1%
			go abroad (n=143)	61,5%	38,5%
		F	stay in this country (n=146)	70,5%	29,5%
Se			go abroad (n=158)	66,5%	33,5%
Senegal	Lambaye	М	stay in this country (n=23)	62,5%	37,5%
<u>a</u>			go abroad (n=100)	75,0%	25,0%
			stay in this country (n=93)	71,0%	29,0%
	F		go abroad (n=283)	65,4%	34,6%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	stay in this country (n=45)	51,1%	48,9%

	1		go abroad (n=151)	62,3%	37,7%
		F	stay in this country (n=85)	57,0%	43,0%
			go abroad (n=217)	48,2%	51,8%
	Orkadiere		stay in this country (n=22)	63,6%	36,4%
		M	go abroad (n=190)	63,0%	37,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=82)	69,0%	31,0%
			go abroad (n=196)	51,5%	48,5%
	Zbaraz		stay in this country (n=83)	71,1%	28,9%
		M	go abroad (n=120)	61,7%	38,3%
		-	stay in this country (n=145)	69,7%	30,3%
		F	go abroad (n=151)	63,3%	36,7%
	Znamyanska		stay in this country (n=113)	87,6%	12,4%
		M	go abroad (n=90)	81,1%	18,9%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	88,8%	11,2%
Kr			go abroad (n=110)	77,3%	22,7%
Ukraine	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	М	stay in this country (n=92)	93,5%	6,5%
"			go abroad (n=104)	86,5%	13,5%
		F	stay in this country (n=175)	90,3%	9,7%
			go abroad (n=129)	82,9%	17,1%
	Novovodolaz'ka	М	stay in this country (n=101°	82,2%	17,8%
			go abroad (n=107)	83,2%	16,8%
		F	stay in this country (n=162)	86,4%	13,6%
			go abroad (n=130)	83,1%	16,9%

Figure 13

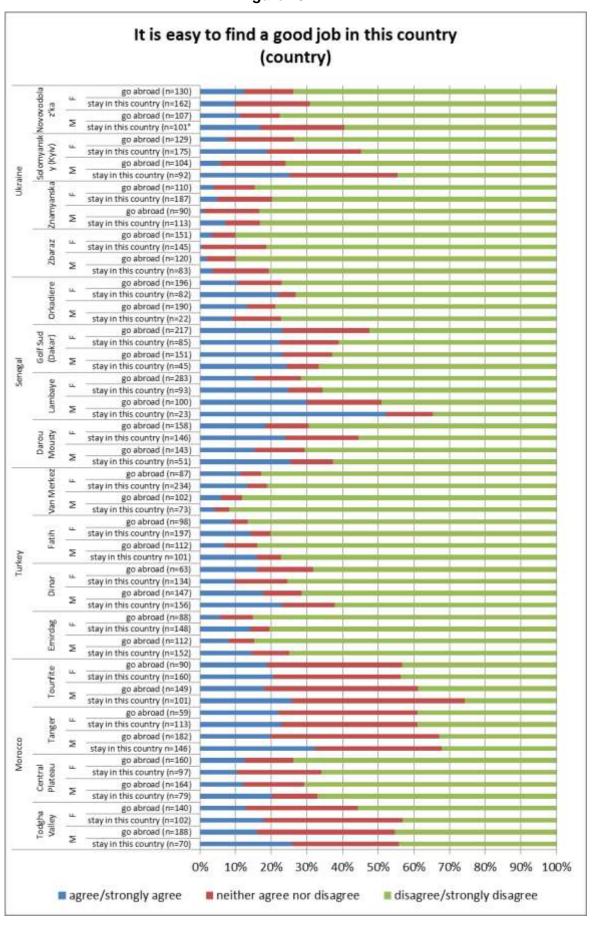


Figure 14

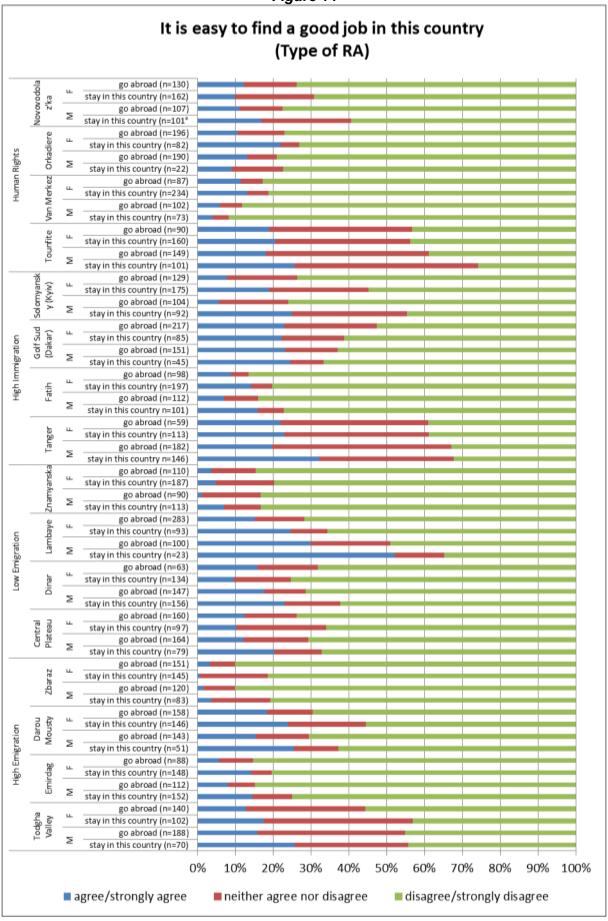


Table 7. It is easy to find a good job in this country

	<del>-</del>	<u> </u>	. It is easy to find a go	agree/strongly	neither agree	disagree/strongly
				agree	nor disagree	disagree
		М	stay in this country (n=70)	25,7%	30,0%	44,3%
	Todgha Valley		go abroad (n=188)	16,0%	38,8%	45,2%
	rougha vancy	F	stay in this country (n=102)	17,6%	39,2%	43,1%
			go abroad (n=140)	12,9%	31,4%	55,7%
	Central Plateau	М	stay in this country (n=79)	20,3%	12,7%	67,1%
		IVI	go abroad (n=164)	12,2%	17,1%	70,7%
_	Central Plateau		stay in this country (n=97)	10,3%	23,7%	66,0%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	12,5%	13,8%	73,8%
000			stay in this country n=146)	32,2%	35,6%	32,2%
ö		М	go abroad (n=182)	19,8%	47,3%	33,0%
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	23,0%	38,1%	38,9%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	22,0%	39,0%	39,0%
			stay in this country (n=101)	25,7%	48,5%	25,7%
		M	go abroad (n=149)	18,1%	43,0%	38,9%
	Tounfite	F	stay in this country (n=160)	20,6%	35,6%	43,8%
			go abroad (n=90)	18,9%	37,8%	43,3%
			stay in this country (n=152)	14,5%	10,5%	75,0%
	Emirdag	М	go abroad (n=112)	8,0%	7,1%	84,8%
		_	stay in this country (n=148)	14,2%	5,4%	80,4%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	5,7%	9,1%	85,2%
			stay in this country (n=156)	23,1%	14,7%	62,2%
	Dinar	M	go abroad (n=147)	17,7%	10,9%	71,4%
			stay in this country (n=134)	9,7%	14,9%	75,4%
ď		F	go abroad (n=63)	15,9%	15,9%	68,3%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	15,8%	6,9%	77,2%
`		М	go abroad (n=112)	7,1%	8,9%	83,9%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	14,2%	5,6%	80,2%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	9,0%	4,5%	86,5%
		T	stay in this country (n=73)	4,1%	4,1%	91,8%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	5,9%	5,9%	88,2%
	Van Merkez	l _	stay in this country (n=234)	13,2%	5,6%	81,2%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	11,5%	5,7%	82,8%
		1	stay in this country (n=51)	25,5%	11,8%	62,7%
	5 <b>u</b> (	М	go abroad (n=143)	15,4%	14,0%	70,6%
	Darou Mousty	_	stay in this country (n=146)	24,0%	20,5%	55,5%
		F	go abroad (n=158)	18,4%	12,0%	69,6%
Se		N 4	stay in this country (n=23)	52,2%	13,0%	34,8%
Senegal	Lambarra	М	go abroad (n=100)	30,0%	21,0%	49,0%
şal	Lambaye	_	stay in this country (n=93)	24,7%	9,7%	65,6%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	15,2%	13,1%	71,7%
		N 4	stay in this country (n=45)	24,4%	8,9%	66,7%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	M	go abroad (n=151)	23,2%	13,9%	62,9%
		F	stay in this country (n=85)	22,4%	16,5%	61,2%

			go abroad (n=217)	23,0%	24,4%	52,5%
			stay in this country (n=22)	9,1%	13,6%	77,3%
	Orkadiere	М	go abroad (n=190)	13,2%	7,9%	78,9%
		_	stay in this country (n=82)	22,0%	4,9%	73,2%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	10,7%	12,2%	77,0%
		.,	stay in this country (n=83)	3,6%	15,7%	80,7%
		М	go abroad (n=120)	1,7%	8,3%	90,0%
	Zbaraz	F	stay in this country (n=145)	0,7%	17,9%	81,4%
			go abroad (n=151)	3,3%	6,6%	90,1%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	7,1%	9,7%	83,2%
			go abroad (n=90)	1,1%	15,6%	83,3%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	4,8%	15,5%	79,7%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	3,6%	11,8%	84,5%
aine		.,	stay in this country (n=92)	25,0%	30,4%	44,6%
0		М	go abroad (n=104)	5,8%	18,3%	76,0%
	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	18,9%	26,3%	54,9%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	7,8%	18,6%	73,6%
		N	stay in this country (n=101°	16,8%	23,8%	59,4%
		M	go abroad (n=107)	11,2%	11,2%	77,6%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	9,9%	21,0%	69,1%
			go abroad (n=130)	12,3%	13,8%	73,8%



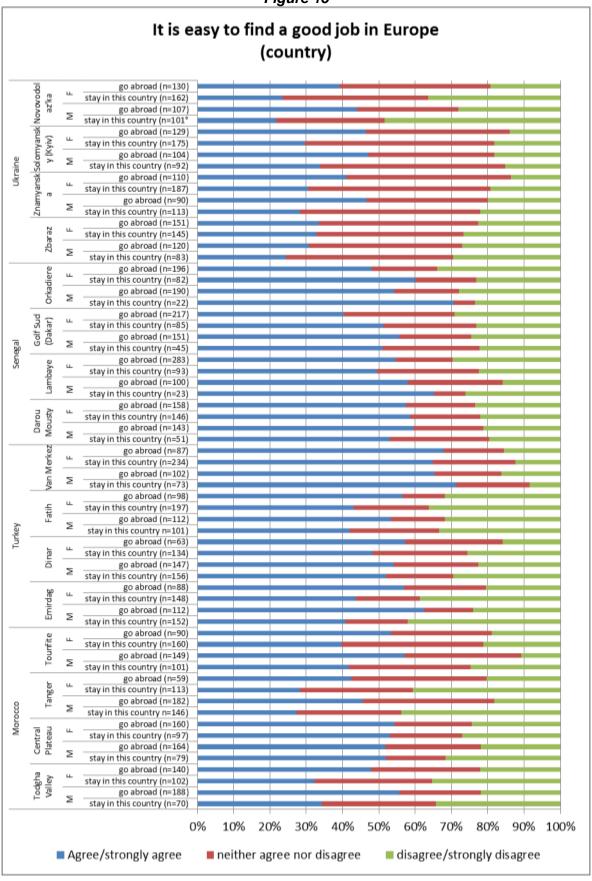


Figure 16

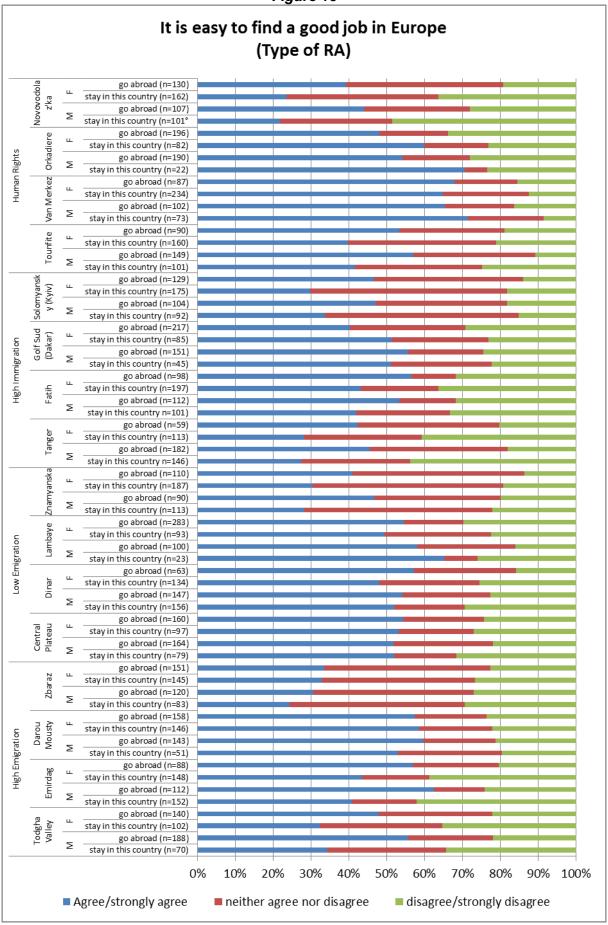


Table 8. It is easy to find a good job in Europe

			·	Agree/strongly agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree/strongly disagree
		M	stay in this country (n=70)	34,3%	31,4%	34,3%
	Tadaha Vallasi	М	go abroad (n=188)	55,6%	22,5%	21,9%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	32,4%	32,4%	35,3%
		F	go abroad (n=140)	47,9%	30,0%	22,1%
			stay in this country (n=79)	51,9%	16,5%	31,6%
	0 4 1514	M	go abroad (n=164)	51,8%	26,2%	22,0%
	Central Plateau	_	stay in this country (n=97)	53,1%	19,8%	27,1%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	54,4%	21,3%	24,4%
700			stay in this country n=146)	27,4%	28,8%	43,8%
ŏ		М	go abroad (n=182)	45,6%	36,3%	18,1%
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	28,3%	31,0%	40,7%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	42,4%	37,3%	20,3%
			stay in this country (n=101)	41,6%	33,7%	24,8%
		М	go abroad (n=149)	57,0%	32,2%	10,7%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	39,7%	39,1%	21,2%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	53,3%	27,8%	18,9%
			stay in this country (n=152)	40,8%	17,1%	42,1%
	Emirdag	М	go abroad (n=112)	62,5%	13,4%	24,1%
			stay in this country (n=148)	43,5%	17,7%	38,8%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	56,8%	22,7%	20,5%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=156)	51,9%	18,6%	29,5%
		М	go abroad (n=147)	54,1%	23,3%	22,6%
			stay in this country (n=134)	48,1%	26,3%	25,6%
ď		F	go abroad (n=63)	57,1%	27,0%	15,9%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	41,9%	24,7%	33,3%
~		М	go abroad (n=112)	53,3%	15,0%	31,8%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	43,2%	20,5%	36,3%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	56,5%	11,8%	31,8%
		İ	stay in this country (n=73)	71,4%	20,0%	8,6%
	.,	M	go abroad (n=102)	65,3%	18,4%	16,3%
	Van Merkez	_	stay in this country (n=234)	64,9%	22,7%	12,4%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	67,9%	16,7%	15,5%
			stay in this country (n=51)	52,9%	27,5%	19,6%
	Daniel Manaka	М	go abroad (n=143)	59,6%	19,1%	21,3%
	Darou Mousty	_	stay in this country (n=146)	58,6%	19,3%	22,1%
,,		F	go abroad (n=158)	57,3%	19,1%	23,6%
Senegal		N A	stay in this country (n=23)	65,2%	8,7%	26,1%
ega	Lambarra	M	go abroad (n=100)	58,0%	26,0%	16,0%
_	Lambaye	F	stay in this country (n=93)	49,4%	28,1%	22,5%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	54,6%	15,8%	29,7%
	Colf Cod (Delean)	N A	stay in this country (n=45)	51,1%	26,7%	22,2%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	go abroad (n=151)	55,6%	19,9%	24,5%

1		Ī	atovin this sountry (n=0E)	l	l	l I
		F	stay in this country (n=85)	51,2%	25,6%	23,2%
			go abroad (n=217)	40,3%	30,6%	29,2%
		M	stay in this country (n=22)	70,6%	5,9%	23,5%
	Orkadiere		go abroad (n=190)	54,2%	17,9%	28,0%
		_	stay in this country (n=82)	60,0%	16,9%	23,1%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	48,1%	18,0%	33,9%
	Zbaraz	М	stay in this country (n=83)	24,4%	46,2%	29,5%
		IVI	go abroad (n=120)	30,6%	42,3%	27,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	32,8%	40,5%	26,7%
			go abroad (n=151)	33,6%	43,8%	22,6%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	28,3%	49,6%	22,1%
		IVI	go abroad (n=90)	46,7%	33,3%	20,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	30,5%	50,3%	19,3%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	40,9%	45,5%	13,6%
aine			stay in this country (n=92)	33,7%	51,1%	15,2%
()		М	go abroad (n=104)	47,1%	34,6%	18,3%
	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	29,7%	52,0%	18,3%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	46,5%	39,5%	14,0%
			stay in this country (n=101°	21,8%	29,7%	48,5%
		М	go abroad (n=107)	43,9%	28,0%	28,0%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	23,5%	40,1%	36,4%
			go abroad (n=130)	39,2%	41,5%	19,2%

Figure 17

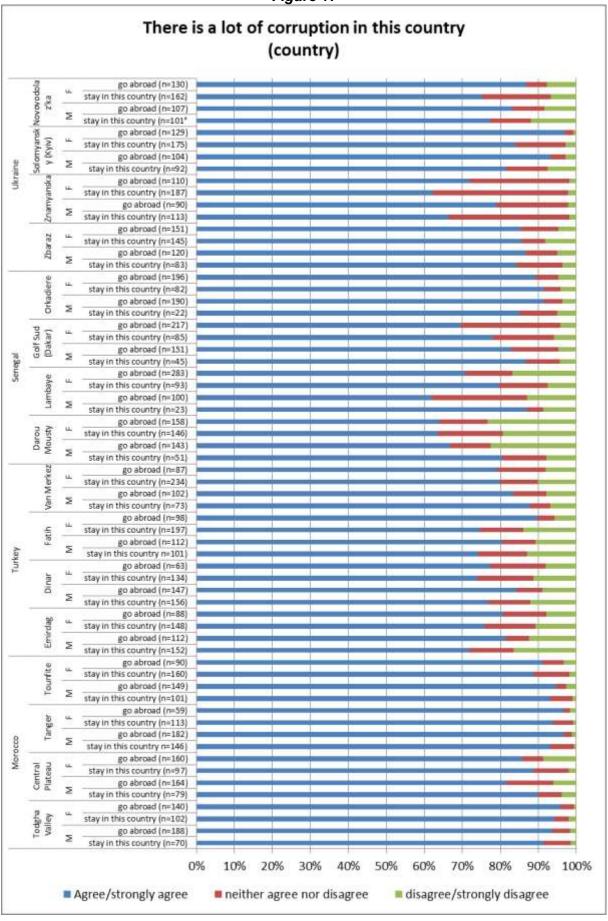


Figure 18

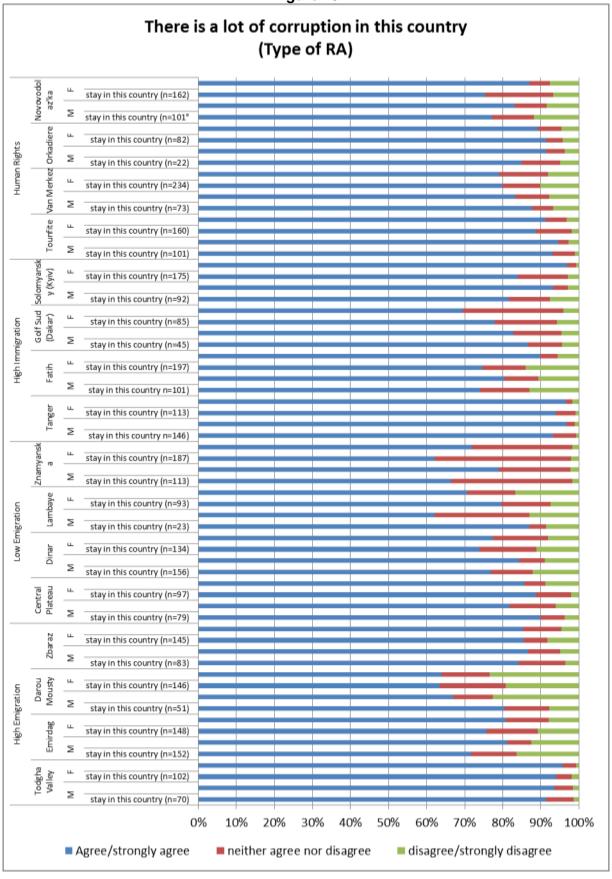


Table 9. There is a lot of corruption in this country

				Agree/strongly agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree/strongly disagree
			stay in this country (n=70)	91,4%	7,1%	1,4%
	Tadaha Vallas	М	go abroad (n=188)	93,6%	4,8%	1,6%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	94,1%	3,9%	2,0%
		F	go abroad (n=140)	95,7%	3,6%	0,7%
			stay in this country (n=79)	89,9%	6,3%	3,8%
	Control Distance	М	go abroad (n=164)	81,7%	12,2%	6,1%
	Central Plateau	_	stay in this country (n=97)	88,7%	9,3%	2,1%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	85,6%	5,6%	8,8%
roc			stay in this country n=146)	93,2%	6,2%	0,7%
0		М	go abroad (n=182)	96,7%	2,2%	1,1%
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	93,8%	5,3%	0,9%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	96,6%	1,7%	1,7%
			stay in this country (n=101)	93,1%	5,9%	1,0%
	Tounfite	М	go abroad (n=149)	94,6%	2,7%	2,7%
			stay in this country (n=160)	88,7%	9,4%	1,9%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	91,1%	5,6%	3,3%
			stay in this country (n=152)	71,7%	11,8%	16,4%
	Emirdag	М	go abroad (n=112)	81,3%	6,3%	12,5%
			stay in this country (n=148)	75,7%	13,5%	10,8%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	80,7%	11,4%	8,0%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=156)	76,9%	10,9%	12,2%
		М	go abroad (n=147)	84,2%	6,8%	8,9%
			stay in this country (n=134)	73,9%	14,9%	11,2%
Tυ		F	go abroad (n=63)	77,4%	14,5%	8,1%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	74,0%	13,0%	13,0%
Y		М	go abroad (n=112)	80,4%	8,9%	10,7%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	74,6%	11,4%	14,0%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	89,8%	4,5%	5,7%
			stay in this country (n=73)	87,7%	5,5%	6,8%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	83,3%	8,8%	7,8%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	79,8%	10,1%	10,1%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	79,1%	12,8%	8,1%
			stay in this country (n=51)	80,4%	11,8%	7,8%
		М	go abroad (n=143)	66,9%	10,6%	22,5%
	Darou Mousty		stay in this country (n=146)	63,4%	17,2%	19,3%
		F	go abroad (n=158)	63,9%	12,7%	23,4%
Senegal			stay in this country (n=23)	87,0%	4,3%	8,7%
lega		М	go abroad (n=100)	62,0%	25,0%	13,0%
3	Lambaye		stay in this country (n=93)	79,6%	12,9%	7,5%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	70,7%	12,5%	16,8%
		_	stay in this country (n=45)	86,7%	8,9%	4,4%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	go abroad (n=151)	82,8%	12,6%	4,6%

1		1	stay in this country (n=85)	77,9%	16,3%	5,8%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	·	·	•
			<u> </u>	69,4%	26,4%	4,2%
		М	stay in this country (n=22)	85,0%	10,0%	5,0%
	Orkadiere	IVI	go abroad (n=190)	91,4%	4,8%	3,8%
	Orkaulere	F	stay in this country (n=82)	91,4%	4,3%	4,3%
		Г	go abroad (n=196)	89,2%	6,2%	4,6%
	Zbaraz	NA	stay in this country (n=83)	84,1%	12,2%	3,7%
		М	go abroad (n=120)	86,7%	8,3%	5,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	85,5%	6,2%	8,3%
			go abroad (n=151)	85,3%	10,0%	4,7%
	Znamyanska	M	stay in this country (n=113)	66,4%	31,9%	1,8%
		М	go abroad (n=90)	78,9%	18,9%	2,2%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	62,0%	35,8%	2,1%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	71,8%	26,4%	1,8%
aine		N4	stay in this country (n=92)	81,5%	10,9%	7,6%
"		М	go abroad (n=104)	93,3%	3,8%	2,9%
	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	84,0%	13,1%	2,9%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	96,9%	2,3%	0,8%
			stay in this country (n=101°	77,2%	10,9%	11,9%
		М	go abroad (n=107)	83,2%	8,4%	8,4%
	Novovodolaz'ka	_	stay in this country (n=162)	75,3%	17,9%	6,8%
		F	go abroad (n=130)	86,9%	5,4%	7,7%

Figure 19

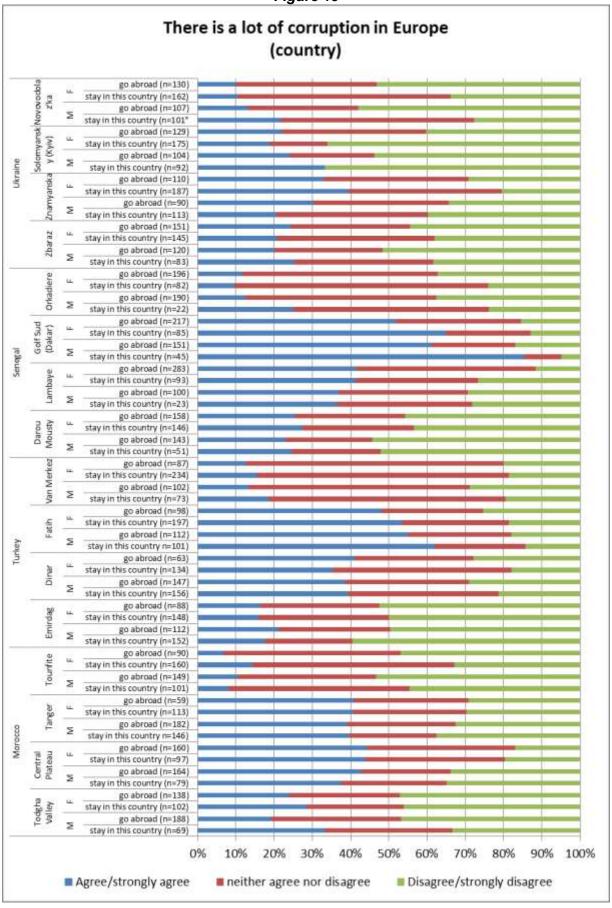


Figure 20

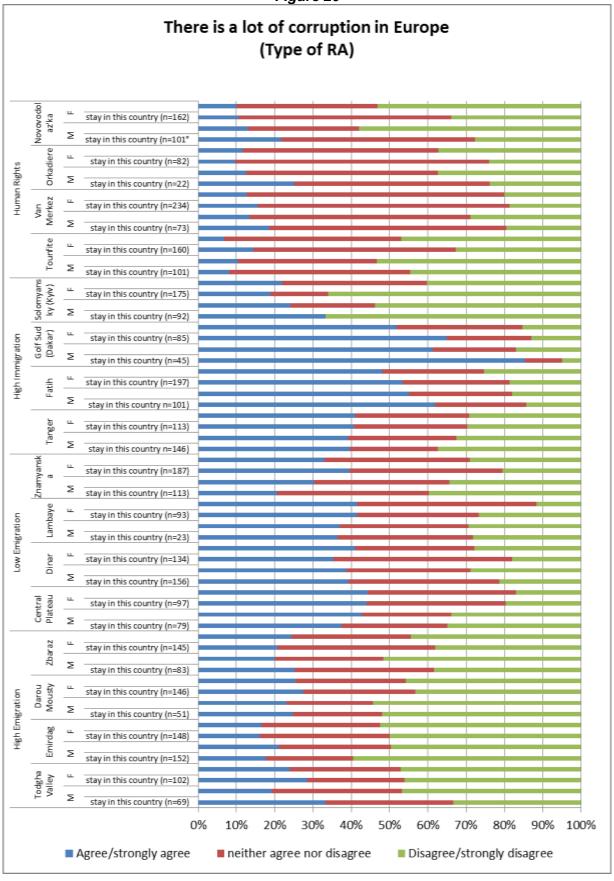


Table 10. There is a lot of corruption in Europe

				Agree/strongly agree	neither agree nor disagree	Disagree/strongly disagree
			stay in this country (n=69)	33,3%	33,3%	33,3%
		M	go abroad (n=188)	19,1%	34,0%	46,8%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	28,4%	25,5%	46,1%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	23,9%	29,0%	47,1%
			stay in this country (n=79)	37,5%	27,6%	34,9%
		М	go abroad (n=164)	42,9%	23,2%	33,9%
	Central Plateau	_	stay in this country (n=97)	43,9%	36,5%	19,6%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	44,3%	38,6%	17,0%
roco			stay in this country n=146)	39,6%	22,9%	37,5%
0		М	go abroad (n=182)	39,1%	28,3%	32,6%
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	40,6%	29,7%	29,7%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	40,9%	29,9%	29,2%
			stay in this country (n=101)	8,1%	47,3%	44,6%
		M	go abroad (n=149)	10,3%	36,4%	53,3%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	14,4%	52,8%	32,8%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	6,8%	46,2%	47,0%
	Emirdag		stay in this country (n=152)	17,7%	22,8%	59,5%
		М	go abroad (n=112)	21,1%	29,2%	49,7%
			stay in this country (n=148)	16,0%	34,0%	50,0%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	16,5%	31,0%	52,5%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=156)	39,4%	39,4%	21,3%
		M	go abroad (n=147)	38,6%	32,4%	29,0%
			stay in this country (n=134)	35,3%	46,6%	18,0%
Tu		F	go abroad (n=63)	41,0%	31,1%	27,9%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	61,9%	23,8%	14,3%
		М	go abroad (n=112)	55,1%	27,0%	18,0%
	Fatih	_	stay in this country (n=197)	53,3%	28,0%	18,7%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	48,0%	26,6%	25,3%
			stay in this country (n=73)	18,6%	61,9%	19,5%
	Von Marken	М	go abroad (n=102)	13,3%	57,8%	28,9%
	Van Merkez	_	stay in this country (n=234)	15,5%	65,8%	18,7%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	12,7%	67,3%	20,0%
		١.,	stay in this country (n=51)	24,7%	23,3%	52,1%
	Daves Messets	М	go abroad (n=143)	23,1%	22,5%	54,4%
	Darou Mousty	_	stay in this country (n=146)	27,4%	29,2%	43,4%
(2)		F	go abroad (n=158)	25,4%	28,8%	45,8%
Senegal		M	stay in this country (n=23)	36,5%	35,3%	28,2%
egal	Lambaye	М	go abroad (n=100)	37,0%	33,7%	29,3%
_		F	stay in this country (n=93)	41,4%	31,8%	26,8%
		ļ '	go abroad (n=283)	41,6%	46,8%	11,7%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	M	stay in this country (n=45)	85,4%	9,8%	4,9%
	Jon Jua (Dakai)	M	go abroad (n=151)	61,2%	21,8%	17,0%

		Ī	stay in this country (n=85)	64,9%	22,1%	13,0%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	51,9%	32,7%	15,4%
			stay in this country (n=22)	25,0%	51,1%	23,9%
	Orkadiere	M	go abroad (n=190)	12,5%	50,0%	37,5%
		F	stay in this country (n=82)	9,7%	66,3%	24,0%
			go abroad (n=196)	11,6%	51,2%	37,2%
	Zbaraz		stay in this country (n=83)	25,3%	36,4%	38,4%
		M	go abroad (n=120)	20,1%	28,2%	51,7%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	20,6%	41,3%	38,1%
			go abroad (n=151)	24,4%	31,1%	44,4%
	Znamyanska		stay in this country (n=113)	20,6%	39,7%	39,7%
		М	go abroad (n=90)	30,2%	35,4%	34,4%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	39,5%	40,0%	20,5%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	32,9%	38,0%	29,1%
aine			stay in this country (n=92)	33,3%	0,0%	66,7%
		М	go abroad (n=104)	24,0%	22,1%	53,9%
	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	18,9%	15,1%	66,0%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	22,0%	37,8%	40,2%
			stay in this country (n=101°	21,8%	50,5%	27,7%
		M	go abroad (n=107)	13,1%	29,0%	57,9%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	10,5%	55,6%	34,0%
			go abroad (n=130)	10,0%	36,9%	53,1%

Figure 21

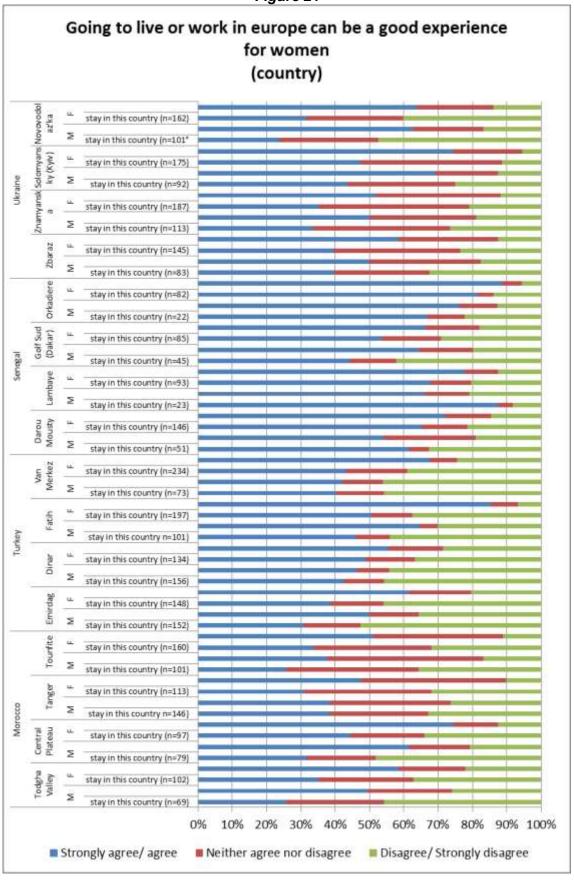


Figure 22

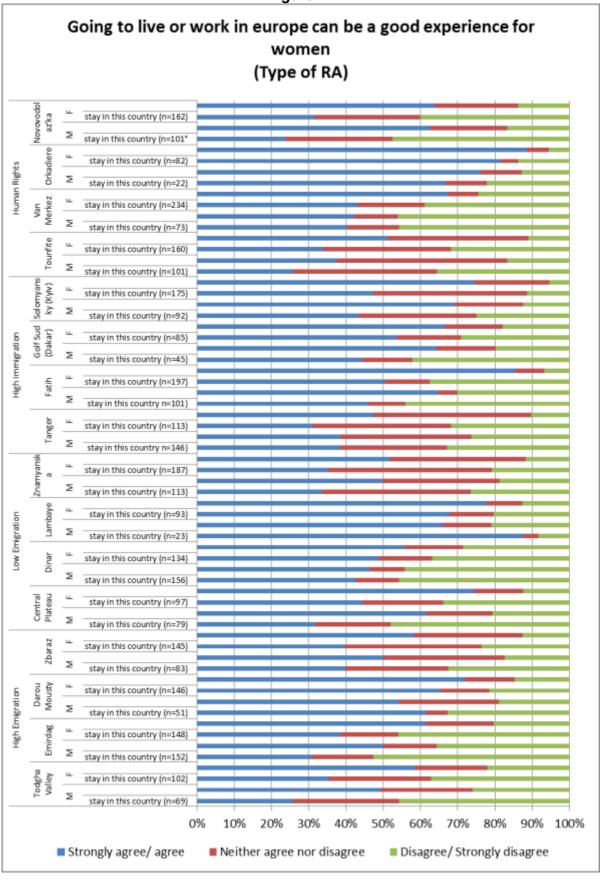


Table 11. Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for women

	-		·	Strongly agree/	Neither agree nor dis- agree	Disagree/ Strongly disagree
			stay in this country (n=69)	25,7%	28,6%	45,7%
		M	go abroad (n=188)	49,5%	24,5%	26,1%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	35,3%	27,5%	37,3%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	58,6%	19,3%	22,1%
			stay in this country (n=79)	31,6%	20,3%	48,1%
	Central Plateau	M	go abroad (n=164)	61,6%	17,7%	20,7%
_		_	stay in this country (n=97)	44,3%	21,6%	34,0%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	74,4%	13,1%	12,5%
200.			stay in this country n=146)	38,4%	28,8%	32,9%
O	_	M	go abroad (n=182)	38,5%	35,2%	26,4%
	Tanger	_	stay in this country (n=113)	31,0%	37,2%	31,9%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	47,5%	42,4%	10,2%
			stay in this country (n=101)	25,7%	38,6%	35,6%
		M	go abroad (n=149)	37,6%	45,6%	16,8%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	33,8%	34,4%	31,9%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	51,1%	37,8%	11,1%
	Emirdag -		stay in this country (n=152)	30,9%	16,4%	52,6%
		M	go abroad (n=112)	50,0%	14,3%	35,7%
		_	stay in this country (n=148)	38,5%	15,5%	45,9%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	61,4%	18,2%	20,5%
	Dinar	M F	stay in this country (n=156)	42,6%	11,6%	45,8%
			go abroad (n=147)	46,3%	9,5%	44,2%
			stay in this country (n=134)	48,9%	14,3%	36,8%
Turke			go abroad (n=63)	55,6%	15,9%	28,6%
key			stay in this country n=101)	46,0%	10,0%	44,0%
		M	go abroad (n=112)	64,6%	5,3%	30,1%
	Fatih	_	stay in this country (n=197)	50,5%	11,9%	37,6%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	85,4%	7,9%	6,7%
			stay in this country (n=73)	40,3%	13,9%	45,8%
	., ., .	M	go abroad (n=102)	42,2%	11,8%	46,1%
	Van Merkez	_	stay in this country (n=234)	43,3%	17,7%	39,0%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	67,4%	8,1%	24,4%
			stay in this country (n=51)	61,5%	5,8%	32,7%
		M	go abroad (n=143)	54,2%	26,8%	19,0%
	Darou Mousty	-	stay in this country (n=146)	65,3%	13,2%	21,5%
Sé		F	go abroad (n=158)	72,0%	13,4%	14,6%
Senegal		N #	stay in this country (n=23)	87,5%	4,2%	8,3%
gal		M	go abroad (n=100)	66,0%	13,0%	21,0%
	Lambaye	_	stay in this country (n=93)	67,7%	11,8%	20,4%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	77,7%	9,7%	12,6%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	stay in this country (n=45)	44,4%	13,3%	42,2%

			go abroad (n=151)	64,2%	15,9%	19,9%
		F	stay in this country (n=85)	53,5%	17,4%	29,1%
		Г	go abroad (n=217)	66,4%	15,7%	18,0%
			stay in this country (n=22)	66,7%	11,1%	22,2%
		M	go abroad (n=190)	76,2%	11,0%	12,8%
	Orkadiere	F	stay in this country (n=82)	81,5%	4,6%	13,8%
			go abroad (n=196)	88,6%	5,7%	5,7%
	Zbaraz -	М	stay in this country (n=83)	39,8%	27,7%	32,5%
		IVI	go abroad (n=120)	50,0%	32,5%	17,5%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	39,6%	36,8%	23,6%
			go abroad (n=151)	58,3%	29,1%	12,6%
	Znamyanska	M	stay in this country (n=113)	33,6%	39,8%	26,5%
			go abroad (n=90)	50,0%	31,1%	18,9%
		_	stay in this country (n=187)	35,3%	43,9%	20,9%
Ukraine		F	go abroad (n=110)	51,8%	36,4%	11,8%
ain			stay in this country (n=92)	43,5%	31,5%	25,0%
Ü	Solomyansky	M	go abroad (n=104)	69,2%	18,3%	12,5%
	(Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	47,4%	41,1%	11,4%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	74,4%	20,2%	5,4%
			stay in this country (n=101°	23,8%	28,7%	47,5%
		М	go abroad (n=107)	62,6%	20,6%	16,8%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	31,5%	28,4%	40,1%
			go abroad (n=130)	63,8%	22,3%	13,8%

Figure 23

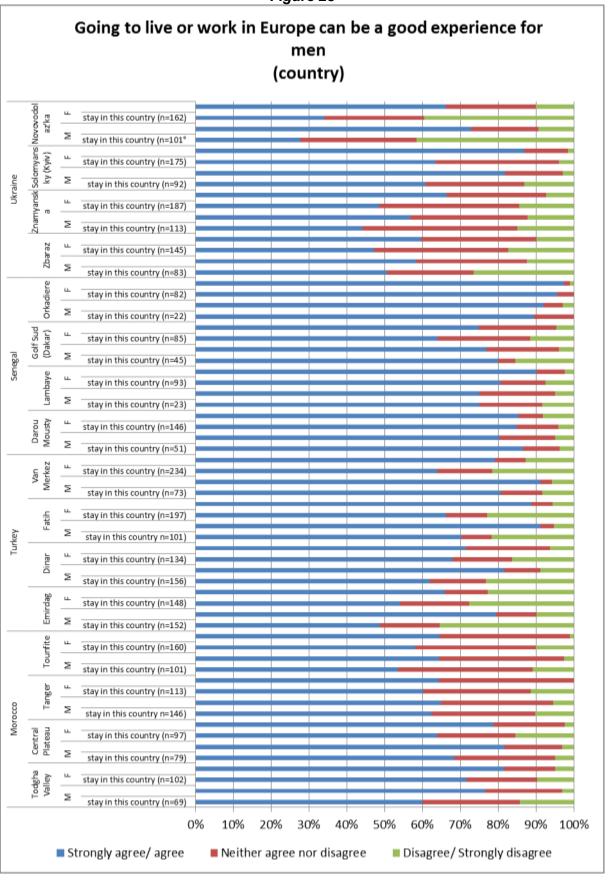


Figure 24

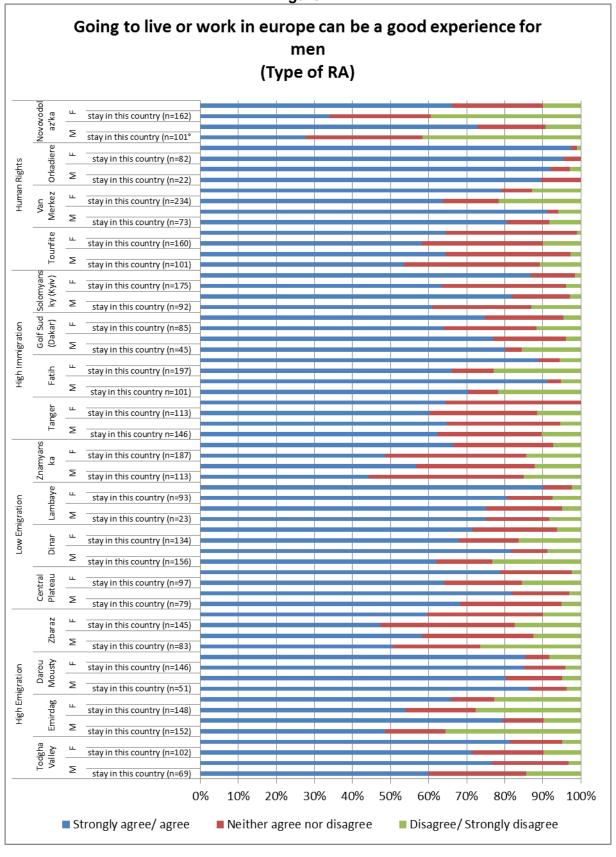


Table 12. Going to live or work in Europe can be a good experience for men

			•	Strongly agree/ agree	Neither agree nor dis- agree	Disagree/ Strongly disagree
			stay in this country (n=69)	60,0%	25,7%	14,3%
		M	go abroad (n=188)	76,6%	20,2%	3,2%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	71,6%	18,6%	9,8%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	81,4%	13,6%	5,0%
			stay in this country (n=79)	68,4%	26,6%	5,1%
	Central Plateau	M	go abroad (n=164)	81,7%	15,2%	3,0%
_		_	stay in this country (n=97)	63,9%	20,6%	15,5%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	78,8%	18,8%	2,5%
000			stay in this country n=146)	62,3%	27,4%	10,3%
Õ	_	M	go abroad (n=182)	64,8%	29,7%	5,5%
	Tanger	_	stay in this country (n=113)	60,2%	28,3%	11,5%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	64,4%	35,6%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=101)	53,5%	35,6%	10,9%
		M	go abroad (n=149)	64,4%	32,9%	2,7%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	58,1%	31,9%	10,0%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	64,4%	34,4%	1,1%
	Emirdag -		stay in this country (n=152)	48,7%	15,8%	35,5%
		M	go abroad (n=112)	79,5%	10,7%	9,8%
		_	stay in this country (n=148)	54,1%	18,2%	27,7%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	65,9%	11,4%	22,7%
		М	stay in this country (n=156)	61,9%	14,8%	23,2%
			go abroad (n=147)	81,6%	9,5%	8,8%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=134)	67,9%	15,7%	16,4%
Turke		F	go abroad (n=63)	71,4%	22,2%	6,3%
rkey			stay in this country n=101)	70,3%	7,9%	21,8%
		M	go abroad (n=112)	91,2%	3,5%	5,3%
	Fatih	_	stay in this country (n=197)	66,1%	10,9%	22,9%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	88,8%	5,6%	5,6%
			stay in this country (n=73)	80,6%	11,1%	8,3%
	., ., .	M	go abroad (n=102)	91,2%	2,9%	5,9%
	Van Merkez	_	stay in this country (n=234)	63,8%	14,7%	21,6%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	79,1%	8,1%	12,8%
			stay in this country (n=51)	86,5%	9,6%	3,8%
		M	go abroad (n=143)	80,3%	14,8%	4,9%
	Darou Mousty	_	stay in this country (n=146)	84,9%	11,0%	4,1%
Sé		F	go abroad (n=158)	85,4%	6,4%	8,3%
Senegal		N #	stay in this country (n=23)	75,0%	16,7%	8,3%
gal		M	go abroad (n=100)	75,0%	20,0%	5,0%
	Lambaye	_	stay in this country (n=93)	80,6%	11,8%	7,5%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	90,0%	7,5%	2,5%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	М	stay in this country (n=45)	80,0%	4,4%	15,6%

_	_	_				
			go abroad (n=151)	76,8%	19,2%	4,0%
		_	stay in this country (n=85)	64,0%	24,4%	11,6%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	74,8%	20,6%	4,6%
			stay in this country (n=22)	89,5%	10,5%	0,0%
	<b>.</b>	М	go abroad (n=190)	92,0%	5,2%	2,9%
	Orkadiere	_	stay in this country (n=82)	95,5%	4,5%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	97,4%	1,5%	1,0%
	Zbaraz	NA	stay in this country (n=83)	50,6%	22,9%	26,5%
		M	go abroad (n=120)	58,3%	29,2%	12,5%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	47,2%	35,4%	17,4%
			go abroad (n=151)	59,6%	30,5%	9,9%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	44,2%	40,7%	15,0%
			go abroad (n=90)	56,7%	31,1%	12,2%
		_	stay in this country (n=187)	48,7%	36,9%	14,4%
Ukraine		F	go abroad (n=110)	66,4%	26,4%	7,3%
ain			stay in this country (n=92)	60,9%	26,1%	13,0%
U	Solomyansky	M	go abroad (n=104)	81,7%	15,4%	2,9%
	(Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	63,4%	32,6%	4,0%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	86,8%	11,6%	1,6%
			stay in this country (n=101°	27,7%	30,7%	41,6%
	l	М	go abroad (n=107)	72,9%	17,8%	9,3%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	34,0%	26,5%	39,5%
			go abroad (n=130)	66,2%	23,8%	10,0%

Figure 25

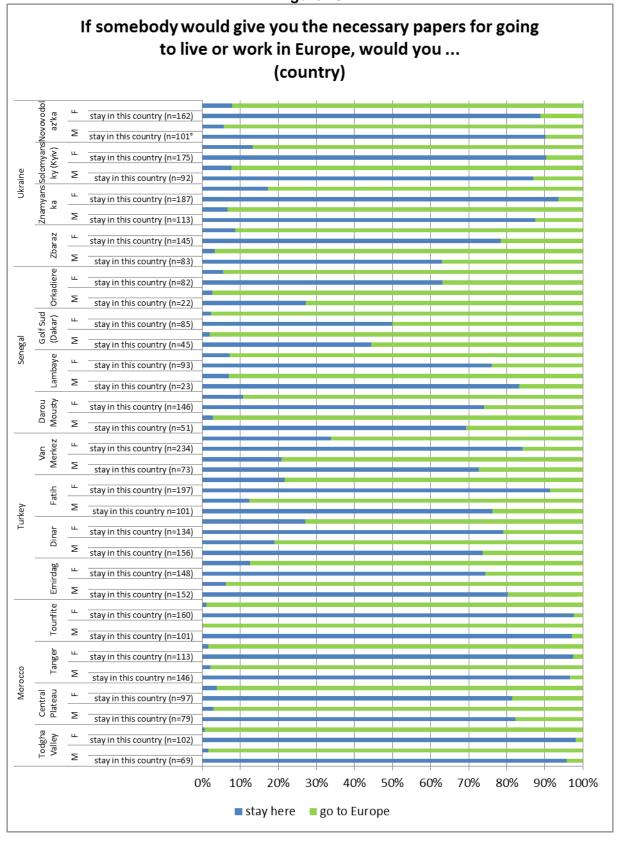


Figure 26

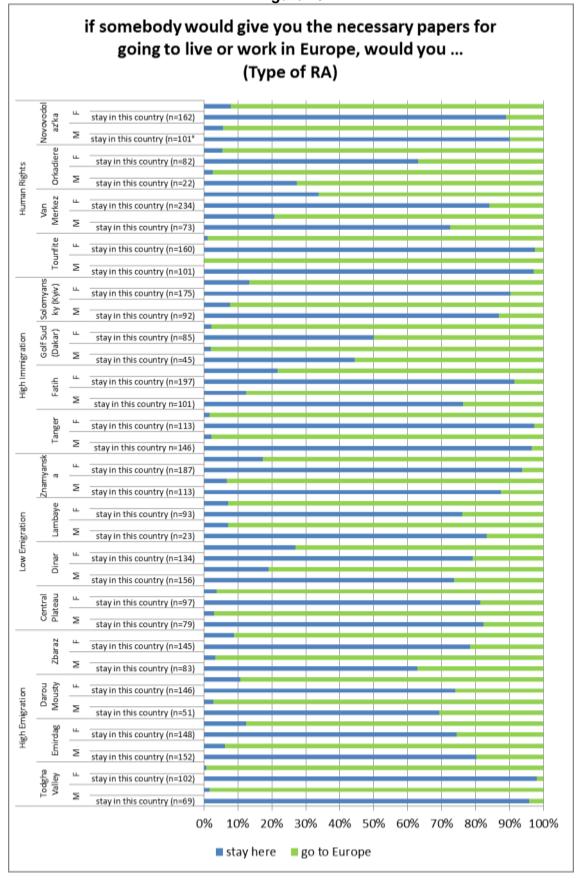


Table 13. If somebody would give you the necessary papers for going to live or work in Europe. What would you do? Would you...

				stay here	go to Europe
			stay in this country (n=69)	95,7%	4,3%
	Tadoba Vallan	M	go abroad (n=188)	1,6%	98,4%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	98,0%	2,0%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	0,7%	99,3%
			stay in this country (n=79)	82,3%	17,7%
		М	go abroad (n=164)	3,0%	97,0%
	Central Plateau	_	stay in this country (n=97)	81,4%	18,6%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	3,8%	96,3%
000			stay in this country n=146)	96,6%	3,4%
Ö		M	go abroad (n=182)	2,2%	97,8%
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	97,3%	2,7%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	1,7%	98,3%
			stay in this country (n=101)	97,0%	3,0%
		M	go abroad (n=149)	0,0%	100,0%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	97,5%	2,5%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	1,1%	98,9%
			stay in this country (n=152)	80,3%	19,7%
	Emirdag	M	go abroad (n=112)	6,3%	93,8%
		F	stay in this country (n=148)	74,3%	25,7%
			go abroad (n=88)	12,5%	87,5%
	Dinar	M F	stay in this country (n=156)	73,7%	26,3%
			go abroad (n=147)	19,0%	81,0%
			stay in this country (n=134)	79,1%	20,9%
겁			go abroad (n=63)	27,0%	73,0%
Turkey			stay in this country n=101)	76,2%	23,8%
<			go abroad (n=112)	12,4%	87,6%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	91,4%	8,6%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	21,6%	78,4%
			stay in this country (n=73)	72,6%	27,4%
		M	go abroad (n=102)	20,8%	79,2%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	84,0%	16,0%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	33,7%	66,3%
			stay in this country (n=51)	69,2%	30,8%
		M	go abroad (n=143)	2,8%	97,2%
	Darou Mousty	F	stay in this country (n=146)	74,0%	26,0%
ပ္			go abroad (n=158)	10,8%	89,2%
Senegal			stay in this country (n=23)	83,3%	16,7%
gal		M	go abroad (n=100)	7,1%	92,9%
	Lambaye		stay in this country (n=93)	76,1%	23,9%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	7,2%	92,8%
	Golf Sud	M	stay in this country (n=45)	44,4%	55,6%

	(Dakar)		go abroad (n=151)	2,0%	98,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=85)	50,0%	50,0%
			go abroad (n=217)	2,3%	97,7%
			stay in this country (n=22)	27,3%	72,7%
	<b>.</b>	М	go abroad (n=190)	2,6%	97,4%
	Orkadiere	_	stay in this country (n=82)	63,1%	36,9%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	5,5%	94,5%
		M	stay in this country (n=83)	63,0%	37,0%
	Zbaraz	М	go abroad (n=120)	3,3%	96,7%
	Zparaz	F	stay in this country (n=145)	78,3%	21,7%
		Г	go abroad (n=151)	8,8%	91,2%
	Znamyanska	M F	stay in this country (n=113)	87,5%	12,5%
			go abroad (n=90)	6,7%	93,3%
			stay in this country (n=187)	93,6%	6,4%
Ě			go abroad (n=110)	17,3%	82,7%
Ukraine			stay in this country (n=92)	87,0%	13,0%
ē	Solomyansky	М	go abroad (n=104)	7,7%	92,3%
	(Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	90,3%	9,7%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	13,3%	86,7%
			stay in this country (n=101°	90,1%	9,9%
		M	go abroad (n=107)	5,6%	94,4%
	Novovodolaz'ka		stay in this country (n=162)	88,9%	11,1%
		F	go abroad (n=130)	7,8%	92,2%

Figure 27

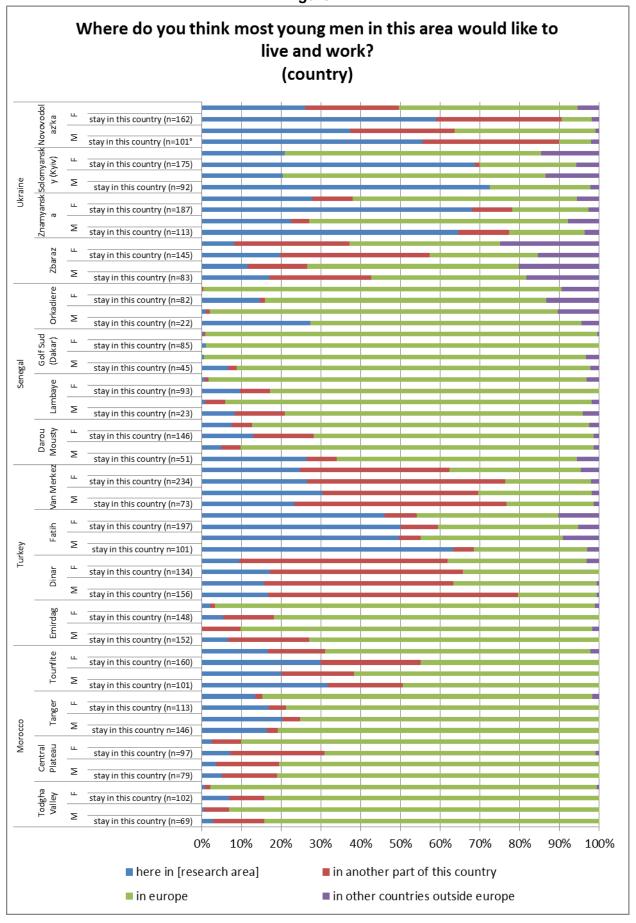


Figure 28

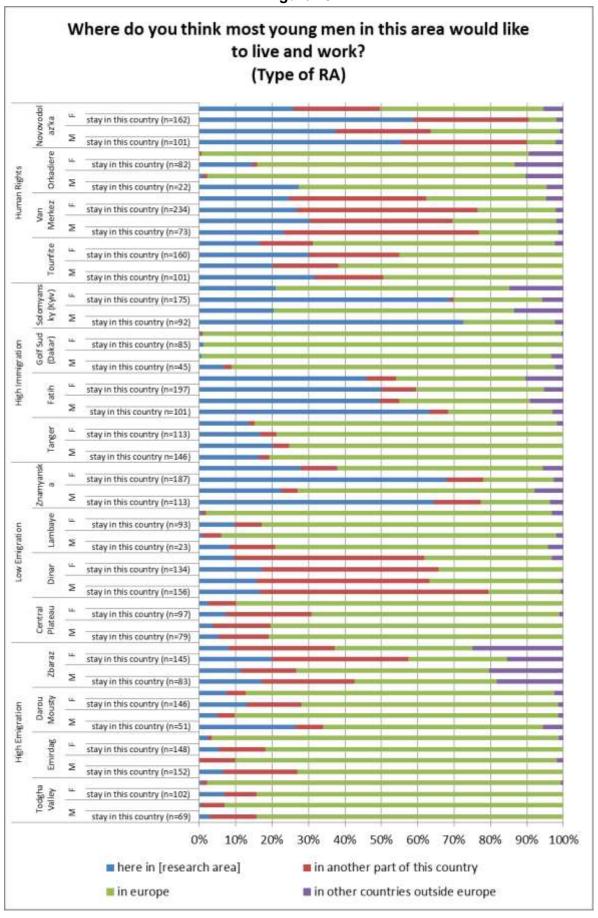


Table 14. Where do you think most young men in this area would like to live and work?

		, and <b>,</b> and and	This most young men in	1			
				here in [research area]	in another part of this coun- try	in europe	in other countries outside europe
			stay in this country (n=69)	2,9%	12,9%	84,3%	
		М	go abroad (n=188)	0,5%	6,4%	93,1%	
	Todgha Valley		stay in this country (n=102)	6,9%	8,8%	84,3%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	0,7%	1,4%	97,1%	0,7%
			stay in this country (n=79)	5,1%	13,9%	81,0%	
		M	go abroad (n=164)	3,7%	15,9%	80,5%	
	Central Plateau		stay in this country (n=97)	7,2%	23,7%	68,0%	1,0%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	2,5%	7,5%	90,0%	0,0%
roc			stay in this country n=146)	16,4%	2,7%	80,8%	
6		M	go abroad (n=182)	20,3%	4,4%	75,3%	
	Tanger		stay in this country (n=113)	16,8%	4,4%	78,8%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	13,6%	1,7%	83,1%	1,7%
			stay in this country (n=101)	31,7%	18,8%	49,5%	
		М	go abroad (n=149)	20,1%	18,1%	61,7%	
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	30,0%	25,0%	45,0%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	16,7%	14,4%	66,7%	2,2%
			stay in this country (n=152)	6,6%	20,4%	73,0%	0,0%
	Emirdag	M	go abroad (n=112)	0,0%	9,8%	88,4%	1,8%
			stay in this country (n=148)	5,4%	12,8%	81,8%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	2,3%	1,1%	95,5%	1,1%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=156)	16,7%	62,8%	19,9%	0,6%
		М	go abroad (n=147)	15,6%	47,6%	36,1%	0,7%
		F	stay in this country (n=134)	17,2%	48,5%	34,3%	0,0%
=			go abroad (n=63)	9,5%	52,4%	34,9%	3,2%
urkey			stay in this country n=101)	63,3%	5,1%	28,6%	3,1%
γ		М	go abroad (n=112)	49,5%	5,5%	35,8%	9,2%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	50,0%	9,5%	35,3%	5,3%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	46,0%	8,0%	35,6%	10,3%
			stay in this country (n=73)	23,3%	53,4%	21,9%	1,4%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	30,4%	39,2%	28,4%	2,0%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	26,6%	49,8%	21,5%	2,1%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	24,7%	37,6%	32,9%	4,7%
			stay in this country (n=51)	26,4%	7,5%	60,4%	5,7%
		М	go abroad (n=143)	4,9%	4,9%	88,8%	1,4%
	Darou Mousty		stay in this country (n=146)	· ·	·		
Ş	j	F	go abroad (n=158)	13,0% 7,6%	15,1% 5,1%	70,5% 84,8%	1,4%
Senegal			. , ,				2,5%
gal		М	stay in this country (n=23)	8,3%	12,5%	75,0%	4,2%
	Lambaye		go abroad (n=100)	1,0%	5,0%	92,0%	2,0%
		F	stay in this country (n=93)	9,7%	7,5%	82,8%	0,0%
		'	go abroad (n=283)	0,7%	1,1%	95,1%	3,2%

Figure 29

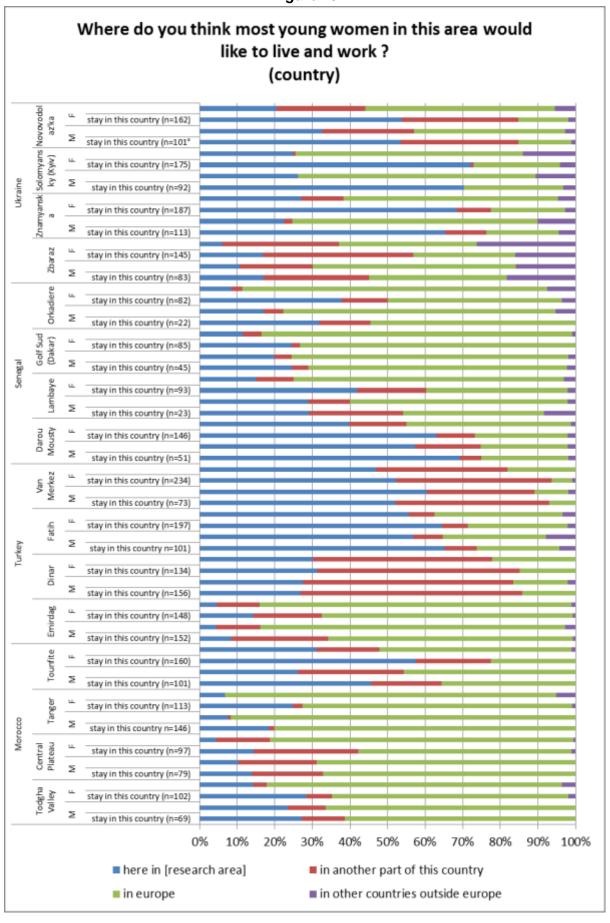


Figure 30

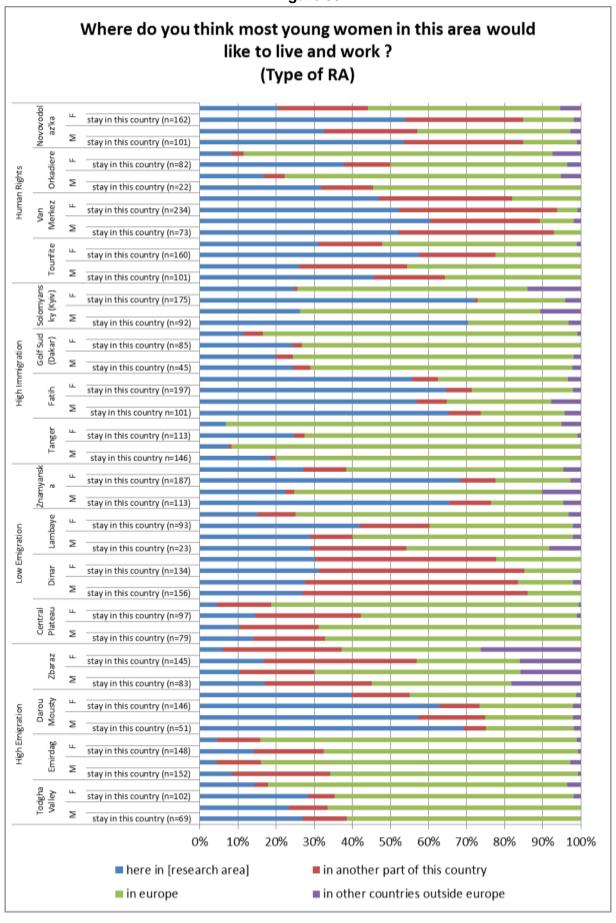


Table 15. Where do you think most young women in this area would like to live and work?

				here in [research area]	in another part of this coun- try	in europe	in other countries outside europe
			stay in this country (n=69)	27,1%	11,4%	61,4%	
	<b>-</b>	M	go abroad (n=188)	23,4%	10,1%	66,5%	
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	28,4%	6,9%	62,7%	2,0%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	14,3%	3,6%	78,6%	3,6%
			stay in this country (n=79)	13,9%	19,0%	67,1%	
	Occident Blade and	M	go abroad (n=164)	10,4%	20,7%	68,9%	
_	Central Plateau	_	stay in this country (n=97)	14,4%	27,8%	56,7%	1,0%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	4,4%	14,4%	80,6%	0,6%
000			stay in this country n=146)	18,5%	1,4%	80,1%	
0	_	M	go abroad (n=182)	7,7%	0,5%	91,8%	
	Tanger	_	stay in this country (n=113)	24,8%	2,7%	71,7%	0,9%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	6,8%	0,0%	88,1%	5,1%
			stay in this country (n=101)	45,5%	18,8%	35,6%	
		M	go abroad (n=149)	26,2%	28,2%	45,6%	
	Tounfite	_	stay in this country (n=160)	57,5%	20,0%	22,5%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	31,1%	16,7%	51,1%	1,1%
	Emirdag		stay in this country (n=152)	8,6%	25,7%	65,1%	0,7%
		M	go abroad (n=112)	4,5%	11,6%	81,3%	2,7%
			stay in this country (n=148)	14,2%	18,2%	66,9%	0,7%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	4,5%	11,4%	83,0%	1,1%
	Dinar	М	stay in this country (n=156)	26,9%	59,0%	14,1%	0,0%
			go abroad (n=147)	27,6%	55,9%	14,5%	2,1%
			stay in this country (n=134)	31,3%	53,7%	14,9%	
Turk		F	go abroad (n=63)	30,2%	47,6%	22,2%	
rkey			stay in this country n=101)	65,3%	8,4%	22,1%	4,2%
~		M	go abroad (n=112)	56,9%	7,8%	27,5%	7,8%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	64,6%	6,8%	26,6%	2,1%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	55,7%	6,8%	34,1%	3,4%
			stay in this country (n=73)	52,1%	40,8%	7,0%	0,0%
		M	go abroad (n=102)	60,4%	28,7%	8,9%	2,0%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	52,3%	41,4%	5,5%	0,8%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	47,0%	34,9%	18,1%	0,0%
			stay in this country (n=51)	69,2%	5,8%	23,1%	1,9%
		M	go abroad (n=143)	57,3%	17,5%	23,1%	2,1%
	Darou Mousty		stay in this country (n=146)	63,0%	10,3%	24,7%	2,1%
S		F	go abroad (n=158)	39,9%	15,2%	43,7%	1,3%
Senegal			stay in this country (n=23)	29,2%	25,0%	37,5%	8,3%
gal		M	go abroad (n=100)	29,0%	11,0%	58,0%	2,0%
	Lambaye		stay in this country (n=93)	41,9%	18,3%	37,6%	2,2%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	15,2%	9,9%	71,7%	3,2%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	M	stay in this country (n=45)	24,4%	4,4%	68,9%	2,2%

I I			go abroad (n=151)	19,9%	4,6%	73,5%	2,0%
			stay in this country (n=85)	24,4%	2,3%	73,3%	0,0%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	11,5%	5,0%	82,6%	0,9%
			stay in this country (n=22)	31,8%	13,6%	54,5%	0,0%
		M	go abroad (n=190)	16,9%	5,3%	72,5%	5,3%
	Orkadiere		stay in this country (n=82)	37,8%	12,2%	46,3%	3,7%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	8,5%	3,0%	81,1%	7,5%
			stay in this country (n=83)	17,1%	28,0%	36,6%	18,3%
	Zbaraz	M	go abroad (n=120)	10,6%	19,5%	54,0%	15,9%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	16,8%	40,1%	27,0%	16,1%
			go abroad (n=151)	6,1%	31,1%	36,5%	26,4%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	65,5%	10,9%	19,1%	4,5%
			go abroad (n=90)	22,5%	2,2%	65,2%	10,1%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	68,4%	9,1%	19,8%	2,7%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	27,1%	11,2%	57,0%	4,7%
ain			stay in this country (n=92)	70,3%		26,4%	3,3%
ro		M	go abroad (n=104)	26,2%		63,1%	10,7%
	Solomyansky (Kyiv)	F	stay in this country (n=175)	72,3%	0,6%	23,1%	4,0%
			go abroad (n=129)	24,8%	0,8%	60,5%	14,0%
		М	stay in this country (n=101°	53,5%	31,3%	14,1%	1,0%
			go abroad (n=107)	32,7%	24,3%	40,2%	2,8%
	Novovodolaz'ka	F	stay in this country (n=162)	53,8%	31,0%	13,3%	1,9%
			go abroad (n=130)	20,5%	23,6%	50,4%	5,5%

Figure 31

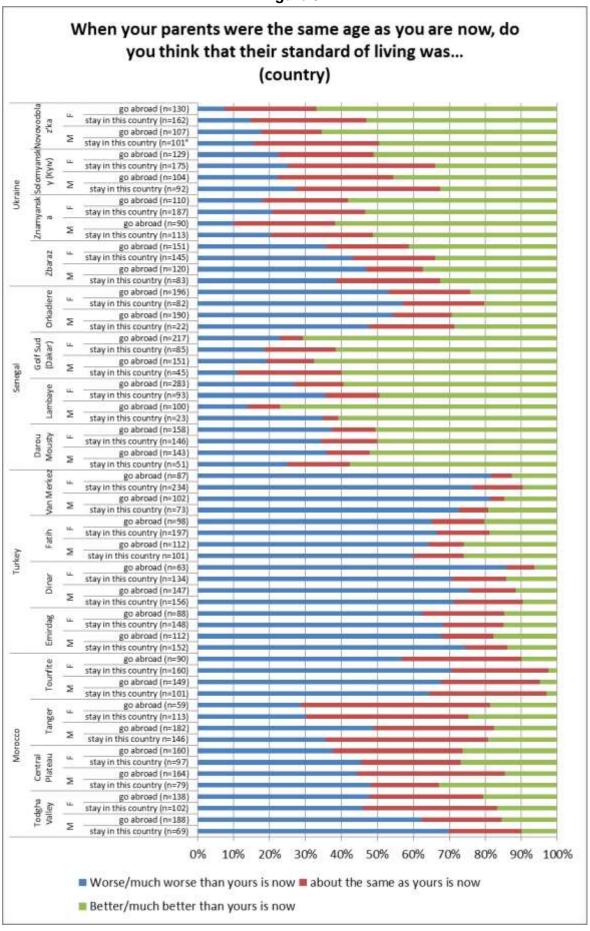


Figure 32

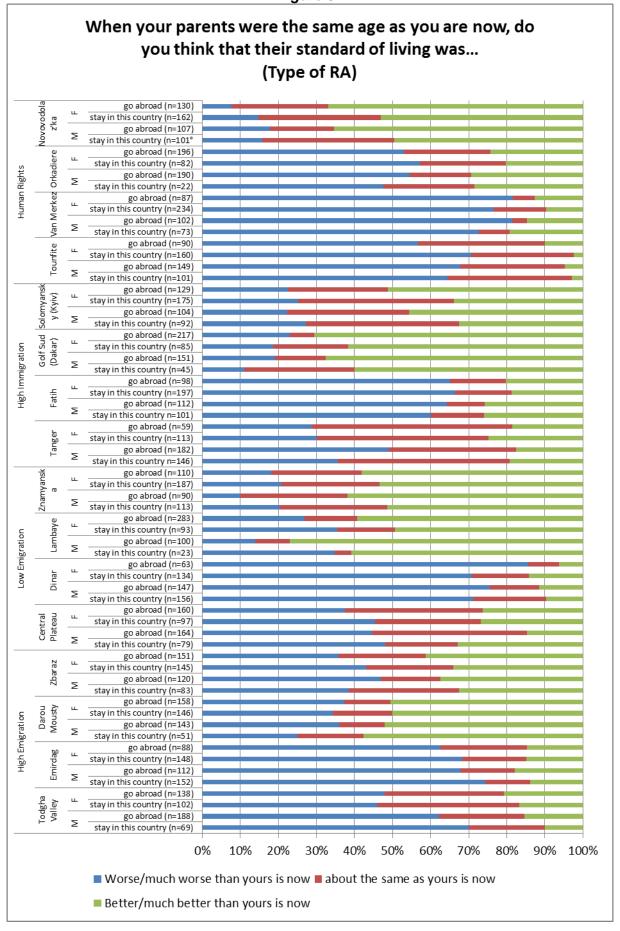


Table 16. When your parents were the same age as you are now, do you think that their standard of living was...

				Worse/much worse than yours is now	about the same as yours is now	Better/much better than yours is now
		M	stay in this country (n=69)	70,0%	20,0%	10,0%
	Tadaha Vallasi	М	go abroad (n=188)	62,2%	22,3%	15,4%
	Todgha Valley	_	stay in this country (n=102)	46,1%	37,3%	16,7%
		F	go abroad (n=138)	47,9%	31,4%	20,7%
		M	stay in this country (n=79)	48,1%	19,0%	32,9%
	Control Distant	М	go abroad (n=164)	44,5%	40,9%	14,6%
_	Central Plateau	_	stay in this country (n=97)	45,4%	27,8%	26,8%
Morocco		F	go abroad (n=160)	37,5%	36,3%	26,3%
000			stay in this country n=146)	35,6%	45,2%	19,2%
O	_	М	go abroad (n=182)	48,9%	33,5%	17,6%
	Tanger	_	stay in this country (n=113)	30,1%	45,1%	24,8%
		F	go abroad (n=59)	28,8%	52,5%	18,6%
			stay in this country (n=101)	64,4%	32,7%	3,0%
		М	go abroad (n=149)	67,8%	27,5%	4,7%
	Tounfite		stay in this country (n=160)	70,6%	26,9%	2,5%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	56,7%	33,3%	10,0%
			stay in this country (n=152)	74,3%	11,8%	13,8%
	Emirdag	M	go abroad (n=112)	67,9%	14,3%	17,9%
			stay in this country (n=148)	68,2%	16,9%	14,9%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	62,5%	22,7%	14,8%
	Dinar		stay in this country (n=156)	71,2%	19,2%	9,6%
		М	go abroad (n=147)	75,5%	12,9%	11,6%
			stay in this country (n=134)	70,9%	14,9%	14,2%
Turk		F	go abroad (n=63)	85,7%	7,9%	6,3%
rkey			stay in this country n=101)	60,0%	14,0%	26,0%
~		М	go abroad (n=112)	64,3%	9,8%	25,9%
	Fatih		stay in this country (n=197)	66,5%	14,7%	18,8%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	65,2%	14,6%	20,2%
			stay in this country (n=73)	72,6%	8,2%	19,2%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	81,4%	3,9%	14,7%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	76,5%	13,9%	9,7%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	81,6%	5,7%	12,6%
			stay in this country (n=51)	25,0%	17,3%	57,7%
		М	go abroad (n=143)	35,9%	12,0%	52,1%
	Darou Mousty		stay in this country (n=146)	34,2%	15,8%	50,0%
Sen		F	go abroad (n=158)	37,3%	12,0%	50,6%
Senegal			stay in this country (n=23)	34,8%	4,3%	60,9%
_	Lambaye	М	go abroad (n=100)	14,0%	9,0%	77,0%
	Lailibaye	-	stay in this country (n=93)	35,5%	15,1%	49,5%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	26,9%	13,8%	59,4%

1 1			stay in this country (n=45)	11,1%	28,9%	60,0%
		M	go abroad (n=151)	19,2%	13,2%	67,5%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)		stay in this country (n=85)	18,6%	19,8%	61,6%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	22,9%	6,4%	70,6%
			stay in this country (n=22)	47,6%	23,8%	28,6%
		M	go abroad (n=190)	54,5%	16,2%	29,3%
	Orkadiere	_	stay in this country (n=82)	57,1%	22,6%	20,2%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	53,0%	22,8%	24,3%
			stay in this country (n=83)	38,6%	28,9%	32,5%
	Zbaraz	М	go abroad (n=120)	47,0%	15,7%	37,4%
		F	stay in this country (n=145)	43,1%	22,9%	34,0%
			go abroad (n=151)	35,8%	23,0%	41,2%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	20,4%	28,3%	51,3%
			go abroad (n=90)	10,1%	28,1%	61,8%
_		F	stay in this country (n=187)	20,9%	25,7%	53,5%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	18,2%	23,6%	58,2%
aine		M	stay in this country (n=92)	27,2%	40,2%	32,6%
	Solomyansky	М	go abroad (n=104)	22,3%	32,0%	45,6%
	(Kyiv)	F	stay in this country (n=175)	25,3%	40,8%	33,9%
		Г	go abroad (n=129)	22,5%	26,4%	51,2%
		М	stay in this country (n=101°	15,8%	34,7%	49,5%
	Novovodolaz'ka	IVI	go abroad (n=107)	17,8%	16,8%	65,4%
	NOVOVOUOIAZ KA	F	stay in this country (n=162)	14,8%	32,1%	53,1%
		F	go abroad (n=130)	7,7%	25,4%	66,9%

Figure 33

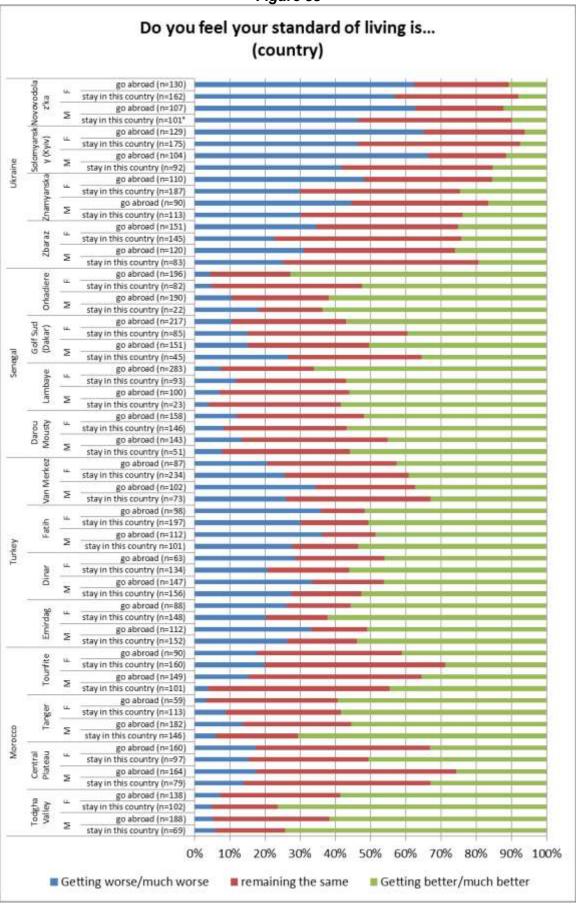


Figure 34

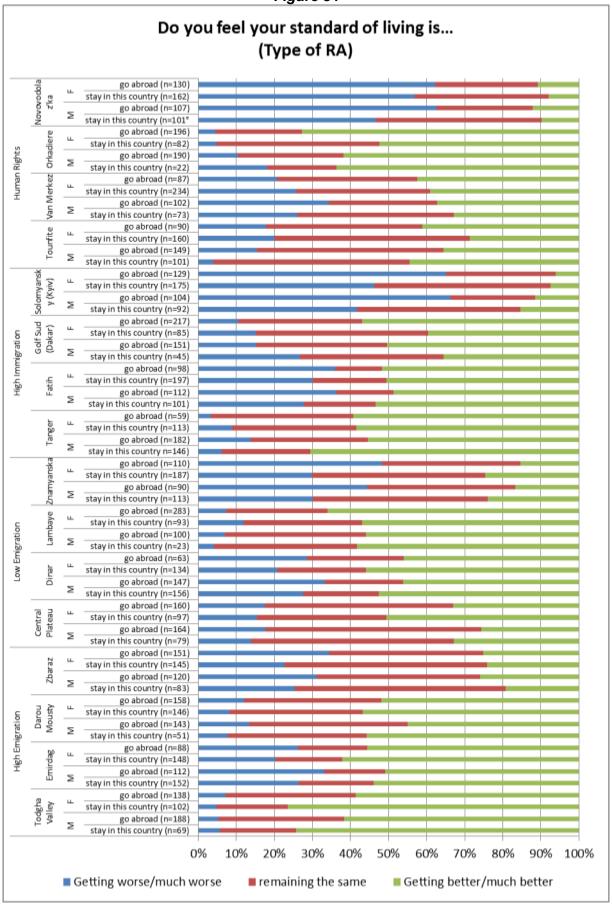


Table 17. Do you feel your standard of living is...

			able 17. Do you feel your s	Getting worse/much	remaining the same	Getting bet- ter/much better
			stay in this country (n=69)	worse	22.22	- 4 oo/
		М	go abroad (n=188)	5,7%	20,0%	74,3%
	Todgha Valley		stay in this country (n=102)	5,3%	33,0%	61,7%
		F	,	4,9%	18,6%	76,5%
			go abroad (n=138) stay in this country (n=79)	7,1%	34,3%	58,6%
		М		13,9%	53,2%	32,9%
	Central Plateau		go abroad (n=164)	17,7%	56,7%	25,6%
3		F	stay in this country (n=97)	15,5%	34,0%	50,5%
Morocco			go abroad (n=160)	17,5%	49,4%	33,1%
CCO		М	stay in this country n=146)	6,2%	23,3%	70,5%
	Tanger		go abroad (n=182)	13,7%	30,8%	55,5%
	90.	F	stay in this country (n=113)	8,8%	32,7%	58,4%
		'	go abroad (n=59)	3,4%	37,3%	59,3%
		М	stay in this country (n=101)	4,0%	51,5%	44,6%
	Tounfite	IVI	go abroad (n=149)	15,4%	49,0%	35,6%
	Tounfite	_	stay in this country (n=160)	20,0%	51,3%	28,8%
		F	go abroad (n=90)	17,8%	41,1%	41,1%
	Emirdag	М	stay in this country (n=152)	26,3%	19,7%	53,9%
			go abroad (n=112)	33,0%	16,1%	50,9%
		_	stay in this country (n=148)	20,3%	17,6%	62,2%
		F	go abroad (n=88)	26,1%	18,2%	55,7%
	Dinar	М	stay in this country (n=156)	27,6%	19,9%	52,6%
			go abroad (n=147)	33,3%	20,4%	46,3%
		F	stay in this country (n=134)	20,9%	23,1%	56,0%
Tu			go abroad (n=63)	28,6%	25,4%	46,0%
Turkey		М	stay in this country n=101)	27,7%	18,8%	53,5%
	<b>-</b> (1)		go abroad (n=112)	36,3%	15,0%	48,7%
	Fatih	_	stay in this country (n=197)	30,1%	19,4%	50,5%
		F	go abroad (n=98)	36,0%	12,4%	51,7%
			stay in this country (n=73)	26,0%	41,1%	32,9%
		М	go abroad (n=102)	34,3%	28,4%	37,3%
	Van Merkez		stay in this country (n=234)	25,6%	35,3%	39,1%
		F	go abroad (n=87)	20,7%	36,8%	42,5%
			stay in this country (n=51)	7,7%	36,5%	55,8%
		М	go abroad (n=143)	13,4%	41,5%	45,1%
	Darou Mousty	F	stay in this country (n=146)	8,2%	34,9%	56,8%
S			go abroad (n=158)	12,0%	36,1%	51,9%
Senegal			stay in this country (n=23)	4,2%	37,5%	58,3%
gal		М	go abroad (n=100)	7,0%	37,0%	56,0%
	Lambaye		stay in this country (n=93)	11,8%	31,2%	57,0%
		F	go abroad (n=283)	7,4%	26,5%	66,1%
	Golf Sud (Dakar)	M	stay in this country (n=45)	26,7%	37,8%	35,6%

	i	1			ı	1
			go abroad (n=151)	15,2%	34,4%	50,3%
			stay in this country (n=85)	15,1%	45,3%	39,5%
		F	go abroad (n=217)	10,6%	32,6%	56,9%
		.,	stay in this country (n=22)	18,2%	18,2%	63,6%
	<b>.</b>	М	go abroad (n=190)	10,5%	27,7%	61,8%
	Orkadiere	_	stay in this country (n=82)	4,8%	42,9%	52,4%
		F	go abroad (n=196)	4,5%	22,8%	72,8%
		.,	stay in this country (n=83)	25,3%	55,4%	19,3%
	71	М	go abroad (n=120)	31,1%	42,9%	26,1%
	Zbaraz	F	stay in this country (n=145)	22,8%	53,1%	24,1%
			go abroad (n=151)	34,4%	40,4%	25,2%
	Znamyanska	М	stay in this country (n=113)	30,1%	46,0%	23,9%
			go abroad (n=90)	44,4%	38,9%	16,7%
		F	stay in this country (n=187)	29,9%	45,5%	24,6%
Ukraine			go abroad (n=110)	48,2%	36,4%	15,5%
ain		М	stay in this country (n=92)	41,8%	42,9%	15,4%
(D	Solomyansky		go abroad (n=104)	66,3%	22,1%	11,5%
	(Kyiv)	_	stay in this country (n=175)	46,3%	46,3%	7,4%
		F	go abroad (n=129)	65,1%	28,7%	6,2%
		.,	stay in this country (n=101°	46,5%	43,6%	9,9%
		М	go abroad (n=107)	62,6%	25,2%	12,1%
	Novovodolaz'ka	_	stay in this country (n=162)	56,8%	35,2%	8,0%
		F	go abroad (n=130)	62,3%	26,9%	10,8%