UN/POP/MIG/SYMP/2006/01
7 June 2006

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT
Population Division
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations Secretariat
Turin, Italy, 28-30 June 2006

GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: EVIDENCE FROM THE NIDI-EUROSTAT STUDY*

Richard E. Bilsborrow, UNC-CH, and Jeannette Schoorl, NIDI

*The views expressed in the paper do not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of the United Nations Secretariat.

I. Introduction and Purpose of Report

The purpose of this study is to explore differences in the migration experiences of men and women international migrants from developing countries. There have been many studies of international migration, most looking at the processes of adjustment and assimilation in countries of destination, and the whole range of associated social and economic problems, benefits, and costs, and there have been a much smaller set of studies based on actual data that have examined the experiences of men or women international migrants, many looking at only one sex, and the vast majority based on only one country of destination, usually the United States or a country of the European Union. There have thus been very few studies on the migration experiences of international migrants from developing countries based on data collected in those countries rather than in countries of destination. While collecting data in destination countries has some advantages, notably since the data can usually be collected directly from the migrants themselves, the information provided about the experience of international migrants is evidently limited to that single destination country alone, which may well not be typical of the experiences of those leaving any country of origin, since emigrants may go to many destinations. It is therefore of particular interest from the *point of view of countries of emigration* to collect data in those countries about the experience of their emigrants and their households, to gain a broader picture of the process.

Nevertheless, there are two important limitations of such studies. First, they usually require collecting data about the out-migrant from a proxy respondent in the origin household (for further details, see Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997). This may limit the quality of data collected or its detail (such as on earnings, social relationships in the country of destination), or whether it can even be meaningfully collected at all, such as on attitudinal topics, motives for migration, etc.[1] The second limitation is that when entire households leave the country of origin, there is clearly no one left behind to provide reliable data on either the antecedents of migration or the current situation of the migrants. To the extent that (a) most migrants leaving the country leave as entire households, and (b) the motives and characteristics of those leaving as members of entire households differ from those who leave as individuals from households that remain behind, then data collected in the origin country will be biased in its intention of providing a more comprehensive picture of emigration experiences than data collected in one or more destination countries. Unfortunately, data are not readily available to shed light on the extent to which migrants depart as individuals or households in the countries included in the study here. On the first issue, the best that can be done is to carefully search out the member of the origin household who is *most* knowledgeable about the emigrant of interest, rather than blindly collect data from the household head or whichever other adult is handy at the time of interview, which is what is almost always done in migration surveys. The project which underlies the sources of data used in this report emphasized the importance to interviewers of identifying the best proxy respondent prior to undertaking the survey, ensuring that the data from proxy respondents are as reliable as can be expected.

The data drawn upon for this report are from specialized surveys on international migration carried out in three countries of origin of migrants in Africa in 1997-98, under a research program funded by the European Union (Eurostat) and managed by the Netherlands

[1] In many if not most cases, persons in the origin household who provide information as proxy respondents about the (absent) migrant are not likely to know about the precise occupation, income, etc., of the migrant, especially in such cases where social stigma is an issue; and when they do know, they are less likely to report that information to an interviewer.

Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI). The three countries are Egypt, Ghana and Senegal. NIDI developed the methodology for data collection and provided technical assistance to government statistical offices and local research organizations who collected the data and shared it with NIDI, making possible comparable cross-country analyses. Data were collected in the principal regions of international out-migration using scientific probability sampling to select households for interview. Detailed data were collected from samples of both migrant and non-migrant households, permitting the examination of a number of topics regarding gender and international migration, and doing so in a comparative fashion.

Based on these data for three countries, in this study we examine the similarities and differences in the backgrounds, characteristics, processes, and individual and household consequences of international migration *according to the gender of the migrant*. We do not compare migrants and non-migrants or statistically investigate the factors determining migration, both of which would require working also with the data on non-migrants as well as migrants and involve analyses beyond the scope and time frame of this project. Instead, we examine the backgrounds, experiences and present situations of male and female current migrants, return migrants, and their households, in this exploratory study of how those who do become international migrants differ.

The proposed project will address several key questions regarding international migration in a comparative perspective, as follows:

1. How do men and women international migrants from the three countries differ in *personal characteristics* at the time of (or just *prior to) migration*, such as age, education, marital status, whether have own children and how many, and whether employed or not and type or sector of employment?

2. How do they differ in terms of *household situation at the time of migration*, including household size, housing size and conditions, household assets including home ownership, and household economic situation?

3. How do they differ in ways proximate to migration, including migration *networks*? This will include whether they received aid in the origin country to migrate, whether they had relatives or close friends in the destination (D) country or other country prior to migration, whether they expected help before moving, and reasons for leaving the origin (O) country and for choosing D (especially economic vs. other)?

4. How do they differ in the process of arriving at and *settling in* the destination country, such as whether they moved individually, with other family members, or brought them later; whether they actually received any aid and type of aid; and (un)employment status and time to get first job in D?

5. How do they differ in their *current situation*, e.g., in the case of current migrants still abroad—in education and marital status; current employment status and sector of work; ownership of dwelling and other assets, quality of dwelling, whether has relatives or friends living in D, O or third countries currently; language ability; whether mainly watch TV of O or D and whether main social interactions are with D or O people; whether would have access to help in time of crisis; current economic situation of (origin) household; plans to seek citizenship, etc.?

6. For return migrants, the same questions arise as in 5, viz., comparing the situation of male vs. female return migrants on a variety of characteristics, and comparing their situations with those of current migrants remaining in the destination countries.

7. Finally, it is desirable whenever possible, that is, whenever the surveys collected the same data about the situation of the migrant and his/her origin household *before* migration (points 1 and 2 above) with the current situation. It is important to examine any changes in things such as marital status, education, employment status and type of work, housing conditions and household size, and the economic situation of the household. For example, an important topic is whether return migrants come back with more education or skills than they had when they left, since this can contribute to economic development in the origin country.

The above indicates the wide range of data that we will attempt to examine in this study. Not all will be possible from the NIDI data sets due to the data not being collected, the same or parallel questions not being asked of both the situation before and after migration, and the limitations of data collection from proxy respondents, and others will be limited by small sample sizes (especially for women migrants). Nevertheless, we hypothesize that important differences exist between men and women international migrants regarding all seven of the types of comparisons listed above.

II. Conceptual Approach

The conceptual approach and hypotheses underlying this empirical study are presented briefly in this section. The approach and hypotheses can be traced to a large body of literature that is too extensive to be summarized in detail here. The United Nations Population Division has itself contributed extensively to the broader bodies of literature on both international migration (e.g., UN, 1998, 2002, 2004a,b) and the internal and international migration of women in developing countries (e.g., UN, 1993). There are also a number of studies that review theories of internal or international migration that are relevant, going back to the origins of the field (e.g., Ravenstein, 1885; Sjaastad, 1962; Lee, 1966; Todaro, 1969; DeJong and Gardner, eds., 1981; Bilsborrow *et al.,* 1984, Ch. 2; Stark and Bloom, 1985; Massey *et al*., 1993; Hammar *et al*., 1997). Several recent studies have examined the roles of migration networks in migration and differences by gender (Palloni, *et al*., 2001; DeJong, 2002; Curran, 2003). A recent compilation in the journal *International Migration Review*, includes discussions of why the experiences of men and women international migrants are likely to differ, but very little empirical evidence (Gabaccia *et al*., 2006; see also Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005). Indeed, the roles of men and women do differ in all societies, and more so in many developing countries where traditions continue with little change, especially in rural areas and small towns. Restrictions on women's social and economic activities and roles accordingly exist in all societies but especially in most developing countries where women are more constrained to activities in the domain of the home and family. This evidently has important implications for their mobility, and especially their international migration, their ability to migrate autonomously and only not as part of a family unit or family reunification to join a spouse or other close relative.

Figure 1 below schematically illustrates these origin country (O) considerations that may affect international migration in the box of factors at the lower left, which like those above it on macroeconomic factors in the O shows factors that are implicit in existing studies of international migration (and difficult to measure or investigate). They are also implicit in this

present study, which is rather concerned with the factors affecting *differences* in the characteristics, processes, and consequences of the international migration of men and women, for both the migrants themselves and their households. For current international migrants continuing to live outside their country of origin, this refers to their current individual situation in D and to that of their O household, as they are considered still a member of that household..

In Figure 1 the country context affects the social situation and roles of men and women prior to migration, and hence in differences in pre-migration characteristics, in both individual characteristics (age, education, work experience, etc.) and household characteristics (ownership status and quality of dwelling, consumer assets owned; household income; etc.). These are indicated by the box for pre-migration characteristics.

Those characteristics in turn influence whether the migrant has access to migration networks and contacts with people in other countries, as noted in the Figure. Such networks are known to play major roles in determining who migrates and when, and in the initial settling-in process of the migrant in the D, in the next box to the right, as indicted by the arrows. Macroeconomic conditions and social mores in D (again indicated by the box at the top, comprising factors not measured in this study but implicit) also affect the initial situation and well-being of men and women migrants upon arrival in D, including differences by gender. Finally, at the right of Figure 1 is a box indicating the current situation of migrants who continue to live in D at the time of interview. Their situation is evidently affected by the whole chain of antecedent factors, from pre-migration circumstances in the origin country at the individual, household and larger societal context, to migration network and initial arrival factors in D. This is indicated by the arrows and pathways in Figure 1 (should they be dubbed the arrows of fortune?).

Finally, some migrants have returned to their origin country and household by the time of the survey, and are interviewed there. They may return as a result of having achieved their aim (e.g., earning enough to save a nest egg), or not (lack of success in finding work or adequate work); to termination of a fixed term labor contract; to inability to adapt to a different culture and society; to language problems, personal problems or homesickness; or to being expelled (caught as an undocumented migrant). The situation of *return migrants* and their origin household is indicated in the box to the lower right of Figure 1. Those who return involuntarily, and their origin households, are less likely to have benefited from migration than migrants who return voluntarily. The current situation of return migrants and their origin households is determined by the full range of factors in the Figure, from their pre-migration situation in the box at the left to access to networks and initial arrival conditions in the D, improvements or not in their situation while living in D, and finally the conditions and receptivity of their return to their origin country and household.

We now develop hypotheses regarding the effects of various factors on the process above, that is, on the pre-migration characteristics of male and female international migrants, their networks, initial arrival conditions, current circumstances in the case of current migrants (who remain in the destination country), and the situation of return migrants and their original O households.

We first consider hypotheses pertaining to the pre-migration characteristics. Note that we are *not* considering the relative probability of migration or the reasons for migration of males or females (although data in the tables below showing the *numbers* of men and women who

migrated do indicate large differences by gender), but rather similarities and differences in the *characteristics of those men and women who did migrate*.

Thus, regarding pre-migration individual characteristics of migrants, in most of the NIDI origin countries (see section III below), cultural and religious factors constrain women's activities outside the home (Morocco, Senegal, Egypt and to some extent Turkey). The exception is Ghana, where the population is split between Islam and Christianity, the majority of both women and men have completed primary school and have some secondary education, and women are very active in the economy, especially in selling in the market. Thus, except for Ghana, the few women who do engage in international migration (especially as autonomous or main decision-makers of the migration move), may tend to be *positively selected*, compared to not only non-migrant women but also male migrants. They may thus be a bit older, more educated, and with previous significant work experience. Nevertheless, apart from this group, from all countries there are also likely to be some women and girls who engage in international migration, impelled by poverty and/or found by labor recruiters, including many duped into thinking they will have jobs in restaurants, offices, as domestic servants, or elsewhere in the legitimate service sector but find themselves being trafficked into the commercial sex industry.[2] To the extent these females are from the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, women international migrants may have a bi-modal distribution in attributes considered generally to reflect positive selectivity, that is, for example, female international migrants may include higher proportions with both high and low education compared to male international migrants. This dichotomous distribution of female migrants is hypothesized to exist also with work experience, occupation, sector of work, earnings, whether had benefits from work, etc. The exception is Ghana, where the characteristics of women and men migrants are likely to be more similar.

Apart from women migrating independently, many women migrate within the framework of family reunification, following husbands already abroad. Whether this is an option depends on the rules and regulations of the countries of destination. European countries usually permit family reunification, contrary to countries in the Gulf region, the most important destination of Egyptian migrants.

The other set of pre-migration characteristics to consider refers to household and housing characteristics. From previous research, we know that being married, having had more births, and having more children living with her all restrain the out-migration of women, and that the effects are greater than for men. Thus we expect these factors to differ in this manner for male vs. female international migrants in the countries studied here. In the case of single women, it is possible that women with more educated fathers may have more opportunities to migrate, in which case women who migrate internationally would be likely to come from households and dwellings characterized by higher socio-economic status that would men migrants. Otherwise, it is not obvious how the household economic status is likely to differ for male vs. female international migrants, and is an empirical question about which the data here may shed some new light.

Migration networks, of the potential individual migrant and her/his household and family, play fundamental roles in the process of migration, and are probably more important for

[2] A March, 2006, Popline bibliographic compilation of the published literature from 1995 to 2006 on the topic "international migration and women but not gender issues" yielded 221 references, of which 52 deal with trafficking in women, the commercial sex industry, and/or HIV/AIDS. Indeed, this has become the dominant theme of the recent literature, as 34 of the 69 citations since 2001 have this focus.

international than internal migration, given the larger distances often involved in terms of physical space, language, culture, gender roles and opportunities, and other socio-economic conditions. These factors imply that networks should be more important for women who migrate than for men, though again to the extent the women migrants were involved in sexual trafficking, family networks would seem less likely to play a role. A related issue is whether the migrant had a visa or legal papers required for the migration before leaving. Those who did would likely have more positive experiences in the destination country. If women migrants are more conservative and less risk-taking, they might be more likely to have obtained such documents prior to migration.

The next set of hypotheses corresponds to the factors in the box relating to conditions of *initial arrival* in the D. Following the discussion above, we expect those women who migrate to receive more assistance than men, and therefore to obtain housing quicker, though whether this carries over to employment and quality of first job is to be empirically ascertained.

Of course, the bottom line is how do women and men international migrants differ in their *current conditions*, in education, employment status, earnings, having a written work contract, housing quality, etc. We expect them to continue to differ from men in marital status, to be more likely to be single, and to have fewer children than their male counterparts. If single, or if married and not with their spouse, it is possible that they will be more likely to return to the O, and more likely for non-economic reasons than men. There is a widespread hypothesis in the literature that women migrants (including international) are more likely than men to send remittances back to their origin household, but there has been little empirical evidence. We hoped to examine this here, but unfortunately data on remittances sent were only obtained from the household head rather than from all migrants in the individual questionnaires; thus there is insufficient data on remittances by gender. In this context, it would be important to take into account the person's employment status and earnings, as those earning little have little opportunity to remit. It would also be desirable to control for the apparent *need* of the O household--its size and composition, assets, and income.

Another set of considerations regarding the current situation of current migrants in D is whether they have close relative or friends with them in the D or left behind in the O. We hypothesize that women migrants are more likely to depend on relatives or friends in the D than their male counterparts, and would have been more likely to have moved with someone else from the origin country in the first place than is the case for men. It seems an open question, on the other hand, whether male or female migrants will be more likely to function in the main language of the D at the time of survey, or interact socially mostly with people from their country of origin or the local population, which could be but is not currently examined here. We expect women migrants to have more access to help if needed, but it is not clear what the differences are likely to be in terms of desires for citizenship in the D.

A final important factor is the extent to which men vs. women international migrants have accumulated human capital following migration, and up to the present time. The most common measure is education, so the issue is whether female migrants were more likely to attend school after migration than male migrants (but this is censored by the fact that Main Migration Actors (the majority of migrants studied—see definition in section III below) had to be at least age 18 or more at the time of migration. The second way in which migrants may accumulate human capital is through their work, by having occupations in which they acquire new, useful knowledge, and having better occupations that they had in their origin

country. It is again an empirical question as to whether this has been the case more for male vs. female migrants from these countries of origin. The issue of the increase in human capital is critical in the assessment of the gains from migration to the individual.

Finally, we are interested in the degree and ways in which men and women international *return* migrants differ, first, from each other, and second, from current migrants who continue to live abroad. Return migrants are evidently a subset of the all the persons who emigrated from the O country, which includes the current migrants remaining in the D (migrants who later died in the ten-year interval are evidently excluded, but this will be few given the young age distribution of migrants, seen below). It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the determinants of either the initial out-migration or of the return migration from the set of those who migrated to the D country. But since it is almost always possible to interview return migrants in person in the O country, in the household that they left from and returned to, we can normally get better data on them than can be provided by proxy respondents on current migrants who remain in the D. Thus it is possible to ask them questions about their situation and experience in the D, compare that with their earlier situation in the O prior to migration, and to compare both with their current situation back in the O as return migrants at the time of interview, in terms of their education, marital status, employment, housing conditions, household size, family financial situation, etc. Current migrants can also be analyzed this way, viz., compare their situation prior to migration with their current situation in the D, but the breadth and reliability of the comparison is limited by the fact that the data for most current migrants have to come from proxy respondents. These comparisons are fundamental to appraising whether migrants benefited or not from international migration. Those who return to the origin household may comprise both positively and negatively selected migrants from those who migrated to the D, and indeed from among those who initially migrated away from the O in the first place. Intriguing gender questions arise, such as: Is it men or women who are more likely to return, and is it mostly those who did well or or those who did not? The answers are not obvious, and hence call for empirical study, to which we turn after describing the data used.

III. Data Sources

The data used are from a multi-country survey project on determinants and mechanisms of international migration (Schoorl *et al.,* 2000). Five predominantly migrant-sending countries (Egypt, Ghana, Morocco, Senegal, and Turkey) and two migrant-receiving countries (Italy and Spain) participated in the project. In the five migrant-sending countries, data were collected from households both with and without international migrants, the latter comprising either current or return migrants. The project was funded by the European Commission, and coordinated by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) and the Commission's Statistical Bureau Eurostat, in collaboration with research teams and institutes in the participating countries. As noted earlier, this present paper is based on data for three of the five sending countries—Egypt, Ghana, and Senegal.

For various reasons, regionally representative rather that nationally representative sample designs were adopted in each country (further discussion is found in Groenewold and Bilsborrow, 2004, In press). In Egypt and Ghana four regions were purposely selected, and in Senegal two regions, using two criteria: (a) level of economic development (relatively high versus relatively low); and (b) experience with international migration (a long-standing history of migration versus a more recent emigration history, so that areas with neither were not considered a priori). The sample design in each country was a stratified, multi-stage

cluster sample comprising households with and without migrants, in which the former were over-sampled.

A short characterization of the study regions in the three countries is as follows: Of the two regions included in Senegal, Dakar is the more developed and also has significant recent emigration, in contrast to the older emigration flows from the Senegal River area), and receives many return migrants (Robin *et al.,* 2000). Touba, the second city in Senegal and located in the rural Diourbel region, was the other research site; it has recent migrants but a lower level of economic development than Dakar. In Ghana, the Greater Accra region, with a long-established migration history, and the Ashanti region, with more recent emigration, were selected as the two more economically advanced areas. Ghana's Eastern region (with long-established emigration patterns) and Brong Ahafo (with recent emigration) are the other regions selected, both less developed. In Egypt the administrative division into rural and urban regions served as the basis for selecting two regions of each type. The urban governorate region with Cairo and Alexandria has the highest level of socio-economic development and a history of established migration, while the combined region of urban `upper Egypt' (in the Nile Valley in southern Egypt) and urban `lower Egypt' (in the northern Nile Delta) is relatively economically developed and was taken by the project to be a single region characterized by recent high emigration. The rural regions included in the study are also in upper and lower Egypt and less developed, but with a parallel migration experience (recent migration in upper and established migration in lower Egypt (Schoorl *et al.* 2000).

Table A summarizes the basic survey statistics. Migrant households are defined in this project as those in which at least one person—still considered a member of the household--has left his/her household and country of origin to live abroad (for a realized or intended period of at least one year). Distinctions were made between households with current migrants and households with return migrants, and between those with recent and non-recent migrants. The latter (i.e. non-recent migration households) are those in which the emigration took place more than ten years preceding the survey, whereas households with recent current migrants refer to households in which someone left within the past 10 years and continues to live abroad, and households with recent return migrants have someone who emigrated during the 10 year period but also returned by the time of interview.

Table A. Number of households in the sample and numbers of households and individuals interviewed, by household and individual migration status and gender

Country:	Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
Fieldwork period:	April - May 1997		Aug-Sept 1997		Nov '97 - Feb '98	
Households in the sample	2.588		1.980		1.971	
Households interviewed:	1.943		1.567		1.740	
Current migrant households [a]:	607		466		708	
Recent migrant households [e:]	561		458		545	
With MMA	551		453		533	
Non-recent migrant households [e]	46		8		163	
Return migrant households [b]:	701		283		425	
Recent migrant households [e]	427		251		160	
With MMA	355		246		119	
Non-recent migrant households [e]	274		32		265	
Mixed migrant households [b]:	16		1		40	
Recent migrant households [e]	4		-		6	
Non-recent migrant households [e]	12		1		34	
Non-migrant households [d]	617		817		567	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Persons interviewed:	3,405	3,025	1,555	1,599	3,555	2,666
Current migrants:	712	64	373	163	1,049	58
Recent migrants [e]:	635	51	364	157	700	44
Main Migration Actors	535	14	322	124	506	25
Non-recent migrants [e]	77	13	9	6	349	14
Return migrants:	875	147	236	94	583	181
Recent migrants [e]:	492	59	202	73	168	51
Main Migration Actors	334	16	185	53	96	23
Non-recent migrants [e]	383	88	34	21	415	130
Non-migrants	1,812	2,812	946	1,342	1,923	2,427

a Current migrant households are households which have at least one member currently living abroad, for a period of at least one year.

b Return migrant households have at least one member who has lived abroad for a period of at least one year , and who has since returned to the sending household.

c A mixed migrant household has at least one current member living abroad and one return migrant, neither of which qualified as an MMA.

d Non-migrant households consist only of persons without international migration experience of at least one year abroad (non-migrants) and dependents (i.e., persons below age 18 or above age 65).

e Recent migration refers to the period of 10 years prior to the survey in which the emigration and return took place; non-recent migration refers to international migration that started more than 10 years prior to the survey.

In principle, all household members aged 18-65 years were eligible for interview, including persons currently living abroad perceived to be part of the household. However, to limit the interview burden on a household, only one recent migrant per migrant household was selected for a long interview, all others receiving shorter questionnaires. This migrant was named the main migration actor, or MMA. MMAs were always persons born in the survey country, 18 years or older at the time of their last migration from the survey country, and the *first* in the household to have left within that ten-year period. The head of the household usually provided information for the household, and often served as the proxy respondent for

the absent member or members (and notably the migrants). Return-MMAs were interviewed in person and never by proxy.

The questionnaires used consisted of a household questionnaire, administered to a reference person, usually the head of the household, and individual questionnaires for each household member aged 18-65. Data collection in each country was timed to increase the possibility of encountering migrants so as to be able to interview them in person, such as during major holidays when international migrants often returned to their origin household; but when the migrant could not be interviewed in person, a proxy respondent was selected (usually a spouse, sibling or other close relative or friend) answered most of the questions on behalf of the absent household member.

The interviews collected a wealth of data on the economic position of the household, including data on ownership of property and housing, as well as on social and demographic characteristics of household members, their work and migration histories, networks, migration experiences and intentions, etc. Comparability across countries was enhanced by the surveys being carried out in more or less the same time period and using generally the same survey instruments.

All adults were asked the same questions about personal characteristics, education, work experience, attitudes towards migration, etc., so women received the same attention as men, both migrants and non-migrants.[3] Women qualified as MMAs just as men, as the primary criterion was not economic but determined by who migrated from the household *first* within the past ten-year period. Nevertheless, as women are less likely than men to participate in international migration in these countries, the number of female migrants is often small, both among current migrants and among returnees.

For purposes of this report, data will be used from the Egyptian, Ghanaian, and Senegalese surveys. The migration patterns/migrant profiles vary: Ghanaian migration is dominated by a brain-drain of relatively educated people, with women often migrating independently, while Senegalese migration is male-dominated and includes those who are unemployed before migration as well as those in marginal occupations. In Egypt too, migration was heavily male-dominated, mostly for men to work in the Gulf countries on fixed term labor contracts, but as in Ghana, the educated appeared more likely to migrate.

IV. Gender Differences in the Situation of Migrants and Their Households Before and After Migration

In this major section of this study, we present empirical evidence on differences in the individual and household situations of male and female international migrants, following the conceptual diagram of Figure 1 above. Thus we will provide data relevant to the boxes in chronological order from left to right, that is, from the pre-migration characteristics of men and women who become migrants, to their networks and arrival circumstances in their (first) destination country, and to their current individual and household characteristics. In all cases we present the data first for those (current) migrants who remain living in a country different from their origin country, followed by the exact same data for return migrants. The discussion of return migrants will include a brief comparison and contrast of their situation with that of

[3] In some countries, not all adults received a full individual questionnaire, e.g., co-wives in polygamous households in Senegal.

current migrants in each case, that is, for each indicator variable and for each table. Finally, the last subsection in IV will compare the situation of male and female migrants prior to migration with their current situation following migration, to the extent permitted by the data.

The discussion in section III above indicates that even though the data are very rich and offer interesting bases for cross-country (cross-cultural) and cross-gender comparisons, this should be considered only a preliminary empirical study. This is discussed in the concluding section V below. Whenever possible, we present data for all migrants, including both Main Migration Actors (see III above) and other recent migrants together. The tables thus usually include other adult migrants who accompanied the MMA or followed them or migrated elsewhere during the 10-year interval. The reason for this inclusion is that it provides higher numbers of observations, which is especially important for women migrants from both Egypt and Senegal. Differences in the characteristics of the MMAs and other recent migrants are in any case minor, so even in the occasional situation of comparing data from, say, MMAs pre-migration and all migrants post-migration, the comparison is valid.

A. Antecedents to Migration: Pre-migration Characteristics of Migrants and Their Households

In this section we examine the individual characteristics and household context of male and female international migrants from the three study countries to the extent permitted by data in the Push-Pulls project described in III above. This section examines these for current migrants, that is, for those migrants who are currently (at the time of the survey in 1997-98) living outside their country of origin, and for their households. In the next section we provide comparable data for return migrants, who have returned not only to their origin country but to their origin household. We begin with data on personal characteristics other than economic aspects of migrants, then consider their economic antecedents (mainly work and employment experience), and conclude with the circumstances of their households of origin.

Age distribution

Among the personal characteristics of migrants that are important in migration and which may differ between male and female international migrants are age, education, and marital status at the time of migrating. Table 1 provides data on the age distribution of migrants at the time of departure. (Recall that all tables show the data for both current migrants and return migrants, with the latter discussed in the following subsection.) First, regarding age at emigration, it is clear that the international migrants from these three countries are usually young adults, as observed in virtually all studies of migration around the world, for both internal and international migrants. Most are in their twenties or thirties, with women migrating at slightly younger ages than men. The small number of women migrants in both Egypt and Senegal is significantly younger than their far more numerous male counterparts, with almost half in the 15-24 age group compared to only 21 and 31 percent, respectively, for males.

Education

Table 2 shows the education level of male and female migrants. It is intriguing how different gender differences are among the countries. In Egypt where less than 10% of the migrants are female, those women migrants are highly selected by education, with the education distribution far higher than for men: As noted in III above, most men who emigrate from

Egypt go to the Gulf States, where family reunification is not usually allowed. Therefore those Egyptian women who emigrate either are following husbands to Western destinations or migrating independently, for work or education. Over half the female migrants have superior or university-level education compared to less than a quarter of the men, and virtually all women migrants had secondary or higher education. In Senegal, where again autonomous migration of women is equally rare, with again fewer than 10% of the international migrants in the 10-year period before the survey being women, there is no evident overall difference in the education of female and male migrants. Some of this is due to the lower overall levels of education of both males and women in Senegal compared to Egypt, as this leaves fewer people at risk of migration with secondary or tertiary education. Finally, Ghana presents a very different situation, with women far more active in the economy and hence also in international migration, constituting nearly a third of the migrants who continue to live in the destination country at the time of interview, and with an educational distribution of women differing only slightly from that of men, with about 60% of the men with secondary or higher education compared to about 50% of the women. However, there are more men with tertiary education and women with none.

Marital status

Marital status has been found to have very different implications for male and female migration, both internally and internationally, with married women rarely migrating by themselves or autonomously in contrast to married men, especially in developing countries. Thus it appears anomalous (see Table 3) that in both Egypt and Senegal, those (relatively few) women who migrate internationally are slightly *more* likely to be married than male migrants. This is also the case in Ghana, however, where the numbers of male and female migrants are not so disparate. It should be noted that this does not mean that being single does not increase the chances of migration of women, since the denominators, the total numbers of men and women at risk of international migration in the relevant marital status groups (including non-migrants) is not considered in the study here.

Work experience and status

We now move on to consider economic aspects of the individual migrants, notably their work experience prior to migration. In Table 4 we see that in both Egypt and Senegal, where female migrants are highly selective, it is more likely for women than men migrants to have had *some* previous work experience. Given the data that follow, it seems that they often had this experience before they got married, and often, when married, were then not working at the time just prior to migration. In Ghana, women were also more likely to have ever worked before migration, though the difference is small. Table 5 adds more detail, showing the work status of migrants just prior to migration, in the categories of employer, employee, self-employed, casual work and family labor combined, unemployed, and a category covering all other persons not working for whatever reason, including being a student or in the military, household duties, "intending to migrate", disabled, etc. These data are more interesting than the data in Table 4, and show how dramatically different is the pre-work situation of women migrants compared to that of men in both Egypt and Senegal, with the category "not-working" being larger than all the various economically active categories *combined* for women In contrast, in Egypt, the predominant pre-migration economic classification of male migrants is employee, followed by casual/family labor, and a broad distribution across all the categories. In Senegal, three of every five male migrants were self-employed, followed distantly by casual/family labor. The proportions of males not working prior to migration

were much lower than those of females, varying from about 10 percent in Senegal to 15 in Egypt and much higher at about 30 per cent in Ghana (and not linked to a younger age distribution in Ghana, but likely to much higher school enrollments). At the same time, the proportions of both male and female migrants who were unemployed prior to migration were under 7 per cent in all three countries, so unemployment was not an important factor in emigration. Only Ghana has a large number of female international migrants, whose economic classification prior to migration warrants a fuller consideration. Only there is the category "employed" the largest for both women and men migrants. While self-employed is second, it is a distant second for males but equal to employed for women, likely reflecting the well-known dominant role of women in commerce in Ghana, the famous "market women" selling food, etc. Overall, in Ghana, women international migrants are more likely to have been employers, self-employed, and unemployed, and less likely to be employees or not in the labor force than men migrants prior to migration.

Sector of economic activity

Finally, Table 6 shows the broad sector of economic activity of those actually working prior to migration, which reflects differences in the overall levels of development and sectoral distribution of economic activities across countries as well as the urban-rural origins of migrants (see below). The tertiary sectors, including services and commerce, is the dominant sector of work of both male and female international migrants prior to migration in Ghana and Senegal, while in Egypt it is the primary sector, or mainly agriculture. While this difference could also reflect differences in the type of work in which migrants become involved in their destination country, and activities of labor recruiters, data in section E below show this is not the case. Rather, it is linked to the rural-urban distribution of migrants prior to migration, as we shall now see.

Place of residence

Moving on to the characteristics of the households of origin of male and female international migrants, first we examine whether there are differences by gender in place of residence as between urban and rural areas (Table 7). First, it is striking how different the origins of migrants are in general across the three countries (though this could reflect major differences in definitions used in the different countries, which is an omnipresent problem in comparing data across countries, as well as in sample designs), with the vast majority of international migrants from Egypt being from rural areas, over three-fourths of those from Ghana coming from towns, and well over half from Senegal from cities. In every country, the proportion of female migrants coming from cities vs. towns and rural areas if much higher than that of male migrants. This may well be a theme that bears further examination to see if it is a general tendency across developing countries. Here, the percentage of female international migrants coming from cities is 50 in Egypt compared to 26 for males, 75 in Senegal vs. 57 for males, and 25 in Ghana vs. 20 for males. These differences are considerable, and imply that women who engage in international migration from these countries are much more likely to come from urban than rural areas compared to men. Rural women are largely found in, if not trapped in, traditional societies and households.

Household size

Table 8 provides data on mean household size prior to migration, to address the question of whether larger households facilitate (through more members permitting more diversification of economic roles to spread risks) or stimulate (higher consumption needs, more crowded living conditions) greater out-migration, and whether there are differences between the households of women vs. men migrants. While data are not presented here on the general issue, there is only one of the countries where there is a gender difference: In Egypt women international migrants come from much smaller households than male migrants.

Adequacy of household income

A key issue is the economic situation of migrant households at the time of migration—do migrants tend to come from households that are well off or poor, or from those that perceive themselves as better off than their neighbors or not (relative income)? Since these data are subjective, they were considered reliable only when obtained directly from the migrant, rather than from any proxy respondent, so the numbers of cases is quite small for current international migrants in contrast to return migrants (discussed later in subsection B). Table 9 presents available data for the three countries on the perceived adequacy of household income for meeting family needs by gender. The data suggest that these international migrants tend to come from mainly poorer households, in Ghana and Senegal, and from average ones in Egypt. Unfortunately there are not enough data from women Main Migration Actors to say anything about them, although all of the women responding come from households perceived as not having sufficient resources or average situations.

Household income compared to neighbors

The other data available on the economic situation of migrants' households is how they viewed the situation of their household compared to that of their neighbors. Table 10 presents the data, such as they are. First, problems were encountered in asking the question in Senegal, so no data are available. In the other two countries, the numbers of observations for women are trivial, and even those for men are small, since the data are only available for MMAs who could be interviewed directly. The data from males in Egypt, however, are consistent with the data in Table 9 on the tendency for migrants to come from households in which the migrants sees the household as worse off or at most as well off as his neighbors.

Reason for leaving country of origin

Table 11 provides data on the motives for leaving the origin country. Not surprisingly, male migrants indicate overwhelmingly economic motives for their decision to go abroad. Women's motives for international migration are more diverse, being mostly family-driven for those migrating from Egypt and Senegal but in Ghana fully half of the women migrated for economic reasons.

Who made the migration decision?

Who made the decision to emigrate? All migrants were asked this question, but the vast majority of the responses on current migrants, here as elsewhere, were provided by a proxy respondent, as the migrant was usually in the country of destination at the time of interview. The last table in this subsection (Table 12) has data on whether the migrant or others made

the decision to migrate. It is evident that there are significant differences between men and women, as well as across countries. In Egypt, 93 per cent of the male current migrants (via their proxies) were reported to have made the decision mostly or entirely by themselves. Although this was also the response for over 60 per cent of Ghanaian and Senegalese men, for about one in four Ghanaian men and as many as two in five Senegalese men it was reported that the migration decision involved others too, and in some cases even was decided for them. In contrast, for women, their more limited decision-making power is clearly reflected in the figures. Although the number of women who said it was largely or completely their own decision is not negligible, a majority of women said the decision was made jointly or by others, with over a third of (the small number of) Senegalese women reporting the decision as being made by others.

B. Differences in the Situation of Return Migrants by Gender, and Comparison with Current Migrants

This subsection continues the discussion of results of subsection A for the data in the right columns of Tables 1-10, pertaining to the individual and household characteristics of return migrants. Since most of the data and findings are similar to those for current migrants, the discussion is shorter. However, we shall note any major differences between current migrants and return migrants. It is intriguing to speculate if return migrants can be reasonably considered as a subset of current migrants, that is, as part of a synthetic cohort, who have decided to return to their origin country and household. This may be partly the case, as the age distribution of return migrants is slightly older.

Age, education, and marital status

As with current migrants, the vast majority of both male and female return migrants originally left their origin country as young adults, in their 20's and 30's, with women again leaving at slightly younger ages on average (Table 1 above). In Egypt, women migrants who return to their origin had left at slightly older ages, while the opposite is true in Ghana, and there is no difference between the age distribution of women return migrants and current migrants in Senegal.

A key dimension of migration is education, since it reflects human capital and is often studied from the perspective of the brain drain from developing countries. Thus is it the better educated or the less well educated who tend to return to the origin country? Data in Table 2 provide some hints, provided the return migrants can be seen as coming from a larger set of migrants including current migrants. As with current migrants, it is only for Egypt that return migrants have a higher level of education on average for women than men. More significant is that the data for all three countries show that return migrants have a lower educational profile than those who do not return. Thus in Egypt, the proportions of male return migrants with tertiary or secondary or higher education are .18 and .50, compared to .24 and .55, while the corresponding figures for women migrants are .38 and .60 for return migrants and .58 and .92 for current migrants. For Ghana, the proportions of men returning with tertiary and tertiary + secondary education were .18 and .51, compared to .20 and .60, while those of women returnees were, respectively, were .07 and .35, versus .12 and .48 for current migrants staying abroad. In Senegal, there were no women who left with tertiary education, but the proportion who returned with any education was only one in eight whereas about half of those with any education did not return. For men, 13 per cent of those returning had secondary or higher education in contrast to only half that for those remaining abroad, so it is

only for men in Senegal that the pattern is different, perhaps the many male emigrants with no education were more successful in obtaining (even low wage) jobs in their destination country (France and neighboring African countries primarily) than in Senegal. But the overall pattern seems clear.

For marital status (Table 3), the data on return migrants in Egypt are essentially the same as for current migrants, for both genders, in each case, with women more likely to be married than men in both groups. The same overall pattern holds for Senegal, except that for women return migrants are more likely to be married while many of those who migrated as single women are likely to remain abroad and not return. However, this is not the case in Ghana, where it is married men who are more inclined to return, while the majority of married women remain abroad, perhaps with spouses.

Work experience variables

Among the three countries, similar patterns are observed for gender differences in return migrants as were observed for current migrants, with male returnees far more likely to have had work experience before their migration than women who return in both Egypt and Senegal but not Ghana, where there are no differences at all. Little difference is observed between return migrants and current migrants (Table 4). Table 5 also shows little difference in male-female patterns, albeit perhaps with both men and women self-employed or engaged in casual/family labor in Ghana prior to migration slightly more likely to return. In both Egypt and Senegal, men who had been employed prior to migration were more likely to return. In all countries, men not working before migration were among those least likely to return, which probably includes some who migrated to study on student visas and overstayed their visas.

The data on the sectoral employment distribution of men and women migrants prior to migrating are not very illuminating. Those returning of both genders were most likely to have been working in the tertiary sector. Very few migrants from Senegal had been working in the primary sector prior to migration, unlike the other countries. Men working in the tertiary sector before emigrating were more likely to return to Egypt than those in other sectors, whereas the opposite is true of Ghana.

Place of residence and size of household

Return migrants of both genders tend to have had origins in towns or cities, with the exception of men who return in Egypt, about 60% of whom had rural origins, only slightly less than the proportion who remain as current migrants (Table 7). Still, the proportion returning who had city origins is higher for male migrants in Egypt and much higher for women, where those 70 per cent of those women returning were from cities originally, compared to 50 % of current migrants. In contrast, for Ghana, there is little difference in the proportions from cities who return or do not return, for either gender, with all the four figures being 20-25 per cent. For Senegal, return migrant women are more likely to have had city origins than return migrant men, though the difference is not quite as great as it is for current migrants.

Table 8 presents data on size of household. Return migrant women have (origin) household sizes of about the same size as return migrant men in Egypt and Senegal, but are distinctly

larger in Ghana. Could it be that Ghanaian migrants with larger families feel more pressure to remain abroad to send remittances to support their origin household?

Economic situation of origin household

Do return migrants come initially from origin households that are well-off? Do they return to them more than to poorer households? Because the data are attitudinal, they are generally available only for those MMAs who can be interviewed directly, which means only rarely for current migrants, but almost always for return migrants, since they were back in their origin households when the interviews were conducted. Thus in Table 9, we see the patterns of return migration according to the origin household's situation prior to migration in the three countries. In each of the countries, women migrants who return come from somewhat better off households than male return migrants, though both genders report themselves as coming generally from economically poor or marginal households. This is especially true of migrants in Senegal, and marginally so in Egypt. Overall, migrants from Egypt came from households with adequate economic situation before the migrant left, in contrast to the other two countries. There is little difference in the distribution of return migrants and current migrants by adequacy of economic situation before migration, for either gender. Data in Table 10 show little difference by gender in the perceived situation of the household of return migrants prior to migration compared to that of neighbors. The distributions by economic condition are also similar for current and return migrants.

Reasons for leaving country of origin

As seen in Table 11, reasons given by return migrants for leaving their country of origin, to which they have now returned, were overwhelmingly economic for men in Egypt and Ghana, and predominantly economic for men in Senegal and migrants in Ghana. They are primarily for familial reasons, in contrast, for women migrants in Egypt and Senegal. These findings are very similar to those for current migrants, with the minor exception of male return migrants in Senegal, who are more likely to have left for "other" reasons (24 per cent vs. under 5 per cent, for current migrants), and the lower per cent of women migrants returning to Ghana who had left for familial reasons (24 vs. 36 per cent for current migrants, remaining in the destination country).

Who made the migration decision?

In the case of return migrants, data on who made the migration decision come directly from the migrant. It is thus interesting that the distribution of the responses for return migrants for both sexes is very similar to that of the responses provided by proxy respondents for current migrants, in the left columns of Table 12. This provides *prima facie* support for the quality of data of proxy respondents being generally fairly reliable in the three countries. As with current migrants, male return migrants overwhelmingly report themselves as making the decision themselves, although almost half of those who return in Senegal say others were involved. In all three countries, a majority of women return migrants report their migration decision as involving others, and in the case of Senegal, about half report their initial emigration decision (and likely the return migration decision) to be made mainly or entirely by someone else, perhaps a spouse. Still, the numbers of women migrants who made the migration decision themselves is significant in Ghana and Egypt (among the selected few who engage in international migration). Finally, there appears some tendency for return migrants to report others as being involved in their initial emigration decision more than is the case for current migrants, e.g., in Senegal for both sexes and for women in Egypt.

C. Migration Networks and Arrival Conditions of Current Migrants

Drawing on Figure 1 above, there are several items in the NIDI data that may reflect on the relative advantages of men and women for engaging in international migration, apart from (but not unrelated to) their pre-migration individual and household circumstances, discussed above. This includes whether they had migration networks, previous visits abroad, the main reason for choosing the destination country, who they migrated with, whether they received assistance initially in their country of destination, and how long it took them to get their first job.

Presence of migration networks before migration

Whether potential migrants have access to migration networks of their own or through their family or close friends is known to be a significant factor in international migration decisions, and is likely to be linked to subsequent outcomes for those who migrate. Table 13 provides summary data by gender for current international migrants from the three study countries. Among those who migrate, women are more likely than men to have had networks available to them before migration in all three countries, especially in Egypt and Ghana. In Senegal, where it seems networks drive migration, male migrants are almost as likely to have had networks as female migrants, with about 3/4 having networks available to them. This contrasts with Egypt and Ghana, where just over half the men had such networks, compared to about 80 per cent of the women.

Motives to choose a specific country of destination ("pull factors")

Reasons given for male migrants for choosing their country of destination (Table 14) are predominantly economic, as with reasons to emigrate in the first place (Table 11, above), as is to be expected. But the economic pull factors appear far *less* important than the economic push factors, for both men and women. Instead, the presence of relatives or friends already in the country of destination (family reunification), as well as other factors such as the ease vs. difficulty of getting a visa or gaining admission illegally, or educational opportunities, or a change in life style also often figure as important pull factors. Thus for men in Egypt, economic push factors accounted for 94 per cent of the emigration but only 62 per cent of the reasons for choosing the destination country. Similar differences are observed in Ghana where 75 per cent of male migrants report economic reasons as the main ones for leaving but only 55 per cent report them as reasons for choosing their destination. In Senegal, the corresponding figures are 95 and 70 per cent. Thus for male migrants from all three countries, both familial and other reasons are much more important in the destination choice decision than in the emigration decision. Women's country-choice decisions are also more likely to be non-economic than their reasons for departing, though the differences are much less (e,g,, falling from 51 per cent to 38 per cent).

Whether received financial assistance from the origin

Assistance may be received from either the origin or destination. Someone in the origin household, in particular, may provide funds for travel or assistance once the migrant has arrived in the country of destination. Table 15 provides data for current migrants on whether the received any assistance from any source in the origin area, whether from relatives in the household or elsewhere, friends, a bank loan, community donation, etc. Substantial

differences are evident both across country and by gender. Only in Egypt and only for males did the majority of migrants receive aid, with 61 per cent receiving aid, mostly from relatives (recall that the majority are married men going to the Gulf States to work for a fixed period of a few years on a labor contract), but some also got help from friends, a loan, and even their local community. In Ghana, almost half of the men received aid, almost all from relatives, while in Senegal only a third of the men got help from the origin, again nearly 90 per cent from relatives. In general, women migrants were less likely to receive assistance, except in Senegal where 40 per cent of the small number of women migrants received some help. In Egypt only 4 of 14 got help, while in Ghana a third of the women got help, but still well below the half figure for men. The figures in Table 15 should be considered upper bounds as they are mainly provided by a proxy respondent in the origin household (not by the migrant himself or herself, who will tend to have the opposite bias) who may often want to save face by claiming that assistance was provided when it was not.

Migration alone or with other family members?

Whether migrants move with other family members can be an indicator of autonomy in migration, but it also reflects the marital status and family situation of the migrant, whether he/she desires to migrate with them, and whether he/she is able to (e.g., Egyptian men migrating to the Gulf States as contract workers cannot bring families with them). Table 16 provides the data. In Egypt and Senegal, over half of the men who migrate are married and leave their spouse behind, but there are also many unmarried men who emigrate, almost half of male emigrants from Senegal and 42 percent from Egypt. In Ghana, unmarried men comprise the majority, about 60 per cent of the total. With respect to women, apart from the small number in Egypt, the most common mode of migration was as unmarried women, followed by the category, "married, spouse already there"; in other words, women often migrated to join a spouse, though in Ghana some left their spouse behind. Indeed, if "unmarried" and "married left spouse" are combined, this accounts for nearly half of the (small number of) cases of women migrating from Egypt and about 60 per cent from both Ghana and Senegal. These data suggest more autonomy in women's migration than the data in Table 12 in section A above, but this may be due to some unmarried or married women leaving their spouse doing it because of the encouragement or pressures of others.

Whether sought or received assistance in country of destination

The data in table 17 indicate when assistance was sought, and when it was received, for current migrants. Unfortunately, as is clear from the footnote, these data were not considered acceptable to collect from proxy respondents and are hence available only from the actual migrant when the migrant happened to be back in the origin country visiting, so the numbers are very small, and essentially non-existent for women. It is interesting that the vast majority of (the small number available of) male migrants in both Egypt and Senegal who sought help actually received help, while none of the seven in Ghana who expected help received any. But the numbers are so small that we defer further discussion to section D on return migrants.

Duration of job search in destination country

Since migrants move mainly to get jobs, the time it takes them to get their first job is an important dimension of their initial success or not in the destination country. Again, data are not available for most of the current migrants, since proxy responses were not accepted, so there is almost no data available for women migrants. We see that most male migrants from

Egypt and Senegal who got jobs got them in the first month (54 and 70 per cent, respectively) or within the first three months (85 and 97 per cent), but that Ghanaian men had less success, with less than half getting a job in the first month and more than 2 of 5 did not have a job even after three months. In contrast, most of the tiny numbers of women reporting in Ghana and Senegal got work in the first month.

D. Migration Networks and Arrival Conditions of Return Migrants

Presence of migration networks

The data on return migrants, as before, are in the same tables as the data for current migrants. In table 13, we see that the vast majority of women who return are likely to have had migration networks available to them before they migrated, with the proportions with networks invariably much higher than those for men who return, though the majority of men also had networks prior to migration. Again, men and women return migrants in Senegal appear to be more dependent on migration networks than migrants from the other countries, with virtually all the women and two-thirds of the men having had such networks available to them. Overall, the data suggest (in Ghana and Egypt, and for men in Senegal) that those without networks are more likely to return, one may infer, because they did not do as well in the destination country.

Motives to choose a specific country of destination ("pull factors")

Return migrants generally had economic motives for choosing their country of destination (Table 14), this being the main motive of over half of the men who return in Ghana and Egypt and virtually half in Senegal, while the majority of women returnees gave familial reasons for their leaving their origin country to which they have since returned. Again, only in Ghana is the proportion of return migrants who had originally chosen their destination country for economic reasons significant, at about .35. When the reasons are compared with those for current migrants, little difference is observed among women migrants, but "other" reasons are much more common among Egyptian and Senegalese men who return. These may include many students.

Whether received financial assistance from the origin

Table 15 has data on whether return migrants, back in their origin household, received assistance from their origin country before they left on their (last) emigration. Again, as for current migrants, even though the majority of both men and women migrants did not receive any assistance, in every country men were more likely to receive help than women. The contrast is particularly striking in the case of Egypt, where 49 per cent of the men and only half that of the (small number of) women received assistance, with not a single woman receiving help from relatives. In the other two countries the differences were small, with 42 per cent of male migrants and 39 per cent of females in Senegal receiving assistance, and the corresponding figures in Ghana being 68 and 62. Comparing the figures with those of current migrants, return migrant men were less likely to have received assistance in the initial move in Egypt and Ghana but slightly more likely in Senegal; among women, return migrants in Ghana were a bit more likely to have received initial assistance than current migrants. If receiving that initial assistance is hypothesized to create a feeling of obligation to return, then there is no evidence in support of that hypothesis, particularly if it is aid from relatives that would have created that feeling of obligation.

Migration alone or with other family members?

The data in Table 16 show higher proportions of women than men in the categories unmarried and married, spouse already there, for Ghana, and for the latter in Senegal. The proportion of men who return in the category, "married, left spouse", is as expected higher in Egypt than the proportion who do not return among current migrants. In Ghana, most men who migrated with their family or brought them later returned to Ghana, which is a bit surprising, since the majority in the other categories had not yet returned.

Whether sought or received assistance in country of destination

The data in Table 17 for return migrants are much more revelatory than those for the small numbers of current migrants, discussed in C above. Thus the vast majority of both male and female return migrants expected help. For males, this varied from just over half in Ghana to about two-thirds in Egypt and Senegal. Of those who expected help, around 80 per cent received it in each country. For women, almost all migrants expected assistance in the destination country and virtually all of them did receive it, likely because they were married. It is intriguing that a quarter to a half of those *not* expecting aid received some help anyway. Overall, the picture painted by these data is one of migrants usually seeking and receiving assistance. This may be because most already had someone from their family or community or ethnic group living in the destination country who could assist them, or even encourage them to come in the first place. The migrants studied in the push-pulls project are not generally the first international migrants from their origin extended family or community, but seen as a recent piece of a long-standing process.

Duration of job search in destination country

The last relevant table in the section, Table 18, provides data on the duration of job search of those who got a job. The differences across country for male migrants are considerable, varying from 72 per cent of those from Senegal obtaining employment in the first month and virtually all by three months, to 60 per cent and 85 per cent at the two times for Egyptians and only 45 and 78 per cent for Ghanaian male migrants. In contrast, virtually all of the women migrants reporting obtained work in the first month, or if not shortly thereafter (viz., 7 out of 8 in Ghana by three months). What the data cannot tell us, however, is whether some women may have had trouble getting work and just dropped out of the labor market, becoming what is called "discouraged workers". Comparing the data with those for current migrants, there is a tendency for return migrants to have had less trouble obtaining employment. This could indicate, though this is very speculative, that return migrants were more successful and therefore achieved their goals (e.g., accumulating a nest egg) and hence returned to their origin country and household. However, the tendency is weak, and data are not available for most of the current migrants since they could not be interviewed directly.

E. Differences in the Situation of Current Migrants by Gender

Following the chains of reasoning in the preceding subsections, we now present data on the *current* situations of male and female international migrants for the three countries, combining when possible data for both the Main Migration Actors (MMAs) and other recent migrants to increase the sample sizes for female migrants. As in section A above, we consider first personal characteristics, such as age, educational attainment, employment, and

dependent children, and then indicators of current (origin country) household characteristics, including household size, wealth, and income. Data on return migrants are presented again in the same tables, and are discussed in the next subsection F below. We begin with personal characteristics.

Age distribution

Table 19 shows the current age distribution of male and female international migrants who currently live abroad, as reported by proxy respondents usually. The data in five-year age groups are combined into four age categories to facilitate data interpretation. The fact that migrants had to be at least age 18 at the time of migration and moved at any time in the 10 years prior to the time of interview introduces an upward bias to the age data compared to what the data would show for age at migration.[4] The data in the table show that women migrants tend to be younger than male migrants in all three countries at the time of interview, as the proportion of female migrants aged 15-24 is higher than that of males. Thus the percentage of female migrants under age 25 is 16 in Egypt compared to 7 for males, with the corresponding figures for Senegal being 34 and 10. On the other hand, the percentages for Ghana hardly differ, being 9 and 8 for males and females, respectively. This is consistent with the general observation above that women have much more socio-economic equality compared to men in Ghana than in the other countries, and hence are likely to be more similar in both numbers of migrants and characteristics compared to male migrants.

Education

The next table shows the current educational attainment of migrants, a key indicator of human capital (but it does not indicate where the capital was accumulated, in the origin vs. destination country). As hypothesized in section II, the educational distribution of the few women who migrate from Egypt is very high (63 percent with tertiary education!), indeed, with the proportion with higher education about three times as high as that of male migrants. In Senegal a similar tendency exists, though at a much lower level of education, which corresponds to the much lower levels prevailing in the country: Thus half of the women international migrants in Senegal have some education (primary or higher) vs. less than half that for men. For Ghana, on the other hand, male migrants have higher educational levels than females.

Marital status

Another key non-economic individual characteristic we examine is the current marital status of migrants (Table 21). In all three countries women migrants are more likely to be currently married than are male migrants, suggesting that single women have social difficulties migrating outside their country, even in Ghana. In all countries, a large majority of migrants are married, with the percentage single highest for men in Egypt at 36, followed by 33 in Ghana and 30 in Senegal. The respective percentages single were about 10, 20 and 25.

[4] MMAs had to be at least 18 at time of emigration; other household member may have migrated at any time, therefore their age at migration tends to be younger. The table combines the two.

Number of languages known

Language skills are crucial to the success, assimilation, feeling of belonging, and being able to cope in a new country. Table 22 provides data on the extent to which international migrants from the different countries of origin knew (at the time of interview, after migration) one or more additional languages. About six out of ten male international migrants from Egypt know no language besides Arabic; but given that most emigrate to work in the Gulf countries, they have little need to know an additional language. Among the Egyptian women migrants, in contrast, three out of four speak at least one other language, which may again reflect their being positively selected from the population of women in Egypt. As family reunification in Gulf countries is rare, for most migrants wives stay home, so most of these women migrants probably migrate to other destinations, such as Western Europe or the United States, either with their husbands or autonomously.

In Ghana and Senegal, the origin country context is different in that there are many different tribal languages, as well as wide use of the colonial language-- English in Ghana and French in Senegal--which functions as a *lingua franca*, so many people speak at least two languages. In Ghana, over 90 per cent of both male and female migrants know two languages, and many speak three or more. The difference between men and women is small, but 42 per cent of male migrants know three or more languages vs. 35 per cent of women migrants. In Senegal, while those who speak more than one constitute smaller percentages of the migrants than in Ghana, their percentages are still considerable, being 79 for male migrants and 75 for females, with a higher percent of women than men speaking three languages.

Participation in organizations

Respondents were asked if they were currently active in various types of local organizations, as an indicator of community ties and involvement, which it is thought contributes to a feeling of belonging and perhaps happiness. It should be noted that the questions pertaining to current migrants refer to their situation in their country of residence abroad, as provided by proxy respondents, who may well not know. They should therefore be considered lower bounds. In contrast, for return migrants the questions refer to their current involvement in organizations back in their home town and country. The types of organizations asked about are recreational, political, and religious organizations, along with special interest groups (such as trade unions, women's groups, migrant organizations).

Table 23 summarizes the findings, which differ far more across countries than by gender. It is evident that participation in any type of organization is extremely rare among both male and female Egyptian migrants, as well for migrants from Senegal in recreational and political organizations. Participation of Senegalese migrants in interest groups of one kind or another, on the other hand, is significant (30 and 22 per cent, respectively, for men and women migrants), while participation in a religious organization is quite high for men, with 2 of every 3 being active compared to only 2 in 7 women. As with other indicators, Ghanaian migrants differ substantially from those in the other two countries, with about half involved in recreational organizations, two-thirds in religious ones, a quarter in political organizations, and about a sixth in some interest group. In all cases except religious organizations, women are less active than men, but their involvement is far greater than is that of women in the other two, predominantly Moslem countries.

Of course, these findings reflect differences in both countries of origin and destination in the prevalence of various organizations and the extent to which women and men participate in general, not just migrants. In fact, data on the participation in organizations by non-migrants show similar patterns and country differences as seen here for migrants.

Overall, activity in organizations is strongest among Ghanaian migrants: with only one in five men and one in four women reporting no participation at all (Table 24). Thus Egyptians have almost no involvement in organizations of any type, while Ghanaians are quite active, with about 3/4 of involved in one or more, both men and women. The Senegalese are squarely intermediate, but gender differences are quite marked: for seven out of ten current migrant Senegalese women, no activity at all is reported, while this is true for only four out of ten men. Almost no Senegalese women are active in more than one organization, and even among the Ghanaians women are less likely to be active in more than one organization than men. This may well have to do with the many other tasks women face, in combining household activities and child-rearing with work outside the home.

Work and employment status

Moving on to consider employment conditions of current migrants, first we consider the current employment status and second the sector of employment for those employed. Striking differences are observed across countries as well as between men and women, with almost all men working but many women not working. The category "employee" is by far the largest overall, as is to be expected, but in Senegal there are many more men self-employed than in wage work (Table 25). The category self-employed is quite distinct from employer in terms of employment status, often involving working as an individual own-account worker in a low status activity such as street hawking. Casual/family work, also low quality work in general, is rare, being highest for Egyptian males but at barely above one in ten. Unemployment is very low, as is generally observed around the world for migrants, as most move for work, are highly motivated, and are willing to accept a low wage job rather than not work at all (referred to by economists as having a low reservation wage, the wage below which they will not work). The number and proportion of students is, surprisingly, only significant for Ghanaians, where it is about 1 in 8 for male migrants and 1 in 12 for females. Comparing women and men migrants by country, we see that most women migrants in Egypt are not working at all--about two-thirds--which in this case differs from the situation of Senegalese women migrants where a slight majority were working. Not surprisingly, in Ghana, virtually all migrants are working or studying, both men and women..

The sector of employment is observed for migrants by gender in Table 26. The data were also tabulated in eight economic sectors, but the small sample sizes make this 3-fold classification system used here better. Virtually no Egyptian or Senegalese women migrants who work are engaged in the primary or secondary sector, and indeed few female migrants from those countries are working at all in the destination country. In general, women work overwhelmingly in the tertiary sector, including in domestic work, restaurants, etc. Over 90 percent of the few migrant women from Egypt and Senegal who work were employed in this sector, and 70 per cent of those from Ghana. Male work in the primary sector is trivial for both Ghanaians and Senegalese, which certainly reflects the distribution of jobs in the destination country (evidently, in Europe rather than a neighboring African country). However, about 1 in 6 Egyptian male migrants is employed in the primary sector. The percentages of men employed in the secondary sector are almost the same across the countries, varying from 33 to 37. Only in Ghana is this significant for women migrants (27 per cent).

Household size, persons per room, and dependent children

The survey data also provide several useful measures of current household living conditions which it is interesting to examine by gender of migrant. The total number of persons in the household (Table 27) varies dramatically across the three countries, being 7-8 in Egypt, 5-6 in Ghana and about 15 in Senegal. The large household size in Senegal is due partly to high fertility but mainly to the common practice of polygamy and the counting of all the wives and children linked to a man as part of the man's household even though they reside in separate quarters. Differences by gender in Table 27 are small, but in all cases women international migrants had slightly larger current household sizes than men on average. It is not clear at first why this would be the case, as it does not seem plausibly related to differences in age, education or employment status, but on further examination, it appears due to differences in marital status (far higher proportions of male than female migrants are unmarried).

Related to mean household size is mean persons per room, an indicator of crowdedness of living conditions, access to privacy, and ultimately quality of housing. Table 28 provides the data, showing that persons per room varies from 1.6 to 2.9 across countries and genders. Women migrants have origin households with less crowded living conditions than men in Egypt, with the opposite being the case in Senegal and there being no difference in Ghana, for current migrants

The mean number of children is an indicator of fertility of the migrants, which may vary across countries and by gender. It is shown in Table 28 for ever-married women, and is expected to be lower for women than men as the number of children born *before* migration (the number of dependent children of the woman) has been observed in many studies in many countries to constrain women's migration. In addition, to the extent the migrants studied here migrated to Europe, where family size norms are much lower than in the countries of origin, women would be expected to be bearing fewer children after migration than before. Such an expected difference is indeed found for Egypt and Senegal, but not among Ghanaian women migrants, though the number of cases is small for the latter since so many of the Ghanaian women migrants were not married. And of course, male migrants may also be affected by the lower family size norms in the receiving country, and may thus slow down their childbearing, which would reduce the gender difference expected. It would be interesting to compare current mean number of children as an indicator of fertility of migrants from a given origin country to see if the numbers vary according to the destination country and its own fertility level, but this is beyond the possibilities of this paper.

Household economic conditions

While household size and persons per room are useful, better indicators of household living conditions are available from several economic measures, including, first, a measure of household wealth. NIDI developed a measure of "wealth" and then classified the origin households of migrants into wealth quintiles. The measure uses data on housing quality and facilities and ownership of various household assets (Van Dalen *et al.,* 2005)based on a method developed by Filmer and Pritchett (1999, 2001). They constructed a linear index to measure household wealth based on a set of household asset indicators using principal component analysis to obtain the weights for different components, since income and expenditure data were not available in the Indian National Family Health Survey (NFHS). The index used by NIDI is accumulated *household wealth*, based on eight indicators of

housing quality and availability of facilities in the house, and ownership of ten assets.[5] By applying principal component analysis, a wealth score was computed for each household, which was used as the basis for grouping households into five wealth-classes (quintiles). The interpretation of the index is straight-forward: the fewer the possessions of household and consumer goods, the lower the quality of housing; and the less the availability of facilities such as piped water and modern sanitary facilities, the lower the value of the index.

The data in Table 29 show the distribution of current female and male migrants by quintile for the three study countries. In all three countries, there is a slight tendency for women migrants to be distributed more among the higher quintiles than men. Thus the proportions of women migrants whose origin household was in the highest quintile at the time of interview were .29 in Egypt, .39 in Ghana, and .41 in Senegal, compared to .18, .32, and .25 for men in the three countries. This may indicates that the relatively few women who migrate in the two Moslem countries are selected from households that are better off a priori, or it may indicate that those households have benefited more from having women migrants than households did from having male emigrants, perhaps from receiving more remittances: It has been hypothesized that women migrants remit more to their origin households than do men migrants. However, data unfortunately are not available on remittances received according to the gender of the sender, so this cannot be further explored here..

The final economic variable available is the current economic situation of the origin household, that is, whether the (generally proxy) respondent considers the household situation of the current migrant (living away) as good or not (Table 30). The economic situation of the origin households of migrants at the time of interview, as reported by proxy respondents living there, is better in Egypt than in Ghana or Senegal, with about 4 of 5 male migrants and 9 of 10 females reporting their economic condition as sufficient or better, versus about 2 in 5 men and women migrants in Senegal and a third of migrants in Ghana. Of course, such differences are subjective, and vary with aspirations as well as reality (Ghanaians may have higher, unfulfilled aspirations, for example). Gender differences are essentially non-existent for all three countries, based on the above measure of sufficiency, if the small number of women in Egypt is not taken too seriously. However, the picture does change somewhat if the criterion we use is the percent of those who say their current situation is *insufficient*, which is higher for male migrants than females in all countries: Thus this percentage in Egypt is 3 for men and 0 for women, while in Ghana it is 29 for men and 23 for women, and in Senegal 11.5 and 7.

This may suggest that some male international migrants are more likely to come from the lower end of the income distribution than female migrants, or that they are less likely to be successful, or if equally successful, are less likely to have sent sufficient remittances home to help out their origin households, compared to female migrants. Any of these three is

[5] Assets considered are a radio, television, bicycle, gas or electric cooking stove, lounge suite, sewing machine, car/jeep or truck, telephone, video player, and refrigerator. The housing quality indicators are number of persons per room, whether has piped water, whether has flush toilet; quality of walls, floors and roof; and whether has windows/window frames and doors. The linear combination of these 18 variables estimated by the first principal component explained 31.9 per cent, 24.3 percent and 22.6 per cent of the common and unique variance of the variables in the case of Egypt, Ghana and Senegal, respectively. The information was obtained from the reference person who answered the questions in the household questionnaire. Using principal component analysis, the scores of the first principal component were applied as weights to compute a wealth-score for each household (cf. Van Dalen et al. 2005a; Schoorl *et al*., 2006; Filmer and Pritchett, 1999; Filmer and Pritchett, 2001).

possible, or a combination of them. Data on the first of the three is available from Table 9 above, discussed in section A. Unfortunately, the data are available only for Main Migration Actors, for which the numbers are small, and too tiny for women to make possible any comparisons by gender. (But see also discussion of return migrants, in subsection F below.)

F. Differences in the Situation of Return Migrants

Age distribution, education and marital status

Tables 19-21 contain the relevant data on these basic individual characteristics for return migrants, permitting examining gender differences. There is a slight tendency for women international migrants who return to their origin to be younger than their male counterparts, with 22 vs. 6 per cent under age 25 in Egypt, along with 20 vs. 6 per cent in Senegal. And 80 per cent of the women migrants are under age 39 in Senegal vs. 71 per cent for males. But the tendency is minimal, as there are essentially no differences at any ages or combination of ages in Ghana, and the percentages under age 39 in Egypt are identical for both sexes at 68. Return migrants are slightly older than current migrants who do not return, for both men and women.

Table 20 shows that the education level of female return migrants in Egypt is higher that that of male return migrants, but the opposite is true for Ghana and Senegal. Overall, the education levels of women return migrants are *lower* than those of current migrants who have not returned, while for men this is the case for Egypt and Ghana but not Senegal, where 13 per cent of the return migrants had secondary or higher education compared to 7 per cent of current migrants.

In Table 21 we see that women return migrants are much more likely than male return migrants to be currently married in Senegal, slightly more likely in Ghana, and slightly less likely in Egypt. Compared to current migrants who do not return, there is no difference for Ghanaians, but in Egypt women who return appear more likely to be never married vs. in Senegal where they are slightly more likely to be married. But the numbers are too small to draw any firm conclusions. For male migrants, there is no difference between return migrants and current migrants in Senegal, Ghanaian men who return are slightly more likely to be married, and Egyptian return migrant men are much more likely to be married.

Languages known and participation in organizations

Language knowledge among returnees (Table 22) is similar overall to that for current migrants, with again only Egyptian men not knowing a second language even at the time of returning to Egypt. The reason for this is explained above, and may also explain why many Egyptian women return migrants also know no other language. Indeed, in all three countries, female returnees have less language knowledge than the women who remain abroad, perhaps language difficulties contribute to their return?

Participation in organizations among returnees reflects the findings shown for current migrants. Again we find very low activity in any type of organization among both Egyptian men and women, though there was some slight increase in involvement in recreational organizations. Female returnees in Senegal are more often active in religious organizations than current migrant women, which may reflect differences in the prevalence or accessibility of mosques between Senegal and their countries of destination. Senegalese men are slightly

more active in recreational groups but less active in interest groups, perhaps having been members of labor unions in the destination country. The relatively high participation rate in organizations reported for Ghanaian current migrants is surpassed among returnees, except it remains the same for recreational organizations. Return migrant women continue to be less active than return migrant men in all types of organizations except religious ones.

Overall, returnees are more likely than current migrants to be active participants in at least one organization, and this holds for all three countries and both genders, however different their participation levels (Table 24). One explanation could be that returnees have more leisure time, another is that they may have acquired more financial capital to participate in organizations; a third is that they may have become involved more in organizations abroad than they were in their origin community before they migrated (see section G below), and thereby developed a taste for participation during their time living abroad.

Work status and sector of employment

Tables 25 and 26 have the data for return migrants. In Table 25 it is evident that male return migrants in Egypt have a wide diversity of work status situation, much more diverse than those remaining in the destination countries where they are primarily employed for wages. Back in Egypt they are more likely to be working as employers, self-employed, and casual/family workers, and also more likely to be unemployed or not in the labor force. Thus while some are likely better off as employers, large numbers are not, in the other categories with higher prevalence for returnees. Thus, overall, the employment situation of male return migrants after they return to Egypt is not as good as while abroad, which is consistent with their usual experience as contract laborers. Egyptian return migrant women, in contrast, continue to have the dichotomous distribution of not being in the labor force or being wage workers. And they are far, far more likely to not be in the labor force compared to male return migrants.

In Senegal, over half of the return migrants are also not in the labor force, versus only a handful of male returnees. Most of the rest are self-employed, just as before migrating. Half of all male return migrants are also self-employed, with half of the rest wage workers, followed by casual/family workers—both almost non-existent among women return migrants from Senegal. The incidence of unemployment is, however, identical at 10 per cent for the two sexes. Comparing the data to those for current migrants, women and men return migrants are less likely to be wage workers and more likely to be self-employed, unemployed or out of the labor force. These differences likely reflect differences in the nature of the labor market in the countries of destination and Senegal (less wage work in Senegal) and in opportunities (more unemployment and being out of the labor market in Senegal).

In Ghana, return migrant women are primarily self-employed (38 per cent), out of the labor force (one in 5), or in wage work, while men are also self-employed to about the same degree (35 per cent) but followed closely by wage work (28 per cent) and being employers (18 per cent), with only one in 14 out of the labor force. In contrast to the situation of current migrants still in the destination countries, return migrants, both women and men, are far more engaged in self-employment and being employers than in wage work.

Moving on to the sector of work, return migrant women in all three countries are heavily involved in the tertiary sector, though some from Ghana returned to agriculture. Male returnees also primarily work in the tertiary sector, though many return to the primary sector

in Egypt and Ghana, and to the secondary sector in Senegal and Egypt. Women returnees in Egypt and Senegal have the same sectoral distribution of employment as current migrants remaining in the destination countries, but in Ghana they are much less involved in the secondary sector and more in the primary and tertiary sectors. The same difference is observed among male return migrants compared to current migrants in both Egypt and Ghana, whereas in Senegal there are fewer male returnees in the secondary sector and more in the tertiary sector.

Household size, persons per room, and dependent children

Tables 27 and 28 provide data on housing space and fertility. Female return migrants have slightly smaller household sizes than male returnees, in Egypt and Senegal notably. This could be because they experience greater changes in childbearing mores from being in another country where family size norms are likely to be smaller (apart from the case of Egyptian men working in the Gulf States). And those with smaller families may be more able to manage the return migration. Data supporting this are also evident in the comparison of mean household sizes of return migrants and current migrants, with return migrants having substantially smaller household sizes, among both men and women. The difference among women is invariably much larger, however, being about double that for men, *viz*., 2.1 versus 1.0 for Egypt, 1.2 vs. 1.1 for Ghana, and 2.3 vs. 0.7 in Senegal.

These striking differences call for further investigation, that is, the difference between current migrants and return migrants, for which two explanations are proffered above regarding female return migrants, and the gender difference, women being lower than men everywhere. Regarding the former, it is possible that the sample of current migrants here was in the destination country for a shorter time on average than the return migrants had been when they left, in which case one interpretation is that the return migrants could have had more time to adopt lower family size norms. But data in Table 28 below on the mean number of own children the migrant has indicates that this hypothesis is not plausible, and that in fact for *all six* country-gender comparisons, return migrants have *higher* mean numbers of children in the origin household than current migrants, and that moreover, there is no consistent gender difference for return migrants. Another hypothesis is that smaller origin families put more pressure on their children or other family members who emigrated to return, and that this may be especially true for daughters who had left. If both of these arguments were true, that could help explain both the current-return migrant difference and the even greater male-female difference.

Data on mean persons per room of return migrants indicates lower crowdedness for return migrant women than men in Egypt and Ghana (17 and 10 per cent lower values) but a higher mean persons per room value (18 per cent higher) for female than male return migrants in Senegal. So as with current migrants, there is no consistent difference by gender. Similarly, for both Egypt and Ghana, return migrants live in houses with less crowded living conditions than current migrants, both men and women migrants, but the opposite is the true for Senegalese migrants.

Household economic conditions

Finally, we consider the differences in living conditions of return migrants by gender, for the three countries. Looking at the current wealth quintile of the origin household of the return migrant, it is clear that in Egypt, return migrant women live in better-off households than

return migrant men. There is no difference in Ghana, where both men and women return migrants are slightly more likely to be living in the top quintiles at the time of interview. In Senegal, both women and men return migrants tend to live in higher income households, though this is more pronounced for males. Comparing the situation of return migrants with current migrants, the same general patterns hold, except that for Ghana, current migrants are more concentrated in the highest wealth quintile than return migrants, for both men and women.

The final table, Table 30, presents key data on the perceived economic situation of return migrants. In Egypt, 78 per cent of women return migrants report themselves as living in households with sufficient or more than sufficient resources, compared to 60 per cent of the men. The differences are smaller but in the same direction for Senegal, 36 vs. 26 per cent, and Ghana, 38 vs. 34 per cent. The origin households of women return migrants may be somewhat better off than those of male return migrants because the women originally came from better off households, or because women migrants brought back more savings to help the origin household or sent more remittances back prior to their return. Without further data, we cannot be sure what the explanation is. In any case, it is noteworthy that the majority of return migrants, male and female, report themselves as living in households with only barely sufficient or insufficient resources to support themselves—about 2/3 of both sexes in Senegal report this, and about 60 per cent of men and women both in Ghana. However, as noted above, the situation is the opposite in Egypt.

When the distributions are compared with those of current migrants, the households of return migrants in Egypt are not quite as well off as those of current migrants, of either sex. This could be due to the current migrants sending back substantial remittances while (often) working in the Gulf states, a supply of income that is no longer available for return migrant households. In Ghana the situation of return migrant households is slightly better than that of current migrant households, for both genders, while the data are mixed for Senegal, with male return migrant households slightly worse off than current migrant households and the female return migrant households slightly better off. In any case, differences in the situations of the households of return migrants and current migrants are small.

G. Changes Linked to Migration: Differences in the Pre- and Post-migration Situations

Theoretically it would be desirable to compare virtually all of the measures presented above on the situation of the migrant and his/her origin household before and after migration. Unfortunately, this is not possible for some measures (e.g., most unfortunately, knowledge of languages was obtained at the time of interview but not pre-migration, so its role in the success or not of migrants cannot be ascertained; participation in organizations was also not obtained before migration, nor was wealth quintile), is of little interest for a few others (e.g., comparing age at emigration and age at interview), and makes little sense for some where the numbers of women migrants are so small. In addition, for some measures the comparison is not exact, being between the situation of Main Migration Actors (the first person who migrated from the origin household in the 10 years prior to the interview) before migration and that of all migrants after migration. Data in Table A indicate, however, that the MMAs constitute the large majority of migrants, so a table based on comparing data for MMAs and all migrants should still be useful, and the comparisons valid.

In this final empirical subsection, we present and discuss several tables that address the key questions, how did the migrants change over time, due to migration? That is, how did their

personal characteristics and the situation of their households change as a result of migration? Tables 31-35 provide the data, allowing examining changes by country and gender, and as before, for current migrants and return migrants. Three individual characteristics of international migrants are examined—education, marital status, and work status—and two measures of the household economic situation. Unlike the discussions in the previous sections, current migrants and return migrants are discussed together here.

Changes in education

First, Table 32 provides data on educational levels, *viz*., whether education changed (increased) for current migrants and return migrants as a result of their stay in the destination country, whether their human capital rose or not. Unfortunately, data are only available for the *level* of education and not for the number of years at any level, so they only permit seeing relatively large changes in education, or changes that involve someone starting to study at a level (e.g., university, having completed secondary) and not including advances within a level (someone who had completed one year of secondary education before arriving in the destination taking 5 more years of school and graduating would not show up on the data). And evidently anyone at the tertiary level could not experience any increase in category, based on these data, so they have to be omitted from the computations that follow. With these caveats, the data provide some interesting results, which we examine for each country separately by gender, for current and return migrants. In each case, except for tertiary education, we are interested in whether people with a given level of education prior to migration report a higher level after. These will be the numbers of cases below the main diagonal, which represents having the same education before and after.

First, we examine the data for Egypt. For male current migrants, still living abroad, there is little evidence of any increase in human capital, with none of those 199 men with no education advancing, one of 80 moving from primary to secondary education, 2 of 199 starting university education. Overall, only 3 of 478 increased their education, based on the measure available. The data are somewhat different for female current migrants, with one of 3 with no education jumping to secondary education and 3 of 17 at the secondary level advancing to the university level; overall, 4 of 21 women migrants increased their education significantly. For return migrants, the gender difference is similar, with those who return of both genders much more likely to come back with more education. For males, 4 of 144 with no education increased their level of education, along with 2 of 50 at the primary level and 3 of 125 with secondary level education prior to emigration. And for females, 7 of 15 at the primary level advanced to high school. The overall proportions gaining human capital via education were nine of 319 for return migrant men and 7 of 28 for women returnees. And the grand totals for men and women migrants advancing in education in Egypt are 12 of 797 and 11 of 49, respectively. This difference is enormous, with women migrants evidently benefiting far more in human capital than men. What we do not know at present is whether these women were mainly housewives keeping themselves busy studying while their husbands worked but who then did not use their education upon return to Egypt, or mainly single or married women who used their additional education to improve their occupational status and earnings after return to Egypt.

Jumping to Senegal, the data in Table 31 indicate very little advancement in human capital for either men or women migrants, whether current migrants or return migrants. Among current migrants, only two men (of the 79 with primary education before) advanced (to secondary education), out of all the men "at risk" of gaining education, of 611 men. For

women, only one woman out of 34 increased her education level. The data are similar for return migrants, with only 3 of 161 men advanced, and 1 of 48 women. Combining all the data, five men of 772 enhanced their formal education and two women out of 82.

In Ghana, 3 of 7 men current migrants with no education advanced, 4 of 98 with primary level education, and 2 of 103 with secondary, so there was some human capital increase though mostly at the lower levels. Overall, 9 of 208 advanced. For women current migrants, 4 of 98 increased their education, or about the same modest proportion as for men. Among return migrants, 4 of 142 men had increased their education by the time they returned to Ghana, and 1 of 55 women. Overall, 13 of 350 men increased their education level, and 5 of 153 women, so there is no difference by gender.

In conclusion, human capital increased little for current and return migrants in these three countries, for either men or women. The only exception is Egyptian women, where one in five increased her education level.

Changes in marital status

Table 32 shows data by marital status. Since the age at migration is generally young, mainly 15 to 39, one would expect many of those who left as single persons to become married by the time of interview, and possibly some of those married to become divorced/separated or widowed, for both men and women migrants. Therefore, as with the table on education above, we again expect most of the non-diagonal non-zero entries in the table to be below the diagonal. For Egypt, 57 of 243 current male migrants who were single prior to migration got married by the time of interview, while the only two single women did not. Among return migrants, 95 of 140 unmarried men got married and two of the three single women. In Senegal, over half the single male current migrants became married but only one of the nine current migrant. For return migrants, only 18 of 52 men got married up to the time of interview, and two if the three women. Finally, for Ghanaians, among current migrants, a third of the single males became married and about half of the single females; and among return migrants, about 2 in 5 single men became married and 2 in 3 women. There is a greater tendency for return migrants than current migrants to change their marital status and become married after leaving their origin country, or perhaps to return because they have become married, likely to someone in the country of origin,

Changes in work status

An important indicator of change due to migration is whether and how one's economic situation changed from what it was prior to migration to what it is at the time of interview, for both current migrants remaining in destination countries and especially for return migrants. (The situation of those in destination countries is affected by the difference in employment patterns in those countries compared to those of the origin country, a distortion that is not present in comparing data for return migrants since they refer to the same country and even community.) Unfortunately, in examining these data, unlike education, there is no simple way of comparing numbers of cases above and/or below the diagonal to ascertain if there has been upward employment mobility or not. Occupational data would be an important complement or alternative, but comparisons would be complicated by the many categories used and the resulting small numbers in many cells..

Table 33 provides the data based on the work status codes used in this paper. Looking at the data first for Egypt as before, male current migrants who were in a diversity of work status groups before migration were mainly working as wage or salary employees at the time of interview, while living in the destination country. However, significant numbers (but a third or less) of those self-employed or in casual/family work continued to be in those categories. There are not enough cases for women to say anything except that most were not working before and continued in that status. For return migrant women, on the other hand, about half were not working before and continued the same, but the other half were working in Egypt as employees and continue in that status after returning. For male return migrants, there is strong evidence of recidivism, as most return to their status before emigrating, viz., most employers to being employers again, employees to being employees, self-employed to being self-employed, etc., as is evident from the large numbers down the main diagonal. The main exceptions are many of those who were in casual/family work, unemployed or not working before working as employees when they return. They evidently acquired a taste for and experience in wage work which assisted them in getting wage work when they returned to Egypt.

In Senegal, the dominant work status category of male current migrants both before and after migration is self-employed, with over 3/5 of those in that group before migration being in the same category later, in their country of destination. The second-most common category before migration is casual/family work, half of whom switch to self-employed in destination while most of the rest become employees. The same switch occurs for most of those not working or unemployed. The overall picture is one of likely considerable upward mobility. For women current migrants, the numbers are too small for grand inferences. Three-fifths of these women were not working prior to migration, about half of which were in the labor market after migration, half of these as employees. For return migrant women, the data are similar, except that those not working before are likely to be self-employed upon return to Senegal. For return migrant men, the main, modest, changes in status are from employee, casual/family work and not working all to self-employed now. This is all logical, except the small shift from employed before in Senegal to, after an international migration experience, back to self-employed. But the numbers are small.

For Ghana, among current migrant males, there were shifts from self-employed, casual/family workers, unemployed and especially those not working to the category of employee. As noted above, this likely reflects a major difference in the prevalence of these categories in the countries of destination compared to Ghana. Among women current migrants, still living away, shifts to employee also occur, from employer, self-employed, and not working, while casual/family workers mainly move into self-employment in destination countries. For return migrant women, the changes are mainly from not working to self-employed, from casual/family worker to self-employed and employer, and from employee to unemployed, the latter evidently not reclaiming the jobs they had when they left (but we don't know how long they were gone). For male return migrants, many who were employees in Ghana before migration moved into employer and self-employed upon return (perhaps using a nest egg saved), as did many who had been casual/family workers. Three-fourths of those not working were working after returning, mostly as employees.

Overall, there are small improvements in the work status distribution following migration for men and women in all three countries, including male current migrants in all three countries, men and women in Ghana in general, and male current migrants and return migrants in Egypt.

Although some self-employment is of low status and income, such as street hawking, and some not working may be studying or not needing to work, if we ignore these caveats, a crude way of summarizing the work status data is to sum the total numbers of cases before and after migration in casual/family work, unemployed and not working. This may be done by gender for each country, combining also the data for current migrants and return migrants. Thus in Egypt the total numbers of men in these three work status categories was 382 before migration and 146 after, representing a substantial improvement in work status following migration. For women in Egypt, however, there was no change. In Senegal, the numbers were 171 before and 51 after, for male migrants, and 33 before and 23 after for women, so both sexes benefited by this measure. In Ghana, the improvements are even larger, with the data showing 181 men in these three work status categories before migration and 83 after, while for women the numbers are 47 before and 26 after. In general, the numbers changing status are 10 to 20 percent of the totals for each country-gender group. Thus overall, there is a substantial improvement in work status, or involvement in the economy, following migration. However, this cannot be fully attributed to the international migration experience per se, since most of the migrants are young adults so some would have likely experienced the same type of improvements if they had not migrated.

Changes in household economic situation

Finally, there are two tables that provide some data on the financial or economic situation of the household of the migrants before and after migration. Table 34 is a "bottom-line" key table on the perceived economic situation of the household of the migrant, for current and return migrants, on the adequacy of its income and wealth or assets. As before, the key is whether there are more cases above or below the main diagonal, which represents no change in status. Cases below the diagonal represent cases in which the household is worse off now than before migration, while cases above the diagonal represent improvements in the household financial situation. Note that cases reporting themselves as "more than sufficient" prior to migration cannot improve, the best they can do is remain the same. Similarly, those that are "insufficient" cannot become worse off, the worst they can do is remain the same. Unfortunately, the data are available only for Main Migration Actors, and since proxy respondents were not allowed to respond for absent household members, there is little data for current migrants, and most data refers to and was collected from return migrants. The data discussed below are based on combining the two sets of data. So the issue here is whether the households of male or female migrants are more likely to be thought of by the migrant himself or herself as having benefited from migration.

For Egypt, the number of cases above the line for male migrants is 82 compared to those below of 46, so households of male migrants did benefit from the international migration of a male household member. For women the numbers are too small to infer anything, with four improving and two worsening their perceived status. The same is true of women in Senegal, where there are only 3 cases above the line and nine below. In contrast, for households of male migrants, 55 report improvements in their financial situation compared to 29 reporting financial declines. Ghana is a contrary case, with 53 men reporting improvements and 66 declines in economic status of their household; for women, the numbers were 15 and 17, indicating no change.

The data may be summarized as follows: It was common for households of male migrants in both Egypt and Senegal to improve their economic situation following the emigration of a

male household member, but in Ghana more households experienced a worsening than an improvement. There seemed to be little consistent evidence in either direction for women migrants. This means that in two of the three countries, Egypt and Senegal, households of male migrants appeared to reap more benefits from migration than those with female migrants.

The final table (Table 35) presents data on the relative economic situation of the migrant's origin area household, compared to his/her neighbors. Unfortunately, comparable data are available only for Egypt. As above, the numbers of cases above the line and below the line can be summed for current migrants and return migrants and compared to see which is greater. For men, the number of observations above the line is 51 compared to 38 below the line, while for households of women migrants there are three cases in each direction. These data showing households of male migrants benefiting more than those of women migrants for Egypt are consistent with the data above for Egypt in Table 34.

While the overall picture of a gender difference seems clear, it should be noted that the data used here are based on subjective impressions or opinions, and not on actual measures of economic status, such as household income or monetary value of wealth.

V. Summary and Conclusions

The topic of gender and migration has attracted increased attention recently, with the great focus in the United States, the countries of the European Union, and elsewhere on the topic of international migration (see also Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992; Zlotnik, 1992; Hammar *et al*., 1997; Castles and Miller, 1998; UN, 2004 a,b; IOM, 2005, etc.). Major themes include the perceived problems and costs of immigration, notable undocumented immigration, the size and impacts of the huge and growing remittances back to developing countries (e.g., Terry and Wilson, 2005). At the same time, gender roles are changing, or being pushed to change, throughout the developing and developed world, and migration has often been seen as playing a potentially seminal role in altering values and "modernizing" gender roles. Considing these factors together provides a strong impetus for studying gender aspects of international migration. However, there has been little data available that could shed light on gender aspects with a *comparative* perspective, existing data having been collected from individual countries with little cross-country comparability in methodology, definitions used, or time frame. Moreover, the vast majority of the data is on the developed countries. The present study attempts to partially address this situation, based on an analysis of comparable data on the characteristics of migrant men and women departing from three developing countries. Ultimately, it is important to go beyond this descriptive study to investigate in detail the determinants and consequences of migration for the migrants, their households, and communities of origin, which can be done with the data from the NIDI-Eurostat project since it did collect a wealth of contextual data not analyzed heer (Schoorl *et al.,* 2000).

The results of the extensive descriptive analyses in section IV may be summarized as follows. First, we review those for sections A through F, then consider G at the end. It should be recognized at the outset that differences in gender outcomes across the three countries included in the study are closely linked to cultural differences, notably between multi-religious Ghana and the two Muslim countries, Egypt and Senegal. Differences in the situations of men and women migrants are also linked to differences in migration destinations (here Egypt stands apart from the two West African countries). On a number of dimensions, differences between men and women migrants appear minor or non-existent, such as

household size before migration (with the exception of Egyptian migrant women's smaller households), and the perception of the household's economic situation relative to that of other households. Furthermore, differences between current and return migrants are generally small, which is not surprising as returnees are a subgroup of all emigrants. But this is not always the case, as, for example, returnees have a lower educational profile than current migrants, providing some evidence of a brain-drain.

But many gender differences are observed. Regarding first the situation prior to migration, the small group of Egyptian migrant women is much more educated than their male counterparts, probably a reflection of the cultural constraints on Egyptian women's social and economic activities that only a selective group can escape from. Even so, many of them – as well as Senegalese migrant women - were not economically active just prior to migration, in contrast to men from these countries, who were mostly working as employees or as casual or family workers (Egypt) or were self-employed (Senegal). Only in Ghana were men and women more 'equal', with both working as employees or self-employed. Another interesting finding is that migrant women, in all three countries, were more likely than men to have an urban background. As for motives to migrate, it is not unexpected that those of men were overwhelmingly economic, while women's were more diverse and often family-related. But again, Ghana stands out, with half of the women indicating economic motives. In the motives for choosing a country of destination, this gender difference decreases but does not disappear. The relatively limited decision-making power of many migrant women is reflected in many more women than men indicating their decision to emigrate was jointly-made one or even in some cases (especially in Senegal) was made by others.

Turning to the actual process of migration, networks were most important in Senegal, for both men and women, but in the other two countries, networks were more important for women. But at the same time, women are considerably less likely to receive assistance to migrate from sources in the country of origin (with the exception of Senegal), and indeed the majority of women did both expect and receive assistance in the destination country. The different family situations of men and women migrants are reflected in the data on whether migrants moved with or without their families: men tend to be either single or migrate leaving their families behind, while women are either single or migrate to join a husband abroad. In all three countries migrant women are more often married than migrant men, and even in Ghana migration is harder to achieve for single women. Furthermore, (ever-married) women tended to have fewer (dependent) children prior to migration than ever-married men, and women also generally had fewer children than men at the time of interview.

As was observed for the situation prior to migration, Egyptian migrant women at the time of interview also have more education than the men who migrate, which is also true in Senegal. But educational levels of return migrants are lower than those of current migrants who have not returned. The special case of Egyptian migrant women is again seen in their speaking more languages than their countrymen, which is also seen in Senegal. Participation of migrants in various types of organization (political, religious, recreational, or special interest) is significantly more common for men than women, but participation levels vary greatly across countries, and between current migrants and returnees. As far as current work status goes, many current migrant women from Egypt and Senegal were *not working* at the time of interview, but those who do are mostly wage workers or self-employed (Senegal), as most of the men. In contrast, most Ghanaian current migrant women were working. Work status patterns are similar for return migrant men and women, but more diverse. Although we did

not include a direct income measure in this paper, we used a composite measure representing household wealth, based on housing quality and household assets.
Concerning the economic situation of households of migrants, we found that in all three countries current migrant women (as well as return migrant women in Egypt) were slightly more likely to belong to wealthier households than their male counterparts. However, we do not know if this is due to their households being wealthier *prior to* migration or becoming better off as a result of migration, such as if women migrants remitted more funds or brought back more to their origin households than male migrants. Another measure is the perceived financial or economic situation of the household, which hardly differs for men and women among current migrants, but among returnees, women report living in a household with satisfactory or better economic conditions more often than men.

From the data comparing the situations of migrants before and after migration, discussed in section IVG, several points are worth summarizing. First, migrants (and their communities and countries of origin) gained little in *human capital*, as measured by formal education, as only about 3 per cent of the men and women increased their education (and, moreover, as noted above, those returning had less education than those remaining abroad). But it should be recognized that this is not a failing of migration: The data in the NIDI surveys refer to people who were already adults when they emigrated, and thus had already reached the age at which they would not be seeking more schooling. (Unfortunately, data are not available in the surveys on children of migrants acquiring education while abroad.) On the other hand, data on *changes in work status* indicate improvements, often from casual/family work or not working to wage employment. However, the overall economic picture is muddied by the data comparing the adequacy of the household's financial or economic situation before and after migration: Male migrants from Egypt and Senegal often report their households improving their economic situation following migration, but this was not the case for women migrants in those countries or for either men or women migrants from Ghana.

It should be noted that there are a number of caveats and data limitations to this study, including aspects of survey design, sample design and sample size, and questionnaire content. Most have been discussed earlier in the text, so a brief summary suffices here. First is the issue of *survey design*. To study the effects of international migration on migrants and especially on their origin households, it is crucial to collect data in countries of origin of migrants, which has been rarely done (see Bilsborrow *et al.,* 1997). However, such surveys, when not combined with surveys of migrants from the same origin country in countries of destination, have their own inherent limitations[6]. The most important is that they miss entire households that leave the country of origin; in such cases, there is usually no one left behind to provide reliable data on either the antecedents of migration or the current situation of the migrants. To the extent that those who migrate as households constitute a significant share of international migrants, and to the extent that their motives and characteristics also differ from those of individuals who emigrate from households that remain behind, then data collected only in the origin country will provide a biased picture of emigration experiences and impacts. For the countries studied here, data are not readily available to shed light on the extent of this bias. The second survey design limitation is the need to depend on proxy respondents to provide data on migrants who have left but not returned, which may prejudice data quality. The best that one can do is to search for the person in the household who is best informed about the out-migrant person living abroad and collect data from that person.

[6] The NIDI-Eurosta study comprises surveys in migrant-receiving countries, but the samples are independent of those in the sending countries, thus do not directly connect the same households at origin and destination.

A second methodological issue is the *type of sample*. Samples in the origin countries were purposively designed to collect data from a maximum of four areas selected *a priori* by judgment as areas of high emigration, rather than being selected through probability procedures. While this was usually necessitated by the lack of an adequate sample frame of emigrants, it does limit the ability to generalize the findings, which can thus be considered representative only for those selected regions rather than the country as a whole. In general, they can be said to be representative of those regions since probability sampling methods were used to select communities or areas within the four regions as well as to select households within those sample communities.

A third and related issue is the modest *size of the samples* in the sending countries, which was necessitated by the complexity of the project and ultimately funding limitations. Overall, the samples selected are adequate (see Table A), but in countries in which women migrants account for only a small proportion of total migrants, the numbers of cases for women migrants proved to be small, including in two of the three countries included in the present analysis. If one is specifically interested in gender aspects of migration, as in this paper, or in the migration of women, specialized sampling methods are needed (such as those discussed for "rare elements" in Bilsborrow *et al.,* 1997).

Finally, we must note some limitations of the questionnaires used, although it should be born in mind that the NIDI-Eurostat project was a first, innovative attempt at collecting comparable data for multiple countries of origin of international migrants, and had multiple purposes and moving parts. Much has been learned in the course of conducting the surveys and in subsequent analyses about things that could have been done better. Some important topics were not covered, or not covered in a parallel fashion for the situation of the migrant and his/her household before and after migration. Particular limitations concern economic data, which is always a burden to collect in surveys, whether via questions on income by source for each person in the household or via detailed questions on consumption expenditures. To save interviewer time and expense, neither was attempted in the these surveys. Instead, persons over age 18 were asked to provide approximate data on their earnings, in five income categories, but these data are not analyzed here. In any case, it would have been difficult to ask about actual monetary income of persons or expenditures of the household in the past some years ago prior to migration.[7] Because of this concern and also to not complicate further the interview, respondents—and given the subjective nature of the question, only Main Migration Actors who could be interviewed directly--were asked only to evaluate the adequacy or sufficiency of their household financial situation before migration and then at the time of interview.

But in addition, some important topics were not covered, or not covered much, in the questionnaires, which limits analysis possibilities, including for gender comparisons. One example is the search process used by migrant to select the destination country. Thus migrants were asked about what information they had on the country prior to migration (but not on alternative countries) and how that information was acquired, but not how long that process took nor whether they had contact with labor recruiters. In general, data on pre-migration characteristics could have been more extensive, with some items not asked because of difficulties expected in getting reliable data (e.g., monetary earnings or income) or were just forgot, e.g. language knowledge. The data on remittances also has important limitations:

[7] In Senegal, a module was used to collect household expenditures, but only for the current situation.

first, only the household head was asked what was received (whereas individuals other than the head may be recipients and the head may not know the exact details), and second, the identity and hence the gender of the person sending remittances was not asked.

A further and inherent limitation of this present study is its being based on only three countries. While three is far better than one and makes possible some comparisons and contrasts across countries and hence generalizations, four or five countries would have been better. However, time and resources were not sufficient for including all five of the NIDI-Eurostat survey countries of origin in this study.

Finally, we reiterate that this is only a preliminary study of gender and international migration from developing countries of origin, and looks at and compares a number of individual and household characteristics of male and female migrants. This information is important for studying key aspects of the determinants as well as the consequences of international migration, which are likely to differ significantly by gender. Thus this paper does not pretend to investigate the determinants or consequences of male vs. female international migration *per se* since that would require additional data and variables, data on *non-migrants* to compare with those of migrants for each sex, and multivariate statistical models of the factors determining the migration (or not) of men and women or their consequences. That is left for another day.

References

Anarfi, J.K., K. Awusabo-Asare en N.N.N. Nsowah-Nuamah (2000), *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for Ghana.* Luxembourg: Eurostat. Series Population and social conditions, working paper 3/2000/E/no. 10**.**

Bilsborrow, R. E., A. Oberai, and G. Standing (1984). *Migration surveys in low-income countries*. London, Croom-Helm.

Bilsborrow, R.E., G. Hugo, A.S. Oberai and H. Zlotnik (1997*), International migration statistics. Guidelines for improving data collection systems*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Castles, S. and M. Miller (1998). *The age of migration: international population movements in the modern world*. NY: Guilford Press.

Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche sur la Population et le Développement (CERPOD) (1995), *Migrations et urbanisations en l'Afrique de l'ouest: résultats préliminaires*. Bamako, Mali.

Condé, J., P.S. Diagne and N. Ouaidou (1986), *Les migrations internationales sud-nord*. Une étude de cas: les migrants maliens, mauritaniens et sénégalais de la vallée du fleuve Sénégal, en France. Paris: OECD.

Curran, S. (2003). Engendering migrant networks: the case of Mexican migration. *Demography* 40(2): 289-307

Dalen, H.P. van, G. Groenewold and T. Fokkema (2005), The effect of remittances on emigration intentions in Egypt, Morocco and Turkey, *Population Studies* 59(3): 375-392.

DeJong, Gordon. (2000). Expectations, gender, and norms in migration decision-making. *Population Studies* 54: 307 – 319.

Filmer, D. and L. Pritchett (1999). The effect of household wealth on educational attainment: evidence from 35 countries. *Population and Development Review* vol.25, no.1, pp.85-120

Filmer, D. and L. Pritchett (2001). Estimating wealth effects without income or expenditure data- or Tears: an application to educational enrolments in states of India. *Demography* 38(1): 115-132.

Findley, S., D. Ouedraogo and N. Ouaidou (1988). From seasonal migration to international migration: an analysis of the factors affecting the choices made by families of the Senegal river valley. In*: African Population Conference, Dakar 1988*. Liège, IUSSP, Vol. 2, pp. 39-53.

Gabaccia, D., et al (2006). *Gender and Migration Revisited, International Migration Review,* Special Issue, vol. 40, Spring.

Groenewold, G., and R. Bilsborrow (In press). Design of Samples for International Migration Surveys: Methodological Issues and Lessons Learned from a Multi-Country Study in Africa and Europe. In Corrado Bonifazi, ed., *Proceedings of European Population Conference, Rome, Nov. 2004*.

Hammar, T., G. Brochmann, K. Tamas and T. Faist (eds.) (1997*), International Migration, Immobility and Development. Multidisciplinary Perspectives.* Oxford and New York: Berg.

International Organization for Migration (2005). *World Migration 2005: Costs and Benefits of International Migration*. Geneva, Switz.: IOM.

Itzigsohn, J., and S. Giorguli-Saucedo (2005). Incorporation, Transnationalism, and Gender: Immigrant Incorporation and Transnational Participation as Gendered Processes, *International Migration Review*, vol. 30(4): 895-920,

Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography* 3(1): 47 – 57

Kritz, M.M. and H. Zlotnik (1992), Global interactions: Migration systems, processes and policies. In: Kritz, M.M., L.L. Lin and H. Zlotnik (eds.): *International migration systems: A global approach.*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 1-18.

Makhlouf, H.H., M.S. Gaafar, F. A. Ahmed, S.H. Hussein, F.M. El-Ashry, A.F. Mohamed, E.M. Mostafa, G.M. Abd Alla, A. Imam, M. A. Soliman, S. El-Dawy en Hamdy (2000), *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for Egypt*. Luxembourg: Eurostat. Series Population and social conditions, working paper 3/2000/E/no. 7.

Massey, D., J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino and J.E. Taylor (1993). Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal, *Population and Development Review*, vol. 19 (3): 431-466.

Palloni, A., D. Massey, M. Ceballos, K. Espinosa, and M. Spittel. (2001). Social capital and international migration: a test using information on family networks. *The American Journal of Sociology* 106(5): 1262-98.

Ravenstein, E. (1885). The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48: 167-235.

Robin, N. R. Lalou and M. Ndiaye, Facteurs d'attraction et de répulsion à l'origine des flux migratoires internationaux : rapport Senegal. Luxembourg: Eurostat. Series Population et conditions sociales, working paper 3/2000/E/no. 12.

Schoorl, J.J., L. Heering, I. Esveldt, G. Groenewold, R. F. van der Erf, A.M. Bosch, H. de Valk and B.J. de Bruijn (2000*). Push and pull factors of international migration: a comparative report.* 3/2000/E/no.14, European Commission/Eurostat. Luxembourg.

Schoorl, J., E. Spaan and L. Heering (2006). Poverty and international migration: a comparative analysis of migration intentions in Egypt, Morocco, Ghana and Senegal. The Hague: NIDI. Working paper.

Sjaastad, L. (1962). The costs and returns of human migration. *The Journal of Political Economy* 70(5, Part 2: Investment in Human Beings).

Stark, O., and D. Bloom. (1985). The new economics of labor migration. *American Economic Review* 75: 173-178.

Tery, D., and S. Wilson, eds. (2005). *Beyond Small Change: Making Migrant Remittances Count*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank.

Todaro, M. (1969). A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less-developed countries. *The American Economic Review* 59: 138-48.

United Nations (1993). *Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries,* Proceedings of Expert Group Meeting, Aguascalientes, Mexico, 1991. New York: UN Population Division.

United Nations (1998). *World Population Monitoring 1997: International Migration and Development*. New York: UN Population Division.

United Nations (2002). *International Migration Report*. New York: Population Division.

United Nations (2004). *World Economic and Social Survey 2004: International Migration*. New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

United Nations (2004). *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2003 Revision*. New York: Population Division, Diskette form.

Zlotnik, H. (1992). Empirical identification of international migration systems. In: M. Kritz, L. Lim and H. Zlotnik (eds.), *International Migration Systems. A Global Approach.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-40.

Table 1. Distribution of current migrants and return migrants by age at last emigration from country of origin

		Current migrants		Return migrants	
Country	Age group*	Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	15-24	139	24	115	18
	25-39	422	20	213	21
	40-59	70	5	63	7
	60+	4	1	2	0
Ghana	15-24	98	38	57	23
	25-39	208	93	107	35
	40-59	51	22	30	9
	60+	2	0	3	4
Senegal	15-24	214	22	42	19
	25-39	417	19	63	12
	40-59	54	2	14	4
	60+	3	1	0	0

* Those with ages reported as less than 15 are included in 15-24. The only cells where this was more than 1 are return migrants in Egypt (6 each for males and females) and return migrants in Senegal (4 of each sex).

Table 2. Education level at time of migration from origin household

		Current migrants		Return migrants	
Country	Education level	Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	None	199	3	144	3
	Primary	80	1	50	15
	Secondary	199	17	125	10
	Tertiary	148	28	71	17
Ghana	None	7	7	10	16
	Primary	98	54	75	23
	Secondary	103	43	57	17
	Tertiary	53	14	31	4
Senegal	None	514	18	100	42
	Primary	79	14	43	5
	Secondary	28	2	18	1
	Tertiary	8	0	4	0

Table 3. Marital status of migrants* and mean number of dependent children# prior to international migration.

Country	Marital status	Current migrants		Return migrants		Mean dependent children	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Never married	243	2	140	3	Mean dependent children	2.43	0.86	2.40	1.63
	Married	288	12	190	12					
	Other	4	0	4	1					
Ghana	Never married	156	39	86	21	NA#				
	Married	146	67	95	24					
	Other	14	15	3	6					
Senegal	Never married	274	10	52	3	Mean dependent children	1.88	1.33	1.95	1.65
	Married	223	14	44	18					
	Other	9	1	0	2					

* Only available for Main Migration Actors.
\# Not available for Ghana. Refers to persons ever married prior to migration.

Table 4. Work experience (ever work) prior to migration (MMAs)

Country	Work experience	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Yes	460	8	295	8
	No	75	6	39	8
Ghana	Yes	235	97	158	45
	No	64	21	23	6
Senegal	Yes	455	11	88	9
	No	46	14	8	13

Table 5. Work status prior to migration (MMAs)

Country	Work status	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Employer	22	1	27	0
	Employee	202	3	152	8
	Self-employed	43	1	34	0
	Casual/family labor	153	0	62	0
	Unemployed	37	0	23	0
	Not working #	78	9	34	8
Ghana	Employer	6	7	4	1
	Employee	126	35	62	12
	Self-employed	46	35	47	20
	Casual/family labor	26	10	30	9
	Unemployed	18	8	12	1
	Not working #	94	26	26	7
Senegal	Employer	5	0	1	0
	Employee	43	3	21	2
	Self-employed	301	5	41	4
	Casual/family labor	86	0	19	0
	Unemployed	20	2	5	2
	Not working #	48	15	8	15

Includes student, military service, intending to migrate, housework, disabled, and other, generally in that order.

Table 6. Sector of economic activity prior to migration (MMAs)

Country	Sector of activity	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Primary	164	2	90	0
	Secondary	102	0	67	0
	Tertiary	154	3	119	8
Ghana	Primary	35	10	32	9
	Secondary	25	12	26	5
	Tertiary	143	65	85	28
Senegal	Primary	46	0	5	0
	Secondary	88	1	22	2
	Tertiary	302	7	55	4

Table 7 Classification of residence prior to migration

Country	Type of residence	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Rural	373	13	213	4
	Town	95	12	57	10
	City	164	25	122	32
Ghana	Rural	17	3	13	3
	Town	246	106	124	47
	City	65	36	46	16
Senegal	Rural	226	9	28	8
	Town	73	2	6	4
	City	389	33	87	23

Table 8. Mean size of household prior to emigration (MMAs)

Country	Current Migrants		Return Migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	6.42	4.86	5.73	5.56
Ghana	4.34	4.35	3.82	4.40
Senegal	10.59	10.59	10.45	10.86

Table 9. Adequacy of economic situation of household prior to migration (MMAs)

Country	Economic Situation	Current Migrants		Return Migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	More than adequate	1	0	10	2
	Adequate	27	0	178	12
	Less than adequate[#]	11	0	146	2
Ghana	More than adequate	0	0	6	0
	Adequate	5	1	72	20
	Less than adequate[#]	9	3	104	30
Senegal	More than adequate	3	0	1	2
	Adequate	18	1	24	8
	Less than adequate[#]	56	2	71	13

[#] Includes "barely sufficient" and "insufficient".

Table 10. Economic situation of household compared to that of neighbors prior to migration (MMAs) [#]

Country	Economic Condition	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Better off	3	0	18	3
	About same	26	0	238	12
	Worse off	10	0	78	1
Ghana	Better off	5	1	65	18
	About same	5	2	66	17
	Worse off	4	1	51	15

[#] Not available for Senegal (question was dropped after the pilot survey).
Responses for current migrants are small because the question was not put to proxy respondents (when the current migrant was absent).
Excludes missing data (55 cases for current migrants and 6 cases for return migrants in Ghana).

Table 11. Main motive to leave country of origin (MMAs)

Country	Emigration 'push' motives	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Economic	505	3	311	5
	Familial	9	10	4	10
	Other [a]	21	1	19	1
Ghana	Economic	233	61	148	31
	Familial	7	46	2	12
	Other [a]	67	13	34	8
Senegal	Economic	479	7	67	4
	Familial	2	13	1	14
	Other [a]	24	5	28	5

a) 'Other' motives include lack of adequate education, health problems, search for adventure, dissatisfaction with life in country of origin, etc.

Table 12. Persons involved in the decision to migrate (MMAs)

Country	Persons involved in migration decision making	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Mostly or entirely the migrant	497	7	312	6
	Migrant and others	26	5	12	6
	Mostly or entirely others	11	2	10	4
Ghana	Mostly or entirely the migrant	225	52	139	22
	Migrant and others	60	56	26	21
	Mostly or entirely others	23	12	16	8
Senegal	Mostly or entirely the migrant	303	9	52	2
	Migrant and others	177	7	26	10
	Mostly or entirely others	23	9	18	11

Table 13. Whether migrant had migration network before migration (MMAs)

Country	Network Status	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Had network	286	12	175	10
	No network	244	2	159	6
Ghana	Had network	159	92	103	34
	No network	143	25	81	17
Senegal	Had network	400	20	66	22
	No network	88	4	30	1

Table 14. Main motive for choosing country of destination (MMAs)

Country	Emigration 'pull' motives	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Economic	334	3	171	3
	Familial	99	11	38	10
	Other #	102	0	125	3
Ghana	Economic	165	44	101	18
	Familial	63	58	32	24
	Other #	74	13	50	9
Senegal	Economic	350	3	49	2
	Familial	74	18	15	19
	Other #	78	4	31	2

'Other' motives include education, medical treatment, search for adventure, etc.

Table 15. Financial assistance received from someone in country of origin to help pay for migration (MMAs)

		Current migrants		Return migrants	
Country	Assistance provider	Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	None	209	10	172	12
	Relatives	270	3	115	0
	Community	6	0	7	1
	Friends	34	0	21	0
	Bank / Money lender	10	0	3	0
	Other	6	1	16	3
Ghana	None	152	80	123	31
	Relatives	123	31	31	14
	Community	0	0	0	0
	Friends	6	4	8	2
	Bank / Money lender	3	0	2	1
	Other	17	5	18	2
Senegal	None	334	15	56	14
	Relatives	148	6	23	7
	Community	1	1	0	0
	Friends	4	2	2	1
	Bank / Money lender	3	0	1	0
	Other	13	1	14	1

Table 16. Whether migrated with other family members.

Country	Type of migration	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Unmarried	222	2	138	3
	Married, left spouse	263	3	178	4
	Married, brought family immediately	12	6	6	3
	Married, brought family later	8	0	4	0
Ghana	Unmarried	160	44	88	24
	Married, left spouse	115	16	68	9
	Married, brought family immediately	7	6	11	1
	Married, brought family later	5	0	5	1
	Married, spouse already there	6	37	0	10
Senegal	Unmarried	205	10	52	5
	Married, left spouse	216	3	43	4
	Married, brought family immediately	1	1	0	0
	Married, brought family later	4	0	0	0
	Married, spouse already there	1	7	0	13

Table 17. Assistance expected and received by those with family, relatives, and/or friends in the country of destination (MMAs)

			Current migrants		Return migrants	
Country	Help expected	Help received	Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Yes	Yes	20		103	6
		No	3		27	0
	No	Yes	0		10	1
		No	5		35	3
Ghana	Yes	Yes	7	0	53	27
		No	0	0	15	2
	No	Yes	1	1	7	0
		No	1	0	28	3
Senegal	Yes	Yes	43	0	42	21
		No	7	0	10	1
	No	Yes	6	0	5	0
		No	10	1	9	0

Notes: The numbers of observations are low for current migrants because the question was not asked of proxy respondents (when the current migrant was absent).
Help received comprises assistance provided to facilitate migration (e.g., funds for travel) as well as assistance in finding work, housing, etc.

Table 18. Number of months looking for first job in country of destination (MMAs)

Country	Comparative financial situation	Current migrants #		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Less than 1 month	22		192	7
	1 month	3		40	
	2 months	6		36	
	3 months	2		24	
	4 months	3		10	
	5 months	0		1	
	6 or more months	3		16	
Ghana	Less than 1 month	7	4	66	19
	1 month	1	1	12	3
	2 months	2	2	19	3
	3 months	0		17	4
	4 months	3		4	0
	5 months	0		5	1
	6 or more months	4		23	3
Senegal	Less than 1 month	53	3	61	7
	1 month	15		10	1
	2 months	2		6	0
	3 months	4		6	1
	4 months	1		0	0
	5 months	0		1	1
	6 or more months	1		1	0

The number of observations is low for current migrants because the question was not put to proxy respondents (when the current migrant was absent)

Table 19. Current age distribution of international migrants.

Country	Age Group	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	15-24	46	8	28	13
	25-39	448	30	308	27
	40-59	133	11	142	18
	60+	8	2	14	1
Ghana	15-24	28	14	9	3
	25-39	230	98	113	40
	40-59	100	43	72	27
	60+	6	2	8	3
Senegal	15-24	70	15	10	10
	25-39	472	23	110	31
	40-59	141	5	44	7
	60+	7	1	4	3

Table 20. Current educational attainment of international migrants.

Country	Level	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	None	200	2	172	9
	Primary	79	1	65	9
	Secondary	203	16	165	16
	Higher	151	32	90	25
Ghana	None	5	6	12	16
	Primary	124	66	86	28
	Secondary	141	58	63	20
	Higher	86	21	39	4
Senegal	None	536	22	99	42
	Primary	105	19	47	7
	Secondary	38	2	18	2
	Higher	13	1	4	0

Table 21. Current marital status of international migrants.

Country	Marital Status	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Never married	242	5	103	13
	Married	388	46	385	40
	Other	5	0	4	6
Ghana	Never married	121	30	57	30
	Married	223	114	133	114
	Other	20	13	12	11
Senegal	Never married	219	11	58	7
	Married	469	30	107	37
	Other	12	3	3	7

Table 22. Number of languages spoken apart from childhood language

Country	Number of additional languages	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	None	376	13	318	30
	At least one	259	38	174	29
Ghana	None	9	2	8	8
	One	60	33	38	13
	Two or more	51	19	49	9
Senegal	None	148	11	44	21
	One	345	15	44	18
	Two or more	205	18	80	12

Table 23. Participation of migrants in various types of organizations

Country	Active in organization?	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Recreational				
	Yes	22	0	42	5
	No	613	51	450	54
	Political				
	Yes	6	0	11	0
	No	629	51	481	59
	Religious				
	Yes	6	0	8	0
	No	629	51	484	59
	Interest group #				
	Yes	65	0	8	0
	No	630	51	484	59
Ghana	Recreational				
	Yes	174	57	107	28
	No	156	81	94	43
	Political				
	Yes	77	22	67	14
	No	251	115	134	57
	Religious				
	Yes	213	97	142	53
	No	118	40	59	18
	Interest group #				
	Yes	51	17	53	16
	No	277	119	148	55
Senegal	Recreational				
	Yes	12	3	16	0
	No	507	33	148	48
	Political				
	Yes	4	0	3	2
	No	523	36	161	46
	Religious				
	Yes	370	5	74	18
	No	182	31	90	30
	Interest group #				
	Yes	156	8	33	12
	No	358	27	131	39

Interest groups include trade unions, migrant organizations, women's groups, etc.

Table 24. Number of types of organizations in which migrants participate

Country	Number of organizations	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	None	608	51	437	54
	One	22	0	45	5
	Two or more	5	0	10	0
Ghana	None	78	37	25	11
	One	138	68	65	33
	Two or more	148	52	112	29
Senegal	None	290	31	66	25
	One	280	10	82	20
	Two or more	130	3	20	6

Table 25. Current employment status of migrants

Country	Work status	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Employer	10	1	38	1
	Self-employed	21	1	65	0
	Wage worker	512	12	250	22
	Casual worker, family worker, 'other' worker	68	0	74	1
	Unemployed	8	0	31	3
	Other non-workers #	11	37	34	32
Ghana	Employer	2	4	35	9
	Self-employed	17	22	69	27
	Wage worker	207	69	55	13
	Casual worker, family worker, 'other' worker	11	5	14	6
	Unemployed	2	2	12	2
	Other non-workers #	47	15	14	14
Senegal	Employer	7	1	4	1
	Self-employed	356	9	78	14
	Wage worker	229	9	37	2
	Casual worker, family worker, 'other' worker	27	3	17	1
	Unemployed	13	1	17	5
	Other non-workers #	19	18	12	26

Other includes household work, taking care of children, disabled, and not looking for work.

Table 26. Sector of economic activity of international migrants

Country	Sector	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Primary	100	1	108	1
	Secondary	213	0	86	0
	Tertiary	298	13	233	23
Ghana	Primary	9	2	43	10
	Secondary	73	24	24	5
	Tertiary	113	62	105	40
Senegal	Primary	7	0	7	0
	Secondary	203	2	36	3
	Tertiary	370	19	92	17

Table 27. Current mean household size of international migrants*

Country	Current Migrants		Return Migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	7.6	8.0	6.6	5.9
Ghana	5.4	5.7	4.3	4.5
Senegal	15.6	16.5	14.9	14.2

* Refers to origin household of current international out-migrant, not the migrant's household size in the destination country.

Table 28. Mean persons per room in origin household currently, and mean number of children of migrant.

Country	Persons per room	Current migrants		Return migrants		Mean no. children	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	Persons per room	1.71	1.57	1.56	1.29	Mean no. children	2.70	1.73	2.82	3.09
Ghana	Persons per room	2.05	2.12	1.82	1.64	Mean no. children	2.08	2.61[#]	3.30	3.00
Senegal	Persons per room	2.51	2.92	2.89	3.51	Mean no. children	2.38	2.17	3.89	3.27

* Ever married respondents only
\# 23 cases

Table 29. Current wealth quintile of migrants.

Country	Wealth Quintile[#]	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	1	128	2	91	1
	2	138	10	119	8
	3	125	10	108	15
	4	132	14	107	16
	5	112	15	67	19
	Total	635	51	492	59
Ghana	1	60	23	44	17
	2	55	22	25	11
	3	62	25	32	9
	4	72	25	40	15
	5	115	62	61	21
	Total	364	157	202	73
Senegal	1	121	6	22	7
	2	80	7	29	9
	3	131	6	22	11
	4	196	7	46	13
	5	172	18	49	11
	Total	700	44	168	51

\# 1 = lowest quintile, 5 = highest. See text on computation.

Table 30. Current economic situation of household.

Country	Economic situation	Current migrants		Return migrants	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Egypt	More than sufficient	35	7	17	9
	Sufficient	458	38	276	37
	Barely sufficient	122	6	140	10
	Insufficient	20	0	59	3
Ghana	More than sufficient	2	2	2	1
	Sufficient	117	54	67	27
	Barely sufficient	139	63	61	19
	Insufficient	106	38	72	26
Senegal	More than sufficient	11	1	2	4
	Sufficient	269	15	39	14
	Barely sufficient	308	24	84	18
	Insufficient	76	3	35	12

Table 31. Educational level currently and prior to migration

Country	Sex	Current educational level	Educational level prior to migration							
			Current migrants				Return migrants			
			None	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	None	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Egypt	Male	None	199	0	0	0	140	0	0	0
		Primary	0	79	0	0	2	48	0	0
		Secondary	0	1	197	0	2	1	122	0
		Tertiary	0	0	2	148	0	1	3	71
	Female	None	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
		Primary	0	1	0	0	0	8	0	0
		Secondary	1	0	14	0	0	4	10	0
		Tertiary	0	0	3	28	0	3	0	17
Ghana	Male	None	4	0	0	0	9	0	0	0
		Primary	0	94	0	0	1	74	0	0
		Secondary	3	3	101	0	0	1	55	0
		Tertiary	0	1	2	53	0	0	2	31
	Female	None	6	0	0	0	15	0	0	0
		Primary	1	52	0	0	1	23	0	0
		Secondary	0	1	41	0	0	0	17	0
		Tertiary	0	1	2	14	0	0	0	4
Senegal	Male	None	514	0	0	0	97	0	0	0
		Primary	0	77	0	0	3	43	0	0
		Secondary	0	2	28	0	0	0	18	0
		Tertiary	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	4
	Female	None	18	0	0		41	0	0	
		Primary	0	14	0		1	5	0	
		Secondary	0	0	1		0	0	1	
		Tertiary	0	0	1		0	0	0	

Table 32. Marital status currently and prior to migration (MMAs)

Country	Sex	Current marital status	Marital status prior to migration of MMA							
			Current migrants				Return migrants			
			Single	Married	Divorced / separated	Widowed	Single	Married	Divorced / separated	Widowed
Egypt	Male	Single	186	0	0	0	45	0	0	0
		Married	57	286	0	1	95	189	2	1
		Divorced/separated	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
		Widowed	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Female	Single	2	0			1	0		0
		Married	0	12			2	10		0
		Divorced/separated	0	0			0	1		0
		Widowed	0	0			0	1		1
Ghana	Male	Single	102	0	0	0	49	0	0	
		Married	52	139	5	0	35	85	1	
		Divorced/separated	1	4	8	0	0	4	2	
		Widowed	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	
	Female	Single	18	0	0		7	0	0	0
		Married	20	63	6		13	20	0	1
		Divorced/separated	1	2	7		1	4	2	0
		Widowed	0	1	1		0	0	0	3
Senegal	Male	Single	125	0	0		34	0		
		Married	148	221	3		18	42		
		Divorced/separated	1	1	6		0	1		
		Widowed	0	1	0		0	1		
	Female	Single	9	0	0		1	0		0
		Married	1	12	1		2	16		0
		Divorced/separated	0	2	0		0	2		0
		Widowed	0	0	0		0	0		2

Table 33. Work status currently and prior to migration (MMAs)

			Works status prior to migration											
			Current migrants						Return migrants					
Country	Sex	Current work status	Employer	Employee	Self-employed	Casual / family	Unempl.	Not working [#]	Employer	Employee	Self-employed	Casual / family	Unempl.	Not working [#]
Egypt	Male	Employer	0	3	0	3	0	3	20	2	3	1	0	3
		Employee	20	189	25	114	27	60	5	126	6	15	11	16
		Self-empl.	0	4	10	0	3	2	0	8	23	4	2	8
		Casual/family	2	4	7	34	5	6	0	2	0	35	5	1
		Unemployed	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	9	0	6	5	2
		Not working [#]	0	1	0	1	1	4	1	5	2	1	0	4
	Female	Employer	0	1	0			0		0				0
		Employee	1	1	1			0		7				0
		Self-empl.	0	0	0			0		0				0
		Casual/family	0	0	0			0		0				1
		Unemployed	0	0	0			0		1				0
		Not working [#]	0	1	0			9		0				7
Ghana	Male	Employer	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	14	5	6	1	1
		Employee	1	92	23	14	9	47	1	29	4	3	2	12
		Self-empl.	0	2	4	1	2	5	0	9	34	14	3	4
		Casual/family	0	2	3	3	1	1	0	2	2	5	1	1
		Unemployed	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	4	3
		Not working [#]	1	5	3	0	0	29	0	5	1	1	1	4
	Female	Employer	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	1	0
		Employee	3	23	13	2	2	12	0	5	2	1	0	0
		Self-empl.	0	0	7	5	2	2	0	1	10	3	0	5
		Casual/family	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	2	0	0
		Unemployed	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
		Not working [#]	1	1	3	0	0	3	0	4	1	1	0	1

Table 33 (continued). Work status currently and prior to migration (MMAs)

			Works status prior to migration											
			Current migrants						Return migrants					
Country	Sex	Current work status	Employer	Employee	Self-employed	Casual / family	Unempl.	Not working #	Employer	Employee	Self-employed	Casual / family	Unempl.	Not working #
Senegal	Male	Employer	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	0	0
		Employee	1	26	97	28	9	17	0	14	2	2	1	1
		Self-employed	4	11	179	40	6	13	1	6	32	7	1	5
		Casual/family	0	1	2	10	1	1	0	0	1	5	0	0
		Unemployed	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	3	2	2
		Not working #	0	1	1	0	0	9	0	0	2	1	1	0
	Female	Employer		0	0		0	0		0	1		0	0
		Employee		2	1		1	4		1	0		0	1
		Self-employed		0	3		0	2		0	3		1	4
		Casual/family		0	0		0	2		0	0		0	1
		Unemployed		0	1		0	0		0	0		0	1
		Not working #		1	0		1	7		1	0		1	7

Includes student or military service, intended to migrate, housework, disabled, and other.

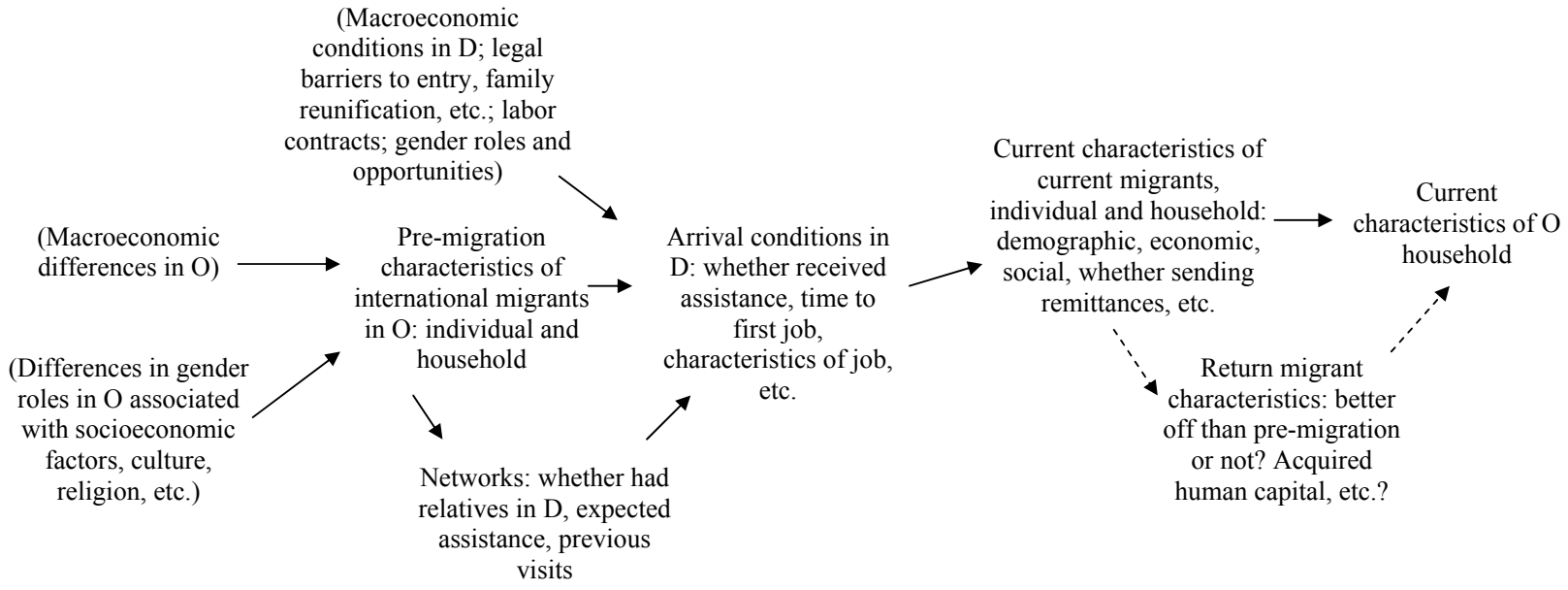
Table 34. Financial situation of household currently and prior to migration (Main Migration Actors only)

			Financial situation prior to migration of MMA							
			Current migrants				Return migrants			
Country	Sex	Current financial situation	More than sufficient	Sufficient	Barely sufficient	Insufficient	More than sufficient	Sufficient	Barely sufficient	Insufficient
Egypt	Male	More than suff.	1	3	1	0	4	6	1	0
		Sufficient	0	21	4	1	4	134	38	9
		Barely sufficient	0	2	4	1	2	31	48	18
		Insufficient	0	1	0	0	0	7	6	26
	Female	More than suff.					1	3	0	0
		Sufficient					1	7	0	0
		Barely sufficient					0	2	1	1
		Insufficient					0	0	0	0
Ghana	Male	More than suff.		0	0	0	0	1	1	0
		Sufficient		1	2	0	2	35	13	13
		Barely sufficient		3	1	3	0	18	16	20
		Insufficient		1	2	1	4	18	18	23
	Female	More than suff.		0	0	0		0	0	1
		Sufficient		1	0	1		8	5	3
		Barely sufficient		0	1	1		4	3	4
		Insufficient		0	0	0		8	5	9
Senegal	Male	More than suff.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sufficient	0	11	22	3	0	12	9	1
		Barely sufficient	1	6	19	7	1	10	27	13
		Insufficient	0	1	2	0	0	2	6	8
	Female	More than suff.		0	0	0	1	0	0	0
		Sufficient		0	0	0	0	2	1	0
		Barely sufficient		1	1	0	1	3	4	2
		Insufficient		0	0	1	0	3	1	3

Table 35. Financial situation of household currently and prior to migration of MMA, compared to situation of other households in the neighborhood, MMAs only

Country	Sex	Current comparative financial situation	Comparative financial situation prior to migration of MMA					
			Current migrants			Return migrants		
			Better off	About the same	Worse off	Better off	About the same	Worse off
Egypt	Male	Better off	2	4	1	6	17	0
		About the same	1	21	7	12	195	34
		Worse off	0	1	2	0	26	44
	Female	Better off				2	2	0
		About the same				1	8	1
		Worse off				0	2	0

Figure 1. Conceptual framework for empirical study of gender and internal migration.



Notes: Parentheses indicate implicit or predetermined factors not explicitly investigated. O = Origin country, D = Destination country.