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Individual Perception of Reasons for Migration from Senegal to Morocco with a Focus on Environmental Influences

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Abstract

This thesis aims at exploring migration from sub-Saharan Africa to North Africa by focussing on migration from Senegal to Morocco as an exemplary case study. Using an explorative, qualitative approach, this thesis will reconstruct factors that Senegalese perceive as decisive reasons for their migration to Morocco. Existing research shows that the link between migration and environmental change is quite clear for internal migration within the Sahel and very vague for international migration from this region. This thesis therefore will analyse to what extent Senegalese in Morocco refer to environmental changes influencing their migration decision process. The data material consists of twelve qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted with Senegalese living in the Moroccan cities Rabat, Marrakech and Casablanca in May and June 2014. The data analysis is based on Grounded Theory. The theoretical background combines different sociological approaches to migration on the micro and meso-level with theories on environmental migration. The results show that for this sample, references to environmental change as an influencing factor on the migration decision are limited and only apply to a small group of respondents. Instead, several important economic and social reasons can be identified, as well as five migration types who differ in principal migration reasons, social context and aspired migration outcome.

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1 Introduction

“Trapped at the Gates of Europe” (Médecins Sans Frontières, 2013, 1), “Morocco building wall to halt tide of illegal immigration into Europe” (Govan 2014, May 12), “Uncertain Future: Racial Discrimination Against African Migrants in Morocco” (Elboubkri 2014, September 5). These headlines show that the topic of migration from sub-Saharan Africa to Northern Africa is currently prominent in the media. Several non-governmental organisations have recently published reports on the situation of Sub-Saharan migrants living in Morocco, too (e.g. Human Rights Watch 2014; GADEM 2013). Furthermore, the topic of migration from sub-Saharan regions to Morocco has been analysed in several scientific publications (e.g. Cherti/Grant 2013; Pickerill 2011, 395ff.; Khachani 2011; Berriane/Aderghal 2008; Collyer 2007, 668ff.; De Haas 2007).

This thesis aims at exploring migration from sub-Saharan Africa to Morocco by focussing on migration from Senegal to Morocco as exemplary case study. Using an explorative, qualitative approach, the thesis considers reasons for migration that Senegalese migrants themselves perceive as decisive factors for their own migration decision process. To reach this objective, I collected and analysed data material from twelve qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted with Senegalese living in the Moroccan cities Rabat, Marrakech and Casablanca in May and June 2014. The results of this research provide insights into the dynamics of this specific migration route.

One aspect of this thesis is the relation of environmental changes and migration, a topic that has been discussed vividly in academia for the last 20 years (cf. Bettini 2014, 180ff.; Black et al. 2011a, 3ff.; Gemenne 2011, 229ff.; White 2011; Warner et al. 2010, 689ff.; Suhrke 1994, 473ff.). Many scientific papers analysing environmental migration focus on the Sahel zone (e.g. Werz/Conley 2012; Hummel et al. 2012; Tacoli 2011; Bleibaum 2009; Grote/Warner 2009, 17ff.), since environmental change (e.g. high rainfall variability and soil degradation) is an important issue within the Sahel zone. The 2014 IPCC report even calls the Sahel a “hotspot of climate change” (Niang et al. 2014, 8). The current state of research (see the articles cited above) suggests that in the Sahel, environmental change is an important factor influencing human migration decision since many people in this region live from natural resources (Van der Land/Hummel 2013a, 1).

Existing literature shows that the link between migration and environmental change is quite clear for internal migration within the Sahel and very vague for international migration (Obokata et al. 2014, 118; Bleibaum 2009, 42; Beine/Parsons 2013, 24). As my thesis focuses on international migration and on the individual level, I did not only want to reconstruct the reasons the migrants perceive as important factors for their migration

decision. My objective was also to examine how and to what extent Senegalese migrants currently living in Morocco refer to environmental change as a factor influencing their migration decision. Therefore, my thesis has one main research question asking about the general reasons and a more specific question on environmental migration. This double track is also reflected in the theoretical background, which combines some approaches of classical sociological migration theory with the more interdisciplinary scholarship on environmental migration. The relation of theory and empirical material is inductive-deductive.

There are two main reasons for choosing Senegal as country of origin: firstly, large parts of Senegal lie in the Western Sahel zone, which is “an ecologically highly vulnerable region because of its high climatic variability and fragile soils” (Hummel et al. 2012, 24). Bleibaum (2009, 42) shows that soil degradation and erratic rainfalls are reasons, which cause people to migrate internally. The question is whether the influences of environmental change play a role for international migration from the Sahel. Secondly, Senegal is a stable country compared to other countries of the region. One can assume that reasons that might influence the migration decision (and that might overshadow environmental causes) such as violent conflicts do not appear in the migration decision process of Senegalese. The reason for choosing Morocco as the place of field research is primarily its closeness to Senegal. The journey from Senegal is relatively cheap and not complicated, thus the costs of migration are relatively low. This fact reduces the selection process that might limit out-migration. Secondly, Morocco is also a transit country for migrants aiming to enter Europe. Especially in the context of the European discussion about the “public’s fears about climate change and the prospect of desperate hordes of ‘refugees’ inundating North Atlantic borders” (White 2011, 7), it is interesting to see how the migrants themselves perceive the influence of environmental factors on their migration decision. Choosing Morocco as place of interrogation has further the advantage that European migration laws do not yet influence the selection of respondents. Additionally, there is a high number of Senegalese present in Morocco, especially in the cities, which facilitates finding interview partners. A central reason for choosing Morocco as place of data collection is my personal network that I could build during an earlier stay from July to November 2013.

It is important to note that migration from Senegal to Morocco is a typical case of transnational migration, where migration is not a unidirectional process, but includes mobility of different directions or frequent relocation from one country to the other (Faist et al. 2014, 11/15). The actors of transnational migration are called transmigrants, so “immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across

international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (Glick Schiller et al. 1995, 48; cf. Glick Schiller et al. 1992, 1). Migrants and non-migrants stay in continuing contact and transmit money, information and ideas. A migrant settling down at the place of destination, therefore, does not lose his or her connection with their place of origin (Faist et al. 2014, 15). As we will see later, most of the interviewed Senegalese migrants in Morocco are in close contact with their families in Senegal and one person even went home for a visit before returning to Morocco. By introducing the concept of transnational migration, I want to stress the fact that the Senegalese in Morocco live in a highly dynamic environment. During my short stay of two months in Rabat, I could observe Senegalese arriving, Senegalese heading northwards with the aim to enter Europe, Senegalese changing cities and Senegalese returning to Senegal. I did not meet a single person who declared that they wanted to stay in Morocco in the long run and their movement has been unidirectional. No one saw the settlement in Morocco as a permanent situation. Some persons' intention was to return to Senegal, some persons wanted to continue to Europe and to return to Senegal in the long term. The interview data of this thesis captures a snapshot, and during the moment of writing this introduction half a year later, several of the interviewed migrants do not live at the place of the interview anymore. As this thesis only covers a single migration route, the characteristics of a transnational movement apply for all further statements and findings of this work.¹

This thesis is structured as follows: the 2nd chapter presents some selected sociological approaches to migration theory, structured according to the level of analysis. Then, it discusses the role of environmental change as a driver of migration. Lastly, it provides an overview on out-migration from Senegal and in-migration to Morocco and empirical findings on environmental change and migration within and from Senegal. The 3rd chapter explains the research design, data collection and analysis as well as some reflections on data selection, language and limitations of this thesis. The 4th chapter presents the results and is divided into four parts. Chapter 4.1 looks at environmental issues that might be present in the interview data. The three respondents who have a background involving natural resources will be discussed separately from the remaining data in this section. It then discusses the significance of environmental change for all my data material. Chapter 4.2 describes the economic reasons that influence the migration decision of the respondents and chapter 4.3 covers the social reasons. These three parts end with a wrap up. Chapter 4.4 presents a typology considering the main reasons for migration, social

¹ Since the following research focuses on migration reasons, the main questions within the fields of transnational studies are only of limited interest. I will, therefore, not further address this approach to migration.

context and ambitions of the migrants. The thesis ends with chapter 5 summarising the research and discussing the results, considering current tendencies of migration research.

2 Theory

2.1 Explaining migration

2.1.1 Defining the term 'migration'

There is no standardised definition of the term 'migration'. In this thesis, I will follow Oswald's description of migration as a process of spatial relocation of one's centre of life. This means that either some or all relevant areas of life are relocated to another place which has to be associated with an experience of a social, political and/or cultural demarcation² (2007, 13). According to Oswald, those relevant areas of life include residency, family, work and income, social networks and cultural and political orientations such as language or citizenship (ibid., 15). Migration does not necessarily change all those areas, but some of them. The border experience mentioned in Oswald's definition includes the crossing of a national border, but also of non-territorial borders such as language or other cultural division lines. The feeling of crossing a border does not have to happen during the actual movement. The migrant might experience this feeling only when settling at the destination (ibid., 14). This definition includes international (i.e. cross-border) as well as internal (i.e. within a country) migration, unidirectional as well as return migration or temporal movements (if this movement involves a shift of home with some of the elements mentioned above). It also covers circular migration, i.e. repeated movements between two regions of a country (often rural and urban areas) or between a country of origin and of destination (Vadean/Piracha 2009, 2). Transnational migration studies often refer to this type of circular movement (Vertovec 2007, 2).

2.1.2 Macro- and micro-level approaches

The question why people migrate can be asked at different levels of analysis.³ Traditionally, migration theories focus either on the macro or the micro level.⁴ Looking at the macro level, migration theories explain international migration with opportunity structures, i.e. political, economical and cultural characteristics of the country of origin and the target country that motivate people to move (Faist 1997, 71). Political factors that

² "*Migration* wird daher im Weiteren verstanden als ein Prozess der räumlichen Versetzung des Lebensmittelpunkts, also einiger bis aller relevanten Lebensbereiche, an einen anderen Ort, der mit der Erfahrung sozialer, politischer und/oder kultureller Grenzziehung einhergeht." (Oswald 2007, 13, italic in original document)

³ The different theoretical approaches aiming to explain migration overlap in many aspects. In the following presentation of some selected approaches, I will focus on the main points that characterise a specific theoretical perspective. Of course, factors that are constitutive for a certain approach might also play a role in other approaches but may not be a core element. All presented approaches to migration will provide me with some insights that altogether form the theoretical background needed for analysing the specific migration journey this thesis focuses on.

⁴ Another classical approach to migration analysis is the dichotomy of agency and structure, cf. De Haas 2014a, 7ff.

influence migration flows are e.g. entry regulations of nation states. Economical factors are e.g. the different economic situations of two states, or income and employment opportunities at the destination. An example of cultural factors is prevailing norms within a country (ibid., 73). Macro-level theories work with aggregated data on in- and out-migration for analysing migration streams (Hagen-Zanker 2008, 5). This entails the risk of ecological fallacy, i.e. explaining individual movements with tendencies of aggregated data. Further, approaches of explaining migration with phenomena on the macro-level have been criticised as “deterministic in ignoring many other factors influencing people’s choice and the indirect rather than direct ways in which such macro-phenomena can be related to migration” (De Haas 2007a, 48).

Micro-level migration theories, on the other hand, concentrate on the individual person who decides to migrate. On this level, migration theories look at values, expectancies and available resources of people to explain their decision to either leave their place of origin or stay (Faist 1997, 73). The availability of resources is a crucial point for all theories focusing on the micro-level. A migrant needs economic resources to organise the transport, to make a living while looking for a job, to keep in touch with the family back home and so on. Further, human capital plays a crucial role. People with a higher education or specialised skills can expect a reward from these resources after migration (De Haan/Yaqub 2009, 4). Speaking in Bourdieu’s terms, a migrant needs economic capital (money) and cultural capital (qualifications, diplomas) (Faist 2007, 368). The importance of these resources becomes visible as migrants usually are neither from the poorest regions nor from the poorest household, as they do not have the resources for taking the risk of (international) migration (De Haan/Yaqub 2009, 4f.; Faist 2007, 369). The image of the “migration hump” (Martin/Taylor 1996, 43) illustrates the relation of resources and migration. Martin and Taylor describe the higher frequency of international out-migration with an increasing economic development of the place of origin. During the initial phase of economic development, the number of migrants strongly increases because the people have more resources available for migration. In a later phase of economic development, the number of migrants decreases because the economic level of the country of origin approaches that of the country of destination (De Haas 2007b, 27). Drawing an image of the economic situation of the country of origin on the x-axis and migration frequency on the y-axis, the line resembles an inverted U, which represents the “migration hump” (Martin/Taylor 1996, 45). Additionally to economic and cultural capital, social capital (in form of information or contacts) is also crucial for migration decision (Faist 2007, 368). A migrant’s decision whether or not to migrate is highly dependent on the information they have about the destination. This aspect will be discussed in the following chapter.

Early models analyse migration on the micro-level as a decision of an individual actor trying to optimize their economic status. Therefore they are called neoclassical microeconomic theories and correspond with rational choice theory. In Lee's rather straightforward push-pull-model, an aspiring migrant weights positive or negative factors at the place origin against positive or negative factors at the destination (Lee 1966, 50). In Lee's model, the migrant's calculation is mainly economic, e.g. they compare income differences between countries or employment rates (Oswald 2007, 71). Other authors later broadened those influential factors, e.g. De Jong and Fawcett who developed a "value-expectancy-model" (1981, 13). It also focuses on an individual that decides according to pushing or pulling factors, but their model also includes more personal reasons such as autonomy or affiliation (ibid., 50). They also tried to include social factors by strengthening the importance of social ties (both for staying and leaving) within their model (ibid., 51). Neoclassical approaches are not so far from macro-level migration theories. Although they focus on the individual actor, contextual factors such as employment rates, wage differences between countries and entry regulations play a crucial role. Those approaches expect that the person aims for optimizing their profit by comparing the costs and benefits of migration (Haug 2000, 5). Benefits at the destination (e.g. a higher wage) have to be compared with the costs of migration (e.g. travel costs, looking for a new employment, and social costs such as leaving a social network behind) (Massey et al. 1993, 434). Neoclassical approaches assume a rational decision whether to migrate or not, based on the knowledge of the situation at the place of origin and estimation and information about the destination. The idea of costs and benefits of migration will be important for the later data analysis of this thesis. These microeconomic models have been criticised a lot. One important point of criticism is that they do not integrate individual action in a broader social, economic and political context. Further, it is hardly possible to isolate one single factor that determines migration (Oswald 2007, 72). Another critique is about rationality: most decisions are not taken in an entirely rational way, but also are influenced by group dynamics, norms within a society and other social factors. When asking a migrant about the reasons for their migration, they will give a rational explanation. But this rationalisation happens only after the actual act (ibid.).

While Lee and others focus on a rationally deciding individual actor, the New Economics of Labor Migration theory (NELM) (Stark/Levhari 1982, 173ff.; Stark/Bloom 1985, 191ff.) still look at the micro level, but focus on the household as a decision-making unit. In this model, migration does not serve the benefit of an individual, but the whole household or family. The migrant and their family have an (implicit) agreement that the family provides the resources for migration and assists the migrant financially while they are looking for a

job at the destination. In return, the migrant, once they have established themselves at their new home, will send money back to the family (Stark 1991, 218)⁵. These remittances (see below) are especially important for new investments or are used in times of bad economic conditions – such as crop failure for those that depend on agricultural livelihoods (Massey et al. 1993, 436). Therefore, the migrant shares not only the costs of migration with their family but also the benefits (Hagen-Zanker 2008, 14). It is a mutual insurance for both the migrant and the whole household (Massey et al. 1993, 436). Especially in regions without public insurances or for livelihoods depending on agriculture, sending away one or more family members is a way to diversify household income and thus reduce economic risks (Hagen-Zanker 2008, 14). In contrast to microeconomic models, for the New Economics of Labor Migration, the most important factor for migration decision is not maximising the income, but splitting the household income between different sources (Stark 1991, 3). NELM does not only look at unidirectional migration, but is also suitable for describing circular migration. As it places the household at the centre of migration decision, NELM enables the consideration of social norms. A family shares and recreates social norms for its members. Boyd (1989, 643) writes:

As socializing agents, families transmit cultural values and norms which influence who migrates and why. Families also transmit norms about the meaning of migration and the maintenance of familial based obligations over time and space.

However, individual characteristics such as age or sex are important when deciding which member of the household migrates (ibid., 642). Further, in contrast to the microeconomic neoclassical models, the New Economics of Labor Migration perspective includes the family background of the migrant. This becomes particularly meaningful when looking at transnational movements, as transnational migrants usually stay in continuing contact with their families at the place of origin (De Haan/Yaqub 2009, 3). However, like the neoclassical approach, NELM still assumes a rational decision-making with economical considerations as the most important factor (Hagen-Zanker 2008, 16). As we will see in the interview data later, household income considerations are a vital factor that influences the migration decision of the respondents.

Remittances – the money migrants send back home – are an important motivation for migration, especially in countries of the so-called global South. Although the individual transfers are usually very small (Ramírez et al. 2005, 13), remittances are a large source of finance for some countries. It is difficult to estimate the amount of remittances flows, since data only is available for transactions through formal channels (such as banks and post offices). However, there are, besides bank transactions, other channels for money

⁵ Stark, who is one of the leading authors of the New Economics of Labor Migration approach, explicitly writes about rural to urban migration in “less developed countries” (1991, 9).

transactions, such as the Indian credit system 'hundi' for example (Martin 2012, 3). There are also more informal ways, such as giving the money to people traveling back or sending real goods (Ramírez et al. 2005, 14). Remittances appear in different forms. Often, there are direct money transfers to the migrants' families. Some migrants pay school fees for their relatives' children or invest in businesses or new technologies to help their families (Boyd 1989, 651). Usually, people use remittances to cover the daily costs of the household (food, housing, health, education, clothing) (Ramírez et al. 2005, 16). Both, formal and informal remittances transfers, include charges for the transfer. Whether a migrant chooses a formal or informal channel to send their money back home depends on the infrastructure, their status of residency, their preference of faster or more secure transactions and so on. (ibid., 14). One reason why people are sending back money to their families is the mutual insurance mentioned above. The function of remittances as a risk-mitigation strategy also explains long-term remittances, especially if the migrant works in instable or informal economic sectors (Stark 1991, 221). Altruism is another explanation for remittances, as well as the migrant's identification with their origin or surveillance of the migrant through social networks (Hagen-Zanker 2008, 15). Also in the collected data material of this thesis, remittances are an important element when identifying the reasons for migration decision.

2.1.3 Meso-level approaches: migrant networks and social mobility

From the 1980s on, newer approaches tried to move away from pure micro- or macro-level perspectives. They did not want to describe migrants either as passive objects that had to follow structural conditions, or thinking of a migrant as a super rational individual that optimises their benefits (or that of their family) (Boyd 1989, 641). Therefore, these new generations of migration theories focus on the meso-level that combines individual situations with socioeconomic and political structures.

One of these newer approaches is the analysis of social networks. It aims to locate individual reasons for migration within larger structures that influence the environment and options of a migrant (Boyd 1989, 641). Massey et al. (1993, 448) speak of migrant networks as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin." There is an important difference between the social network approach and earlier migration theories: focusing on social relations, the perception of migration changes: "Migration is no longer considered as a mere answer to economic, political and environmental factors, but also as a social product" (Schöffberger 2013, 132). By linking

people at the place of origin and the destination, social networks reduce the costs and risks of migration. It might be easier, for instance, to find a job at the destination with the information of returned migrants or established social ties at the destination (Oswald 2007, 162). A social network with members at the place of origin and the destination changes the context of migration decision-making (Massey et al. 1993, 449). Massey (1990, 5) introduced the concept of “cumulative causation” to describe this phenomenon of “changes in social and economic structures” caused by migrants’ movements that foster additional migration within networks. New communication technologies, the internet and instant financial transfers have strengthened the importance of social networks (Collyer 2007, 669). Black et al. note that migrant networks can appear in different degrees of institutionalisation, they “can be formal through the operation of agencies, or more informal through kith and kin networks” (2011a, 7). Governmental migration restrictions can hardly control migration motivated by established social networks, as these movements do not depend on political regimes (Massey et al. 1993, 450). For this reason, there is a connection between the existence of social networks and irregular migration. Of course, social networks exist not only between migrants and non-migrants across national borders, but also between members of a community. Especially in Senegal, social networks, or “networks of solidarity” (Willems 2014, 322) are crucial elements of social cohesion. As we will see below, local networks as well as international networks can influence migration decisions.

The social network approach does not conflict with but rather complements a micro-level household analysis.⁶ It is especially useful for explaining continuing movements. As networks motivate future migration, they are a “self-perpetuating” system (Massey et al. 1993, 449). They can even persist independently from the original migration causes (ibid., 450). Returning migrants strengthen the migration networks, as well as marriages within the network and cultural and social activities such as sport associations or celebrations (Boyd 1989, 650). The network approach can help to explain movements from one specific place to another, e.g. why residents from a specific region in Senegal move to Torino in Italy. The probability that a person migrates and to which destination even depends on their ethnicity or social class (Obokata et al. 2014, 125). However, in migration theory, there exist different opinions on the link between networks and migration. Some approaches state that social networks foster migration, as presented above. Other voices, focusing rather on the social capital available through social networks, say that this capital is locally bound and therefore prevents migration (see Faist 1997, 97). Nevertheless, looking at local networks, Willems (2014, 321) states that it is exactly these networks at

⁶ On combining different migration theories, see De Haas 2014a, 14f.

the place of origin that promote migration (see chapter 2.3.1). Through remittances, migrant networks become visible and measurable (Boyd 1989, 651). Also, by sending back money, migrants “send back important messages about comparative opportunities and standards of living, thereby stimulating future migration flows” (ibid.), so-called “social remittances” (Levitt 1998, 296ff.). They are signs of a successful migration and thus inspire future migrants to follow the example of others. Therefore, existing migrant networks establish a “tradition of migration” (De Haan/Yaqub 2009, 3). They not only inspire future migrants but can even turn migration into a routine act. If everyone knows many examples of international migration, migration turns into a common lifestyle. As shown later, migration networks are a central element of the data collected for this thesis.

The analysis of social networks is closely related to the migration system approach. Migration systems are the result of institutionalised and relatively stable interactions of origin and destination of migration. Important characteristics are the legal regulation of immigration, the range and origin of migration flows, migrant integration into the job market, ethnicity of migrants and naturalisation procedures (Mau/Verwiebe 2008, 119). Further, the exchange of information, goods, services, funds and ideas between the origin and destination of migration constitute the migration system (Haug 2000, 17). Comparing different migration system is a possibility to look at international migration at the meso-level (ibid.). As I only look at migration from Senegal to Morocco in this thesis and therefore at a single migration system, I will not further elaborate this concept.⁷ However, I will describe the Senegalese-Moroccan migration system in chapter 2.3.2.

Another approach that combines socioeconomic structures with individual intentions is Korzeniewicz and Moran’s work on global inequality (2009). They, too, use economic arguments by comparing income stratification within countries and on a global level. However, they look at migration from a perspective of social mobility. According to Korzeniewicz there are three different possibilities how to increase one’s place in the income stratification: firstly, within a country’s income stratification, a person can upgrade their position mainly through the accumulation of human capital (2011, 15). This, however, takes a lot of time. Furthermore, especially in countries with a high inequality of income, access to education and other institutions is often restricted to small elites (ibid., 25). Yet if you look at income stratification not within a nation state but globally, it becomes evident that the highest income classes of poor countries equal the lowest income classes of rich countries (ibid., 22). Therefore, secondly, a person aiming at upgrading their position in the global income stratification might hope for an economic

⁷ For further information, see e.g. Fawcett 1989 and Kritz et al. 1992.

growth of their nation state. However, this does not happen very often and is hard to predict (ibid., 21). Thus, thirdly, migration is the “single most immediate and effective means of global social mobility for populations in the most countries of the world” (ibid.). Moving from a poor to a richer country immediately enhances the position of the migrant in the global income distribution. The migrant does not even have to take up the same position in the same income class in the country of destination (when compared to the whole society) as they have had before. A position in one of the lowest classes of their new residence is sufficient to earn more money than in the country of origin (ibid., 23). Therefore, the main reason for migration is not to find an employment, but explicitly to climb the social ladder (compared to their country of origin, not the destination). As migrants stay in continuing contact with people of their place of origin, this approach is also suitable for describing circular and transnational movements. Korzeniewicz and Moran’s approach to global inequalities combines economical migration explanations on the micro level (push-pull) and on the macro level (income differences between countries). They set individual ambitions within global economical structures.⁸ Their approach helps explaining why migrants choose to leave their country to search for ‘a better life’. A migrant might as well stay and try to move to a higher social position (maybe the migrant had already tried this before deciding to leave). It is just more likely that after moving to a higher income country the migrant is in a higher position than in their country of origin. Of course, migration is always a high risk. However, acquiring human capital at home will not guarantee a higher social position either and it does take much longer. Data analysis of this thesis will show that the topic of social mobility and gaining prestige are important elements of migration for the respondents.

To end this theoretical overview on migration theories, I would like to stress that, although the approaches described above explain why people migrate, most people stay at their place of origin (Faist 1997, 63). Several reasons for this have been mentioned already. Costs and risks of migration (using the neoclassical vocabulary) are the most straightforward reasons preventing migration. Apparently, the resources needed for migration are factors that prevent people from moving. Furthermore, many resources are locally bound. Cultural capital such as diplomas are often not recognised abroad. Likewise, social capital and social networks are often located at a certain place and are not transferable (ibid., 79). Besides being costly, migration is always a risk since its outcome is uncertain. The estimation of this risk is directly linked to information available about the destination. If the risk is perceived as too high and the aspiring migrant has not enough information about the destination, they will not migrate. Another reason that prevents

⁸ And thereby combine an agency-based and structural approach to migration analysis.

(international) migration is, as mentioned before, national entry regulations. This factor, however, is not so important for the movements between Senegal and Morocco, as Senegalese can enter Morocco without a visa and stay for three months. Many people enter legally and then overstay their stay permit. As we will see later, the distinction between legal and illegal residency is not an essential category for the collective identity of Senegalese living in Morocco.

2.2 Environmental migration

2.2.1 Environmental change as driver of migration

Before we look at the link between environmental change and migration, we should define the use of the term environmental change within this thesis. Environmental change means the gradual or abrupt appearance of these phenomena:

[D]rought, land degradation, flooding, access to contextually significant natural resources [such as firewood, grazing and farming land, crop land availability, or shrinking and polluting of inshore waters, own addition], sea-level rise, natural disasters, agricultural productivity and deforestation. (Obokata et al. 2014, 119)

Further phenomena include desertification, forest or bush fire, landslides or hurricanes (ibid., 115). Most of these phenomena are often described as potential consequences of climate change⁹. Indeed, the “current debate on environmentally induced migration is closely attached to the climate change discourse and the expected increases in weather anomalies” (Faist/Schade 2013, 7). However, this thesis will not use the terms ‘climate migration’ or ‘climate-induced migration’ (unlike other authors do such as White 2011). There are two reasons for this decision. Firstly, to put it in Faist and Schade’s words,

[t]he term ‘environmental’ might be used instead to emphasise that it is often empirically not possible to distinguish migration triggered by global warming from that triggered by other sources of natural disasters (e.g. cyclical weather anomalies) and environmental degradation (e.g. overexploitation of natural resources). (2013, 6)

Secondly, as this thesis uses qualitative methods and a very small sample, it is virtually impossible to distinguish between long-term climatic changes and short-term weather events. The term ‘environmental change’ covers both phenomena, irrespective of the underlying trends.

⁹ The IPCC (2014, 5) defines climate change as “a change in the state of the climate that can be identified (e.g., by using statistical tests) by changes in the mean and/or the variability of its properties, and that persists for an extended period, typically decades or longer. Climate change may be due to natural internal processes or external forcings such as modulations of the solar cycles, volcanic eruptions, and persistent anthropogenic changes in the composition of the atmosphere or in land use.”

So, how does the environment influence people's decision to migrate? There are several ways how the changing environment might affect people's mobility (Brzoska/Fröhlich 2014; Tacoli 2009, 517ff.). One possibility is that people are forced to leave their homes due to natural disasters or extreme weather events. There is evidence that people moving because of these reasons tend to return to their places of origin when this is possible (Adger et al. 2014, 12). A second possibility is that slow changes make it permanently impossible to stay at the place of origin. The most famous example of this type are residents of small island states that rise only a few meters over sea level (Julca/Paddison 2010, 720). Furthermore, environmental change may alter the (economic) incentives for migration at the place of origin without forcing people to abandon this place (Faist/Schade 2013, 11). Of course, this classification is only a rough model. Transition between the different types might come very gradually. Hugo (1996, 107) even suggests a "continuum of voluntary towards more forced migration" because in many cases, a clear distinction is not possible (cf. Bardsley/Hugo 2010, 242f.).

Very different terms exist to label the effect of a changing environment on people's migration behaviour (e.g. 'environmental migrants', 'environmentally displaced persons', 'environmental induced migrants', etc. (Afifi 2011, 99)). This thesis' notion of environmental migration follows the IOM's definition of "environmental migrants" as

persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad. (2007, 1f.)

Even if this definition is very general and heuristic, it has contributed to some clarity and includes the concept of mobility as an adaptation strategy to environmental change (see below) in the UNFCCC Cancun Agreement (2010, §14f.).

2.2.2 Scientific discourses on environmental migration

After this first clarification of the topic, this chapter continues with a short outline of the scientific discourse on environmental migration.¹⁰ The term 'environmental refugee' was first officially used by El-Hinnawi (1985, 1) in a report for the UNEP of the same name (Gemenne 2011, 228). At this stage, the term addressed the nexus of environment, population and development (Faist/Schade 2013, 5). When, around 1990, climate change appeared on research and political agendas, the term transformed into 'climate change refugee' and henceforward mainly referred to consequences of global warming

¹⁰ I will not address the issue of environmental or migration policies, as this would outrun the scope and space of this master's thesis. For an overview of policy developments related to climate-migration discourses, see Gemenne 2011, 242ff.

(Vlassopoulos 2013, 152). To avoid the discussions around the meaning of the word 'refugee'¹¹, the terms 'environmental migration' and 'climate migration' have become more established. The fourth IPCC report in 2007, for instance, does not use the word 'refugee', but only 'environmental migration', in contrast to the previous three IPCC reports (Faist/Schade 2013, 6).

The scientific work on migration and climate change can be subsumed into two groups: alarmists and sceptics¹². The alarmists "forecasted waves of 'environmental refugees' and pinpointed environmental factors as a major driving force of migration" (Gemenne 2011, 230). An important part of literature written by alarmist authors are predictions of "the number of displaced persons due to climate change phenomena" (e.g. the often cited prognosis of 200 million climate change refugees by 2050 of Myers (2002, 609)) and identification of "high risk zones" (Faist/Schade 2013, 8). The alarmists' understanding of environmental change and migration is rather straightforward: a changing environment or environmental degradation forces people to leave their homeland (Vlassopoulos 2013, 151). Thus, people migrating due to environmental reasons are considered as victims (Tacoli 2009, 516), having no other options to survive than leaving their homes. This discourse is also closely connected with the discussion about human security. When around 2000 the topic of climate change became more popular in public and political debates, climate induced migration entered the discussion "as a humanitarian and security threat justifying the urgency for development-adaptation measures" (Vlassopoulos 2013, 157). In this thinking, migration is considered as a conflict risk that should be prevented.¹³ The aspect of human security is one reason why from 2000 on alarmist theories quite successfully entered the political debate (Gemenne 2011, 232; Vlassopoulos 2013, 152). They evoked the image of "massive flows of migrants worldwide, who compete for resources and ultimately threaten [...] international security." (Gemenne 2011, 232; cf. Bettini 2013, 66). In the meantime, a second group of scholars started to criticise the alarmist projections. The sceptics adopted a more doubtful position "vis-à-vis the empirical reality of such migration flows, insisting on the complexity of the migration

¹¹ The Geneva Refugee Convention does not include people fleeing for environmental or climate reasons (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 1951, 14). There have been extended debates among law scholars whether or not to extend the Geneva Convention, often pointing out that the residents of small island states in the Pacific will be the first 'climate refugees' in the near future. For an overview on the main tendencies, see Gemenne 2011, 228 ff./239ff.

¹² Already in 1994, Suhrke described these two positions as maximalists and minimalists (Suhrke 1994, 374).

¹³ One of the founders of this discourse was Homer-Dixon (1991, 1994) who stated that environmental change would lead to violent conflicts. Gemenne (2011, 232) explains: "Migration was conceptualized both as a consequence of environmentally induced conflicts and as a trigger of future conflicts over natural resources. The theories were deeply rooted in a neo-Malthusian perspective, and gained authority with the commonly held perception that climate change was a threat to the world's security." Even the 2014 IPCC report presents migration in its chapter on "Human Security" as one consequence of climate change (Adger et al. 2014, 11ff.). For more information on the "securitization of climate-induced migration", see White 2011, 55ff.; Scheffran et al. 2012a, and Bettini 2013, 66ff.

process” (Gemenne 2011, 230). The term sceptic should not mean that those scientists doubt the existence of climate change (Faist/Schade 2013, 10), but question the predictions of millions of climate refugees (Vlassopoulos 2013, 151).¹⁴ Their main argument is that migration is always the outcome of many different factors. Environmental influences should not be considered as a single driver of migration that works independently from other drivers (Gemenne 2011, 226). The sceptics do not deny the effect of environmental changes on migration, but call into question whether it is possible to identify those effects (cf. Faist/Schade 2013, 10ff.; Black et al. 2011a, 54ff.; Piguet et al. 2011, 12ff.; Warner et al. 2010, 698ff.). Especially the effects of economic and environmental factors are almost impossible to distinguish empirically (Gemenne 2011, 237). Thus, the main difference between alarmist and sceptical literature on environmental migration is the question if environmental factors can be isolated from others (ibid., 238).

This thesis positions itself within the sceptics’ group as it considers environmental change as one potential driver of migration among many others. The Foresight Framework (Black et al. 2011a, 33) clarifies the view on environmental change and migration used within this thesis. Black was one of the first who criticised the simplification of the link from environmental change to migration (Gemenne 2011, 236). In his framework, he and his colleagues identify five major drivers of migration that operate on the macro-level: political, economic, demographic, social and environmental factors (Black et al. 2011a, 33).

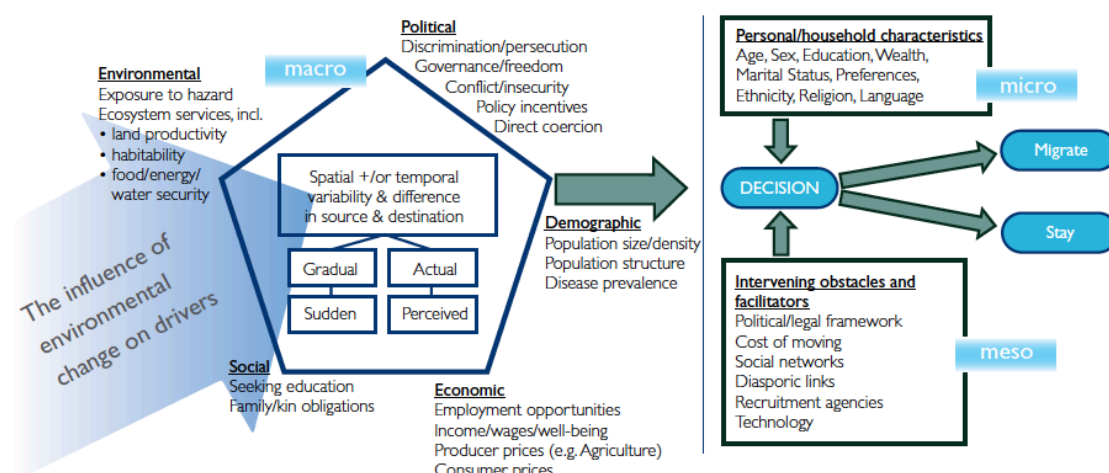


Figure 01: A conceptual framework for the drivers of migration. From: Black et al. 2011b, 5.

¹⁴ Interestingly, “alarmists were mostly scholars from the natural sciences, and security experts; whereas sceptics were found among social scientists, and migration scholars in particular” (Gemenne 2011, 230).

Further, whether a person decides to stay or leave is largely affected by personal characteristics on the micro level (ibid., 10). See figure 01 above for a visualisation of the framework. Of course, with regard to sociological migration theory presented at the beginning of this chapter, the classification of macro and micro factors (e.g. family obligation being a social factor on the macro-level) is contradictory to migrant theories placing family obligation on the meso-level. The important point of this framework, however, is its notion of environmental factors as one possible driver (e.g. land resources or food security) among others, and the influence of environmental change on the other drivers (e.g. on the economic situation). At the same time, environmental change does not necessarily cause migration, as the migration decision depends on individual characteristics such as available resources, social networks, age, or sex.¹⁵ Hummel et al. also emphasise the position of the environment as contextual variable:

Environmental degradation may be one part of the structural conditions within the contexts of the country of origin. These structural conditions shape migration patterns that can partly be explained with classical theoretical approaches. At the same time people perceive and deal with these conditions in different ways, which is why migration becomes a selective process, influence by factors on different levels. (2012, 17)

Empirical evidence supports the assumption that it is almost impossible to identify environmental change as the single driver of migration. In a review of 31 articles that empirically analyse the connections of migration and environmental change, Obokata et al. (2014, 119) conclude:

[I]t cannot be overstated that the articles reviewed demonstrate that environmental influences rarely, if ever, act as a sole 'push' factor of migration, meaning that political, economic, social, and demographic factors constantly interact with direct connections to whether, or how far, a person may migrate in times of environmental stress.

Drawing a straight line from environmental change to migration poses yet another problem. Many scholars describe migration as the outcome of loss of livelihood through environmental degradation (Afifi 2011, 118). This connection works fine for studies looking at rural populations whose livelihoods are based on natural resources such as agriculture, livestock or fisheries (e.g. Massey et al. 2010). However, for people not directly depending of natural resources (e.g. people with other professions such as driver, teacher, mechanic) and urban populations, it is possible only in exceptional cases to trace back migration decisions to environmental change. In these cases, environmental change

¹⁵ Another approach that came up since the 2000s is research on environmental migration focusing on vulnerability (consisting of sensitivity, exposure, and coping capacities). The advantage of this approach is the possibility to describe a specific situation of a community or individual. Using the concept of vulnerability in migration theory, however, is also being criticised as migration is "not an expression primarily of vulnerability, but one of human agency. Migration is often a proactive and not simply a reactive choice" (Faist/Schade 2013, 11). I will not go further into detail of this debate, nor will I use the concept of vulnerability for this thesis.

may influence migration decisions through other drivers (see Black et al.'s model), for example through food prices. It is very difficult to detect such a link with empirical data.

2.2.3 Migration as adaptation to environmental change

The IPCC defines adaptation to climate change as

[t]he process of adjustment to actual or expected climate and its effects. In human systems, adaptation seeks to moderate or avoid harm or exploit beneficial opportunities. In some natural systems, human intervention may facilitate adjustment to expected climate and its effects. (2014, 5)

This definition also works for environmental change not connected to climate change, e.g. soil degradation, and will be used in this thesis. Migration and the concept of adaptation are closely interlinked: the Cancun agreement explicitly invites all parties to “enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation with regard to climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation” (UNFCCC 2010, § 14f.) as an adaptation measure.

There are two different ways of looking at the interaction of migration and adaptation: adaptation to a changing environment as strategy to prevent migration, or migration as adaptation strategy to a changing environment. In alarmist thinking, as said before, migration is considered as a problem or even as a security threat. Therefore, policy following an alarmist approach tries to regularise and to influence people's movements instead of supporting migration (Tacoli 2009, 514). Along with this perception goes the image of migration as a failure of adaptation to a changing environment. Thus, in this understanding, migration is the last exit strategy if adaptation efforts fail or if an area becomes inhabitable, and the migrant is considered a victim forced to leave their home. It acknowledges temporal migration as a traditional adaptation strategy to climatic variability known by many farmers and pastoralists (Tacoli 2009, 514). However, with the idea of adaptation as a strategy to prevent forced migration, permanent relocation is not desirable (Scheffran et al. 2012b, 120).

From the end of the 2000s on, research literature and politicians began to look at environmental migration from a different perspective.¹⁶ As shown above, the sceptics' perspective on migration as multi-causal process gained attention in scientific papers. Further, empirical data showed “that climate migration is and will be principally internal and not international” (Vlassopoulos 2013, 157) or takes place between countries of the same region. Along with the sceptic discourse, a new perception of environmental change

¹⁶ For a concise and up-to date overview of the scientific and political discourses on climate change and migration see Bettini 2014.

and migration came up: migration is now seen as an active choice, not as last exit option anymore (Sow et al. forthcoming, 4; Faist/Schade 2013, 4; Black, et al. 2011a, 193; Warner et al. 2009, 2). In contrast, in precarious situations, migration as an exit option is sometimes not possible because of lacking resources (Faist/Schade 2013, 11). In addition, migration can be a strategy to strengthen adaptation to “socio-economic, cultural, political and environmental transformations” (Tacoli 2011, v). This view on migration as adaptation (Warner et al. 2011, 188; Black et al. 2011a, 173) further acknowledges the importance of migrant remittances for household income diversification. Individuals leave to “diversify income, gain knowledge, spread risk, and gather capabilities to sustain a community, including assets to insure against future shocks and stresses” (Scheffran et al. 2012b, 120). Further, leaving migrants reduce the pressure on resources at the place of origin. This view of migration as an adaptation corresponds with the New Economics of Labor Migration theory presented in chapter 2.1.2. For being able to support their families at the place of origin with remittances, however, it is important that migrants are in a secure position at the place of destination. This means, they need social and legal protection, stable living conditions and reliable income (Sow et al. forthcoming, 5).¹⁷ In this thesis, I follow the notion of migration as adaptation and consider migration as a choice and self-determined activity, not as a last option.

2.2.4 Perception of environmental change

People whose livelihood is based on natural resources generally have a very good perception and memory of environmental change and weather events (Gioli et al. 2013, 1160; Mertz et al. 2009, 808; Thomas et al. 2007, 310). Interestingly, people from rural regions sometimes tend to refer to God when talking about climatic variability. There is empirical evidence from different regions in the world that people perceive the annual climate, rainfall, etc. as God’s will and they can do nothing to influence it (e.g. in Pakistan: Gioli et al. 2013, 1158; in Zimbabwe: Moyo et al. 2012, 323; in Senegal: Mertz et al. 2009, 814).

Until now, we have seen that the environment might be a factor that influences migration behaviour, and we have seen that people notice environmental change. The question arises how the perception of environmental change and migration decisions are linked. Black et al. (2011b, 5) state:

At an empirical level, when people who have migrated are asked why they have done so, answers almost always cluster around economic and social factors, with

¹⁷ However, this is often not the case for West African migrants living in Morocco (see Sow et al. forthcoming, 16ff.).

environmental factors rarely mentioned, even when surveys specifically ask about such factors.

Figure 02 (from Black et al. 2011b, 5) below shows the “self-reported migration motivations” of migrants moving to the UK from different countries. In each survey, economic and social reasons were the dominating reason in migrants’ perceptions. Environmental factors were not even mentioned enough times to build a proper category.

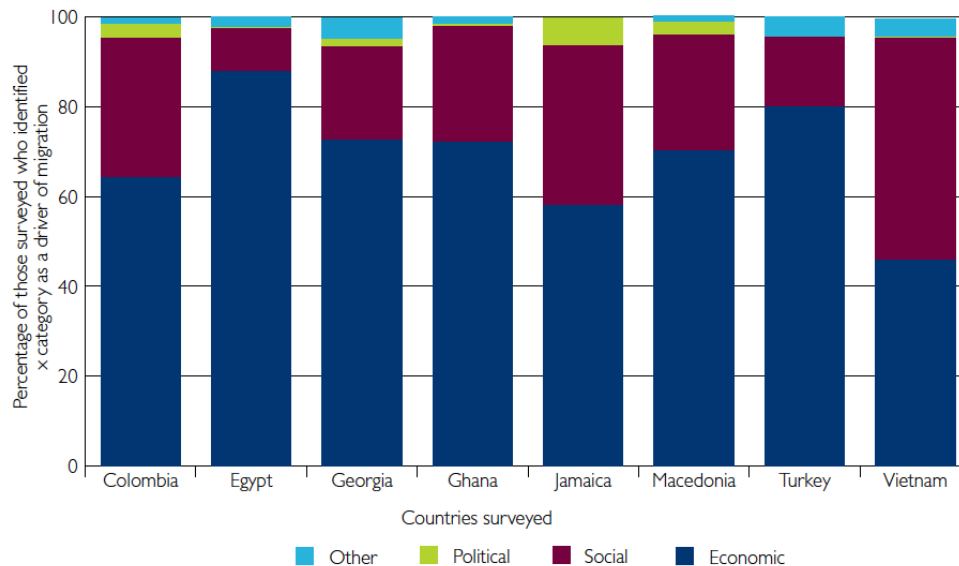


Figure 02: Self-reported migration motivations in national surveys. From: Black et al. 2011b, 5.

As we have seen in Black et al.’s model (see chapter 2.2.2), environmental change is a factor that influences migration decision on the macro-level. Though people apparently do not perceive the changing environment as a factor that influences their decision to move. Instead, they rather mention other factors they might notice more directly on the micro-level such as economic constraints etc. The reason behind this phenomenon might be the fact that people perceive environmental influences on their lives mainly through economic and social impacts (Moyo et al. 2012, 319). Further, the age of a person plays a crucial role for their perception of environmental change. Older people tend to perceive climatic changes more likely than younger people (Silvestri et al. 2012, 795). Most migrants leaving their homes with the objective to support the family financially are young adults. Considering their age, it is not surprising that they do not mention environmental change as reasons for their migration decision. They simply might not have experienced any significant change.

In research specifically looking for environmental causes of migration, one possibility is to compare interview data with data on climate and environmental changes at the place of origin. Obokata et al. (2014, 119) describe this procedure:

[I]n some qualitative studies, it was common for research participants to state their reasons for migration to be economic and for the authors to subsequently trace

these economic motivations to changes in natural capital assets related to participants' livelihoods.

Another possibility is to ask very specific questions about changes of the livelihoods. Afifi, for example, asked migrants in Niger why they decided to leave. He found out that “[m]ost of the interviewees referred to economic factors, such as poverty and unemployment, as reasons for moving from one village/region to the other, or even moving abroad” (2011, 113). Therefore, not even rural populations who are highly familiar with seasonal cycles and environmental phenomena perceive environmental change as a reason for their migration behaviour. However, when asking more specific questions about the environmental conditions, Afifi noted that the main reasons for unemployment or poverty were “the declining crop yield or death of animals due to the droughts and water shortage” (ibid.). It is a constant result of empirical studies that environmental changes influence the household income of people whose livelihood is based on natural resources and that the economic household situation is one of the most important factors in migration decision processes (Obokata et al. 2014, 119f.; Gioli et al. 2013, 1161; Wrathall 2012, 590f.; Massey et al. 2010, 12f.).

2.3 Migration from Senegal to Morocco

2.3.1 Migration from Senegal

The population of Senegal has always been mobile within the country and the region (Tacoli 2011, 9). Therefore, mobility has a positive connotation (Di Bartolomeo et al. 2010, 4). For a long period, Senegal has had a positive net migration rate (ibid., 2). This changed in the mid-70s. In the period from 1975-1989, the first time Senegal's medium net

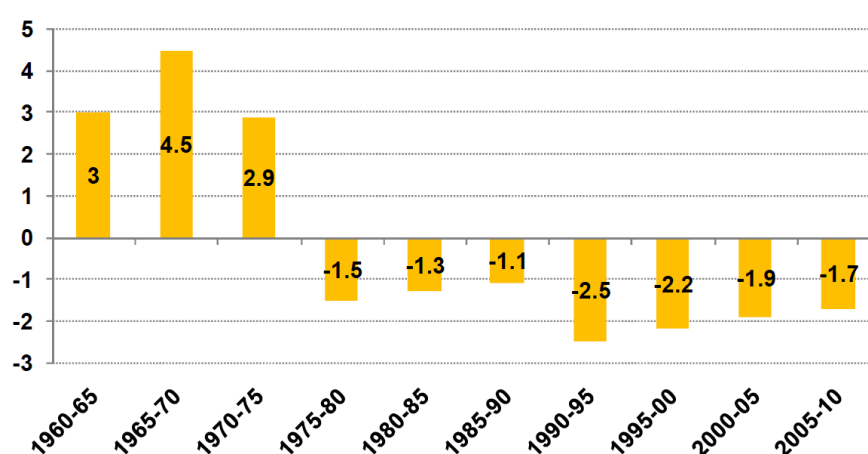


Figure 03: Net migration rate of Senegal (per 1'000 population), Medium variant, 1960-2010. From: Di Bartolomeo et al. 2010, 2.

migration rate was negative and remained so until today (see figure 03 above). Senegal turned from a country of in-migration to a country of out-migration (Tall/Tandian 2011, 1). Reasons for this change were severe droughts in the 70s and 80s and austerity measures in the 80s (Willems 2014, 321), the oil crisis (Tall/Tandian 2011, 1), and the economic crisis after the devaluation of the Franc CFA (*Franc de la Communauté Financière d'Afrique*) in 1994 (Randazzo/Piracha 2014, 4). There are different estimations quantifying international migration: some authors state that 4.4% of the Senegalese population live outside of the country (Willems 2014, 320). Other sources refer to 12%, saying that two thirds of Senegalese live abroad without a “regular legal status” (Marmer et al. 2011, 8), which could explain the different percentages. Taking internal and international migration together, there is at least one migrant in 70% of all households (Hummel et al. 2012, 42). Accordingly, international remittances are important for the Senegalese economy. It is estimated that in 2007, remittances contributed to 8.5% of the Senegalese GDP (Tacoli 2011, 9). The most important destinations of out-migration from Senegal are The Gambia, Ivory Coast and Mauritania in Africa, France, Italy and Spain in Europe, and the US (Di Bartolomeo 2010 et al., 3). In Europe, especially Southern European countries became important destinations since 1990. Many migrants find irregular work in “agricultural, construction and service sectors” (De Haas 2007a). However, with the economic crisis and rising unemployment rates, it is yet unclear if migration towards these destinations will continue.

The migration destination further depends very much on the migrants’ skills, education and their region of origin (ibid., 14). For example, low-skilled workers tend to go to Italy and Spain whereas high-skilled workers aim for Canada and the US (Hummel et al. 2012, 42). On average, international migrants have a higher education than those migrating within the country. They often come from urban regions and their families belong to a moderate socio-economic group (De Haas 2007a, 22). For rural regions, empirical research shows that the level of formal education does not influence migration frequency of the rural population. Yet, the reasons for migration differ: people with no or a low level of formal education mostly migrate in the search of job opportunities, whereas people with a high level of education migrate for educational reasons or vocational training (Van der Land/Hummel 2013b, 14). Regarding the question of gender, both men and women migrate within the country and internationally. The majority of migrants are young men and traditionally, women migrate to join their husbands. However, nowadays, an increasing number of women leave alone (interview Yamta, 18)¹⁸. They often work as

¹⁸ The quotations marked with ‘interview’ stem from the expert interviews conducted in May/June 2014 in Rabat. The number indicates the section of the interview where the statement can be found. Selection of the

nannies, domestics and maids in the urban centres of Senegal and abroad (De Haas 2007a, 22).

Research on out-migration from Senegal identifies mainly economic and social factors as drivers of migration. Regarding the economic side of migration, especially unemployment, an insecure employment situation or dissatisfaction with the current income situation seems to influence the migration decision. In Senegal in 2002, 23% of people in employable age had no work. This number rises up to 30% for the age group of those younger than 35 (Tall/Tandian 2011, 6). After the severe financial crisis in the 90s due to the devaluation of the Franc CFA, Senegal's economy recovered in the 2000s but remains unstable (Tall/Tandian 2011, 6). Demographic pressure is another factor that fosters migration, especially together with the high unemployment rates. In Senegal, 64.2% of the population is younger than 25 years old (Willems 2014, 332). Related to the economic situation, the sentiment of limited opportunities might support the migration decision. De Haas writes: "Rather than fleeing poverty, migrants tend to move [...] because of a general lack of perspectives for self-realization [...] and the concomitant inability to meet their personal aspirations" (2007a, 22). This diagnosis corresponds with the theoretical assumption presented in chapter 2.1.1: migration, especially international migration, requests resources, primarily financial resources, but also social resources, information, etc. Hence, it is not the lowest socio-economic group that migrates, but rather the middle class who possesses the necessary resources. Finally, for internal migration, education is certainly an important reason, as people often have to move to bigger villages for secondary education (Van der Land/Hummel 2013a, 5). But also for international migration, searching for education opportunities might be a reason to leave Senegal (Cherti/Grant 2013, 16).

Empirical research on out-migration shows that migration decision-making is highly influenced by social factors such as peer group behaviours that even lead to a "culture of migration" (Cherti/Grant 2013, 20; cf. the "tradition of migration" by De Haan/Yaqub 2009, 3). If migration is a well-established lifestyle, young people might want to follow the example of peers and relatives who left and successfully established themselves at their destination. Cherti and Grant (ibid., 20) further identified a group of "adventurers" who leave "driven by a simple desire to expand their horizons" and "experience other countries". Another important factor that influences migration decision-making is "family pressure and expectations" (ibid., 21). Especially the oldest child of a family might face social expectations to (financially) care for their family. This does not mean that migration

interview partners and data handling is described in the methods chapter 3.2. The fully transcribed interviews are available on the attached CD.

happens always in accordance with the family. Cherti and Grant show that there are also migrants leaving against the will of their family (ibid.). As shown later, the results of this thesis very much strengthen Cherti and Grants analysis on social factors.

Willems (2014) brings up yet another social factor that promotes migration from Senegal. We have seen before how social networks contribute to out-migration by transferring information and minimising migration risks (chapter 2.1.3). But also within Senegal, networks of solidarity¹⁹ exist and are a central element of the Senegalese society (Tall/Tandian 2011, 7). The characteristic of solidarity networks might trigger migration: young people are only considered as adults if they can contribute financially to the network (Willems 2014, 324). People without constant earnings find themselves in the position of the supplicatory. Thus, migration becomes an option for unemployed young people:

Nowadays, social prestige (and the transition into adulthood) is also attainable when one acquires financial independence in order to support one's parents and family members, and because of the prevailing economic constraints at the macro level, this autonomy appears to be more easily gained through international migration. (ibid., 321)

Migrants can demonstrate solidarity with their families by sending money and thus caring for their relatives even if they are far away. Furthermore, as mentioned before, successfully returning migrants act as role model for future migrants. Therefore, especially for unemployed persons, migration seems to be an easy way to gain social mobility and prestige (Tall/Tandian 2011, 6; cf. Korzeniewicz's approach to global social mobility in chapter 2.1.3). But even for employed people, migration is an option. Since they imperatively have to share their income with their family and other people of their network, the money is often not enough (Tall/Tandian 2011, 7). After migration, they earn the money far away from the family. Thus, migrants can share their money more self-determined because they are not in direct contact with the relatives. They sometimes can ignore demands and keep some of the money for themselves (Willems 2014, 330). It is exactly this dilemma of commitment to the solidarity network and self-realisation that changes the way of migration decision-making. In her empirical research, Willems (ibid., 331) observes that, while traditionally, migration was a household strategy to secure livelihood as one member of the family was chosen to migrate and diversify the household's income, nowadays, migration decision-making occurs more on the individual level. However, this does not mean a collapse of the solidarity network. Migrants try to

¹⁹ Willems (2014, 322) works with the definition of Fall (1998, 136), who defines solidarity networks as "a complex web of social relations which is a basis for [...] human solidarity and preferential relationships". They include families, but also neighbourhoods, colleagues or clients (Willems 2014, 323). Through sharing and borrowing of money and goods, people help each other in difficult situations. It is obligate to respond to demands, refusing is not an option (ibid., 329 f.).

maintain the system of the solidarity networks by (selectively) contributing to it (and thereby obtaining social prestige), yet without having to forfeit the possibility of accumulating sufficient capital to make their own individual life projects become a reality. (Willems 2014, 331f.)

In this case, migration is an attempt to combine individual and collective needs.

2.3.2 Migration to Morocco

Morocco, traditionally a country of emigration, has recently turned into a country of transit and even a destination of in-migration for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world (Cherti/Grant 2013, 2; Collyer 2007, 676; De Haas 2014b). Until the mid 1990s, there were relatively few people from sub-Saharan Africa living in Morocco. Those living in Morocco were generally settled permanently with a legal authorisation (De Haas 2007a, 13; interview Lmadani, 7). More movements from sub-Saharan Africa towards Morocco could be observed after 1998, when the pan-African policy of Libyan leader Al-Qadhafi implicated migration not only to Libya, but also to other parts of North Africa (De Haas 2007a, 14). Migration to Morocco increased even more from 2000 when civil wars, political and economic crises caused migration from several sub-Saharan states (Cherti/Grant 2013, 11). After the Arab spring in 2010, the number of arrivals in Morocco rose again, because Morocco was perceived as more stable than other countries in North Africa. Further, the political turnaround in Libya led to discrimination and severe persecution of sub-Saharan migrants who consequentially left the country and some of them moved to Morocco (ibid., 10).

However, movements between Senegal and Morocco have existed much longer and have been more frequent than from other sub-Saharan countries. The migration system between the two countries has been stable for a long time. Already in 1964, Morocco and Senegal have signed a bilateral convention that permits their citizens to enter the other country without a visa and to work in the respective country (Gouvernement du Sénégal/ Gouvernement du Royaume du Maroc 1964). This means that Senegalese entering Morocco can stay for three months and apply for permanent residency if they have an employment. This convention on residency is an expression of the diverse cultural and economic links that exist between the two countries. Senegalese and Moroccans often refer to their common Muslim religion. The members of the Tijaniyyah Sufi order, the largest of the four major Sufi orders in Senegal (Willems 2014, 332) make a pilgrimage to Fez in Morocco as this is a sacred place for the order (interview Lanza, 14). Further, in both Senegal and Morocco, French is spoken in administration and higher education. Economic flows are also important between the two countries. For example, there are

many Moroccans living in Senegal and running businesses (interview Lanza, 14). People (mostly women) travelling from Senegal to Morocco to buy and sell (which is called *faire la navette*, to commute) are well known and established in both countries (interview Lmadani, 7; interview Lanza, 20). Moroccans are among the largest groups of foreign nationals residing in Senegal (The World Bank 2011). Transport facilities are constantly connecting Senegal and Morocco: the journey from Dakar through Mauritania to southern Morocco takes about two days (Sow et al. forthcoming, 14) and is relatively cheap as it is possible to travel overland by bus.

It is difficult to estimate how many Senegalese are living in Morocco, as many people simply stay after the authorisation of residence has expired (Collyer 2007, 610). It is in the nature of irregular migration that numbers are almost impossible to declare, which causes speculations ranging from 5000 to 200'000 Senegalese living in Morocco (interview Lmadani, 77). The first and to date only large-scale quantitative research on sub-Saharan migrants living irregularly in Morocco lists Senegalese (with 12.8% of all respondents) as the third largest group after people from Nigeria (16% of all respondents) and from Mali (13.1%) (Alami M'Chichi et al. 2008, 24). In addition to people with irregular residence status, there are of course many Senegalese living in Morocco with legal permit. Those who have a residence permit are working in regular jobs, are students or professional sportspersons (e.g. employed by football clubs) (interview Lmadani, 7, 107). To regularise their stay, Senegalese (just like all foreigners) living in Morocco need to apply for the *carte séjour*, the residence permit. Only with the *carte séjour*, foreigners are allowed to work in regular employments and have access to healthcare, legal assistance and other public services (De Haas 2007a, 21; Cherti/Grant 2013, 32). Hence, the living conditions of foreigners with and without *carte séjour* differ fundamentally. Irregular migrants living in Morocco are very vulnerable because they lack social and legal protection (Sow et al. forthcoming, 18). In the eyes of the police, these migrants are often rather a problem than "a vulnerable population to be protected" (Cherti/Grant 2013, 47). Irregular migrants avoid dealing with the authority for fear of being deported, which makes them vulnerable to violence (ibid., 47). In the labour market, they are often exploited because of their clandestine employment status. Most Senegalese living irregularly in Morocco work in informal jobs, mostly in petty trade, as domestic workers (mainly women), or on construction sites (De Haas 2007a, 21). The Moroccan government has recently been showing some efforts to improve the situation of irregular migrants (Sow et al. forthcoming, 19). Interestingly, Lmadani found out that for the self-perception of Senegalese in Morocco, the status of being a regular or irregular resident is not a central category for their identity. Many Senegalese switch between the two states, as they enter

legally, stay after the expiration of their residence permit and maybe later find an employment and apply for the *carte séjour*. Or they enter the country with an employment contract and after some time lose their job and consequentially their residence permit (interview Lmadani, 9f.).²⁰ The frequent irregular status, repeated migration from Senegal to Morocco as well as close ties with the families back home and within Senegalese communities in Morocco are typical characteristics of transnational migration (see chapter 1).

Looking for reasons for migration from Senegal to Morocco, the economic situation of the two countries is one of the first things to mention. Senegal's GNI per capita (purchasing power parity) was 2'249 USD in 2013. Morocco's GNI per capita for the same year was 7'000 USD (The World Bank without date). Thus, "Morocco's economy, while dampened by the global financial crisis and struggling with endemic unemployment, is still growing" (Cherti/Grant 2013, 11) and attracts aspiring migrants. Migrants working in Morocco can earn more money than in Senegal from the same activity. Therefore, remembering Korzeniewicz's theory of global social mobility (chapter 2.1.3), migrants, when moving from Senegal to Morocco, significantly increase their position within the global income stratification.

Morocco's proximity to Europe is certainly another factor why many migrants from sub-Saharan Africa are coming to Morocco (Cherti/Grant 2013, 49ff.). As mentioned above, the number of sub-Saharan migrants staying irregularly in Morocco has increased since the year 2000. This is also true for Senegalese citizens. The main reason for this development is the stricter entry controls at the Schengen borders. Before, people aiming for entering Europe passed through Morocco within a few days. Nowadays,

a considerable number of migrants and refugees who intend to migrate to Europe are 'stuck' in countries such as Morocco because of a lack of means to cross to Europe and tend to stay for increasingly longer periods. (De Haas 2007a, 21)

Migrants settle for a shorter or longer time with the aim to earn money for their next attempt to enter Europe. For some migrants, Morocco might even become the "second-best option" (ibid., 20):

[s]everal studies suggest that the vast majority of migrants who are 'stuck' in North Africa do not want to go back. After investing considerable personal and family resources in reaching North Africa, and often having connections to those migrants who already succeeded in entering Europe, migrants do generally not want to abandon their migration project at the fringes of Europe. (ibid.)

²⁰ This thesis will not further cover the experiences and livelihoods of Senegalese currently living in Morocco, as its main question focuses on reasons for migration. For research on the situation of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco, see Sow et al. forthcoming; Cherti/Grant 2013; Human Rights Watch 2014; Médecins Sans Frontières 2013; GADEM 2013; Alami M'Chichi et al. 2008; Collyer 2007; and the interview with Lmadani.

They stay much longer in Morocco than they had intended and install themselves in the insecure situation of irregularity. This trend aggravates, as mentioned above, the problem of vulnerability of irregular residents in Morocco. Until now, neither Moroccan society nor authorities have adapted to the relatively new phenomenon of sub-Saharan migrants installing themselves in the country without a legal authorisation (Cherti/Grant 2013, 11). Cherti and Grant found out that, from their sample of 50 migrants they interviewed in Morocco, almost half left their homes with the objective to enter Europe. Only one third chose Morocco to be their destination from the beginning of their journey (ibid., 29). However, the authors state that “[i]t is not, of course, always possible to separate completely even these decisions from the obvious proximity of Europe to Morocco and the role this may also have played in some migrants’ decision-making” (ibid.). Therefore, it is almost impossible to distinguish between Morocco as migration destination and transit country. As De Haas writes: “[d]epending on their experiences migrants’ (mixed) motivations and aspirations often change over the journey. Intended transit countries can become countries of destination, and the other way around” (2007a, 21).²¹

2.3.3 Environmental change and migration within and from Senegal

Senegal lies in the Sahel region within three different climatic zones. Precipitation differs largely between the north and south of the country ranging “from less than 200 mm/yr in the north to up to 2000 mm/yr in the south” (Marmer et al. 2011, 7). High rainfall-variability is typical for the region: “the precipitation patterns in the Sahel are characterized by a high spatio-temporal variability and so droughts and floods occur frequently on interannual and decadal scales” (Hummel et al. 2012, 21). Thus the Senegalese ecosystem “has always been characterized by a precarious equilibrium” (Schöfberger 2013, 133). From 1960 to 1980, rainfall in the Sahel region in Western Africa was much lower than the average, causing severe droughts. From the 1990s, the precipitation has increased but still does not reach the average level of before 1960 (Hummel et al. 2012, 21). The increasing rainfall was accompanied by a re-greening of the Sahel (Tschakert 2007, 383f.). Climate observations notice an increase of temperature in West Africa. The 5th IPCC report predicts a further increase, turning West Africa into a “hotspot of climate change” (Niang et al. 2014, 8). Projections for precipitation are not clear, however there are some models indicating a “wetter core rainfall season with a small delay to rainy season by the end of the 21st century” (ibid., 11). Accordingly,

²¹ Despite the highly interesting topic, this thesis will not look at the questions of migrants trying to enter Europe, European border control, etc. For literature on this topic, see e.g. Cherti/Grant 2013 and De Haas 2007a. For information on Morocco’s migration laws and its conventions with the European Union, see De Haas 2014b and White 2011.

extreme rainfall will increase during the rainy season (ibid., 12). Those changes will very likely influence the terrestrial ecosystems and vegetation (ibid., 15) and therefore agricultural production and livestock farming (ibid., 20f.). Climatic changes in the region affect freshwater ecosystems (e.g. evaporation, water temperature) and thus fisheries, as well as subterranean water resources. Hence, availability of drinking water is linked to the increasing temperatures (ibid., 17). Coastal regions of West Africa will be affected from rising sea levels and soil salinization (ibid., 16). Furthermore, it is likely that rising temperatures support diseases and pests for humans and agriculture likewise (ibid., 21/23). Together with climatic factors, social phenomena such as population growth, urbanisation, economic development, the intensification of agriculture, sedentary tendencies, etc. affect livelihoods and the environment in Senegal (Hummel et al. 2012, 22). For example, land degradation that is caused by several social-economic and climatic factors is a huge problem throughout different regions in Senegal (ibid., 33).

Looking at the employment distribution of Senegal for the year 2001, 45.6% of all economically active people were working in the primary sector, which includes agriculture, fisheries and mining. 12.4% were working in the secondary and 36.1% were working in the tertiary (service) sector. The primary sector added 18.5% of value to the total GDP, the secondary sector 24.5%, and the tertiary sector 57.0% (The World Bank without date).²² In the year 2006, 33.7% of all economically active people were working in the primary sector, 14.8% in the secondary, and 36.1% in the tertiary sector. The primary sector added 15.0% of the GDP's value, the secondary 23.9%, and the tertiary sector 61.1% (The World Bank without date). These numbers show that natural resources are central sources of Senegal's individual livelihoods and national economy, although the number of people involved in this sector is decreasing. Crop, however, is directly linked with precipitation. An analysis from Mali and Niger shows that precipitation patterns account for 76% of the yearly amount of harvest (Dardel et al. 2014). Consequentially, Senegal's economic growth "is sensitive to development in the agricultural sector and thus to natural occurrences like inundations or lack of rainfall" (Bleibaum 2009, 3).

The environment in Senegal is changing, and those changes affect people in Senegal. Until now, this thesis mostly referred to international migration. However, most population movements in Senegal are internal. Thus, when asking about the influence of environmental changes on migration decisions, we first have to look at migration within Senegal. Migration from rural to urban regions is very common, with the areas of Dakar, Touba and Diourbel being the main destinations (Randazzo/Piracha 2014, 4). This rural

²² Other sources refer to 60 – 70% of the Senegalese population working in the agriculture sector and that sector being contributing 14% to the GDP (Bleibaum 2009, 4). However, I found neither data base nor year specification for these numbers.

exodus started during the drought crisis in the 70s and has continued since then (Hummel et al. 2012, 40). The main reasons for urbanisation are “[s]hortage of food in the rural areas, adverse climate conditions and the search of economic and employment opportunities” (Randazzo/Piracha 2014, 4). Additionally, “rural areas often lack job opportunities and adequate infrastructure with regard to administration, sanitation as well as cultural and education institutions” (Hummel 2012, 40f.). Therefore, young people tend to leave the agricultural sector, move towards the urban centres and look for other forms of income. This phenomenon might be due to increasing education levels, but also due to “increasingly unfavourable conditions for agriculture and decreasing and more and more uncertain yields due to highly variable or scarce rainfall and decreasing soil fertility” (Van der Land/Hummel 2013b, 8). Thus, environmental changes clearly influence the decision of young people to leave the countryside and settle in urban regions.

There are several studies analysing the link between environmental change and both internal and international migration in Senegal. Some of them are using qualitative methods on different communities across the country (Schöfberger 2013; Hummel et al. 2012; Bleibaum 2009; Sall et al. 2011), or are asking people after their migration (Sow et al. forthcoming; Bleibaum 2009). Other studies use quantitative panel data to explore the importance and effects of migration for households (Plaza et al. 2011). Those studies found a clear influence of environmental phenomena on livelihoods of (mainly rural) communities. Seasonal or long-term migration is a possibility to diversify income sources and secure the livelihoods (Bleibaum 2009, 2). Thus, the case studies’ results confirm the ‘migration as income diversification’ hypothesis of the New Economics of Labor Migration theory. However, the quantitative research of Van der Land and Hummel shows that even without migration, the large majority of their respondents have income from different sources. In their sample, it was common to combine “arable farming with livestock breeding, small-scale business or gardening” (Van der Land/Hummel 2013a, 4). Other activities for income distribution include trade or production of handcraft for sale (Bleibaum 2009, 2). Therefore, migration is not the only way to diversify a household’s income. Nevertheless, migration seems to be a more successful strategy compared to other income-generating activities. The analysis of four communities in central, northeast and northwest Senegal showed that “the most vulnerable households were unanimously identified as those not receiving remittances from migrant relatives” (Tacoli 2011, 1). Thus, empirical results strengthen the assumption of migration as an adaptation strategy to a changing environment. However, the authors of several empirical research papers stress the fact that it is difficult to differentiate between environmental and other influences on migration behaviour (cf. Sow et al. 2014, 6). Bleibaum (2009, 2) writes that

“state agricultural policies, economic conditions like the position of Senegal on the international market and changing cultural patterns” are important factors for the farmers’ situations and migration decisions, too. In some cases non-environmental factors seem to be more important for farmers’ living conditions. Mertz et al. asked farmers about perceived difficulties or challenges for their lives. The respondents did not even mention environmental factors. In contrast, “[h]ealth, education, and road access could be considered the main concerns as they were usually mentioned first and are the most frequently mentioned” (2009, 810).

From the migration theory and empirical literature reviewed in this chapter so far, one can assume that, looking at migration from Senegal to Morocco, environmentally induced forced migration will not appear. However, the question remains if Senegalese migrants interviewed in Morocco perceive gradual environmental change as a factor influencing their migration decision.

2.4 Research approach

In this theoretical overview, it became clear that migration processes can be analysed on different levels. One can look at macro variables to explain migration streams with quantitative data, or, with Lee’s Push-Pull approach, observe how an individual actor deals with these contextual variables. One can also look, with a more qualitative approach, at the micro-level and at individuals or households to explore strategies or livelihoods fostering migration. The following chapters will present my own empirical work about migration from Senegal to Morocco. For this purpose, I use the theoretical instruments presented in this chapter. Although my thesis focuses on the micro-level, it is important to acknowledge structural elements on the macro-level as well as networks, traditions and other social elements on the meso-level. Therefore, I will not follow one single approach, but use elements from different approaches and perspectives of sociological migration theory. I completely agree with Hummel et al. that

with one single theoretical approach complex migration processes cannot be entirely understood. There is a good reason for the multitude of theoretical approaches to migration given the multitude of (political, economic, ecological and social) reasons for and the various forms and courses of migration. (2012, 16)

In my research, I ask about the connection between migration decision and environmental changes. I consider environmental change as a variable on the macro level. It will be interesting if I find influences of environmental change on migration decision-making on the individual micro-level. Empirical work on environmental migration often uses

simplifying push-pull approaches and ignores the multidimensionality and complexity of population movements (ibid., 15). It is important to connect research about environmental migration with sociological migration theories.

Most research on environment and migration behaviour looks at rural communities (e.g. Mertz et al. 2009; Bleibaum 2009; Sow et al. 2014; Tacoli 2011). My own research approach is to ask Senegalese migrants after their settlement in urban areas in Morocco about their migration decision process and their personal background. By doing so, I want to find out if environmental change is a driver of international migration for this particular path of migration from Senegal to the cities of Rabat, Marrakech and Casablanca in Morocco. Additionally, I will analyse which other factors are decisive for migration decisions of this journey.

3 Methods

3.1 Qualitative research and data base

This master's thesis is a case study based on qualitative interviews. One of the strengths of qualitative methods is their ability to detect and make visible attitudes and thoughts of the interviewed persons, in my case on their migration history. Therefore, it is possible to capture the reasons for migration the interviewed persons perceive as important and to reconstruct factors influencing the decision-making process. Qualitative research is also suited to explore the link of environmental change and migration: it offers "invaluable insights into people's attitude toward, and perception and representation of climate change [and environmental change, my addition] in general and the migration option in particular" (Piguet 2010, 6). Using qualitative methods, this thesis places itself into the tradition of interpretative understanding sociology whose aim is the reconstruction of meaning (Hitzler 2002, 3). It approaches theory and empirical material both inductively and deductively, as the central question and the research design have been developed based on research literature and previous knowledge, and the results have been identified from the data material (cf. Strauss 1998, 37ff.).

The empirical data of this master's thesis consists of twelve semi-structured qualitative face-to-face interviews with Senegalese living in Morocco that I conducted in May and June 2014 in Rabat, Marrakech and Casablanca. During my stay, I further conducted five interviews with experts working on migration from sub-Saharan Africa to Morocco in the areas of academia, intergovernmental institutions, and civil society.²³ These different perspectives provided me with contextual knowledge on my field of research and information to develop my quota-based sample. Moreover, I used insights from the interviews to complete the literature research resulting in the theoretical background of

²³ With the first expert, Mohamed Ali Lahlou, I got in touch through my personal network. He is a program manager at the IOM (International Organization for Migration) Morocco based in Rabat. Concerning migration from sub-Saharan regions to Morocco, the IOM works mainly on voluntary return of sub-Saharan migrants and humanitarian aid. I learned about the second expert, Nazarena Lanza, during the literature research and contacted her via email. She is an anthropologist and is doing her doctoral degree at the *Centre Jacques Berque pour les Etudes en Sciences Humaines et Sociales au Maroc*. Her work focuses on the Tijaniyya pilgrimage and its political and cultural links between Morocco and sub-Saharan Africa. The third expert is Houria Alami M'Chichi, professor of political sciences at the University of Casablanca and president of AMERM (*Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations*) that is affiliated to the University Mohamed V in Rabat. She is one of the lead authors of the first quantitative research on the situation of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco (Alami M'Chichi et al. 2008). Mme Alami M'Chichi sent me to the fourth expert, Fatima Ait Ben Lmadani, professor at the institute of African studies at the University Mohamed V in Rabat. Mme Ait Ben Lmadani is currently working on a qualitative research on the situation of Senegalese living in Morocco (forthcoming). I got in touch with the fifth expert, Hélène Yamta, through a hint of a friend in Rabat. Mme Yamta is the founder and the president of the association *Voix des femmes migrantes au Maroc*, which aims at improving the living condition of female sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.

this thesis (see chapter 2). Nevertheless, I did not further systematically analyse the interviews and did not triangulate the expert interviews with the other empirical data.²⁴

The language of all interviews is French (with parts of one interview being translated from Wolof to French and vice versa). For the interviews with the Senegalese respondents, I prepared an interview guide after a comprehensive literature research and consultation with my supervisors.²⁵ I did not change this interview guide during the process of data collection. To test the interview guide, I conducted an additional interview with a Senegalese respondent as a pre-test that I did not use as data material later. Five interviews took place in private spaces (the respondent's home), the other seven in half-public or public spaces. It was always the respondent who chose the place of the interview. In most interview-situations, other people than the respondent and me were present (either friends/roommates of the respondent or the people who facilitated the contact between me and the respondent). However, these people were usually quiet and did not intervene in the conversation. Only one interview (Khoudia) had to be interrupted due to intervening people. The interviews took between 25 and 90 minutes, with the majority around 30-40 minutes.

3.2 Sampling procedure and presentation of the sample

For my empirical data, I conducted eight interviews with Senegalese living in Rabat, three in Marrakech and one in Casablanca. The sample selection process for the Senegalese interview partners was determined by quota-based and snowball sampling, whereas the quota are derived from the literature review and the snowball sampling is the consequence of my access to the field of research. The key sampling criterion in the selection process was, of course, the Senegalese origin of the interview partners. French language skills were the second crucial criterion, as the respondents should be able to conduct the interview in French. Additional criteria were: the migrants should have arrived in Morocco within the last two years and they should not be students. The temporal limitation ensures a relatively recent migration decision process; excluding students aims at collecting comparable living situation of the migrants. I further wished to interview people from rural areas in Senegal, as the research literature indicated that influences of environmental change on migration decision processes might appear more straightforward in livelihoods based on agriculture. The age of the respondent was no

²⁴ For documentation purposes, all interviews are fully transcribed and can be found on the CD.

²⁵ The interview guide is attached in appendix 6.1.



Figure 04: Places of origin of the respondents (red circles).
From: The World Factbook 2014, own modification.

criterion for my selection process. I quickly learned that I could not find an adequate number of interview partners fulfilling all criteria in the given time of my research stay. This is why I had to abandon the criterion of rural origin as the large majority of Senegalese in Rabat are from Dakar. Nevertheless, I still aimed for diversification by the regions of origin as I hoped for more diverse data on the migration reasons with this differentiation. Finally, I wanted a gender-balanced sample, but due to my snowball sampling, I had difficulties to fulfil

this criterion, too, since I was mainly in contact with men. This was the reason for including two women who have been living in Morocco for more than two years, even if this contradicts my sample criterion. However, according to Collyer (2007, 674), my sample corresponds with the profile of the typical sub-Saharan transit migrant staying in Morocco – men between 20 and 40 years of age. Of course, the decision to use quota-based and snowball sampling directly influences my results. I will come back to this reflection in chapter 3.4.

With almost all interview partners I got in touch through my personal network in Rabat that resulted from a previous stay from July to November 2013. Several people (Moroccan, German and Senegalese) acted as gatekeepers and helped me find Senegalese respondents. I reached only one respondent (Awa) through the formal structures of the organisation *Voix des femmes migrantes au Maroc*. How I approached each respondent and a detailed description of each person can be found in appendix 6.2. Figure 04 shows the spatial distribution of their origins and table 01 (below) summarises the main characteristics of the Senegalese interview partners. All respondents have overstayed the period of stay permit in Morocco and therefore are in a situation of irregular residency.

Table 01: Main characteristics of the interviewed persons. Own figure.

Name	Sex	Age	Place of origin	Marital status	Children	Education	Last profession in Senegal	Stay in Morocco (yrs.)	Current profession in Morocco	Plans for the future
Sékou	m	33	Guédiawaye/ Dakar	single	no	vocational training	general mechanic	2	petty trade	open
Mansour	m	27	Kolda/ Casamance	single	no	vocational training	lorry driver	2	petty trade	open
Awa	f	42	Dakar	single	no	university	petty trade	4	petty trade	going back
Moussa	m	30	Diannah-ba/ Casamance	married	yes	secondary school	agriculture	2	construction	open
Ismail	m	27	Louga	single	no	vocational training	petty trade	2	petty trade	Europe
Khoudia	f	47	Diourbel, later Dakar	married	yes	left school with 14yrs	petty trade	3	petty trade	going back
Néné	f	43	Diembéréng/ Casamance	widowed	yes	- illiterate	petty trade	4	petty trade	going back
Kader	m	29	Kaolack town	single	no	secondary school	petty trade	2	petty trade	going back
Ablaye	m	27	Taiba Niassène/ Kaolack	engaged	no	university	enrolled in educational programme	2	petty trade	open
Badou	m	28 ²⁶	Tambakounda	single	no	vocational training	enrolled in educational programme	1	petty trade	open
Tabara	f	31	Bignona, later Dakar	single	no	left school with 14yrs	housekeeper	2	housekeeper	going back
Oury	m	31	Sinthiou Bamambé/ Matam	single	no	secondary school	petty trade	1	petty trade	Europe

²⁶ Estimated age

3.3 Data analysis

I recorded all interviews and asked for a declaration of consent to use the interview data, which the interview partners signed. I fully transcribed all interviews, following a pragmatic approach due to practical reasons.²⁷ It is important to note that there is no such thing as an 'objective' transcription. Each act of transcription is already a way of interpreting the data material from a certain perspective (Cook 1990, 12), especially in intercultural research (Aneas/Sandín 2009, 8). All names of the interview partners are made anonymous and replaced by fictitious names.

Data analysis is loosely based on Grounded Theory (Strauss 1998, 35). In this method, text is coded and codes are combined into concepts. Several concepts form a category, and with advancing research condense into a theory (Hildenbrand 2000, 36). An important element of Grounded Theory is the circular workflow of data collection and coding until theoretical saturation (Glaser/Strauss 2005, 68). Due to practical constraints, however, I could not implement this element of the Grounded Theory approach. Instead, data collection and analysis was a linear process with a first phase of data collection and transcription during field research in Morocco and a second phase of transcription and analysis back in Europe. Consequentially, all results of my data collection are explorative, as theoretical saturation could not be reached. I coded the transcripts using the software MaxQDA. In a first step, I did an open coding (cf. Kelle/Kluge 1999, 61), in which I coded every aspect in the texts that seemed interesting to me. Soon I could arrange these first codes according to different topics and identify the first sub-categories. Continuing this procedure, a code hierarchy developed. Therefore, categories emerged from the data and not from prior assumptions. The code hierarchy gathered concepts treating a certain topic, and in the end I arranged the different concepts and topics into categories (Strauss 1998, 57ff.). To validate the categories, I went through all codes after the first phase of open coding and organised them according to the topics. The typology that finally resulted from the categories I discussed with fellow students for validation purposes.

During the whole coding process, I worked with the original French interview transcripts and did not translate any passages. I labelled the codes in a mixture of German and French (esp. for in vivo codes, cf. Corbin/Strauss 2008, 65), whereas I wrote the memos only in German. When arranging the categories for the writing process, I started to use English as the working language and translated the memos and categories I used for the text. For

²⁷ Incomprehensible passages are marked with brackets and the remark *incompréhensible* or, if some syllables are understandable, with the phonetic transcript in brackets. Incidents during the interview (e.g. a person joining, interruptions) are also noted in brackets. Pauses and intonation are not noted, as they are no crucial elements of the data analysis. For the research question, I do not need information about speech pauses etc. Furthermore, when interviewing non-native speakers, many language marks lose their significance. The interview transcripts are accessible on the attached CD.

practical reasons, not the complete transcripts, but only quotations directly used in the text of this thesis were translated from French to English. Since there is always the risk of losing the original meaning in translation²⁸, the original French citations is indicated in a footnote below the English passage. This handling of non-English interview data (analysing the data in the original language and add the original citation to the translation) is recommended for qualitative intercultural research (González y González/Lincoln 2006, 11).

3.4 Reflection and limitations of the research

There are several elements of the research design that need some critical reflection. First, my personal network and the gatekeepers I met during my stay in Rabat were crucial factors determining my sample. As I found all interview partners through personal contacts and snowball sampling, the sample is rather homogeneous. Most Senegalese I met in Morocco are working in petty trade in Rabat and Marrakech. These people represent a certain group of Senegalese immigrants who tend to have a high education level and work in trade in urban areas. My sample could have been more diverse if I had had more time in Morocco to look for people outside these circles. Furthermore, my quota-based sampling has certainly influenced the results and the typology I built from my data. By selecting Senegalese from different regions, it is possible that I under- or overestimate some reasons for migration or distort the results. The small sample size is another factor that certainly influences the results of this thesis.

During my field research, I learned that many scientists, students, journalists and non-governmental organisations currently are working on the subject of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.²⁹ Interviews with migrants are very common, especially in Rabat, because the capital is the domicile of international organisations and governmental agencies that attract researchers. People even told me about an emerging 'interview industry' in Rabat where some migrants made up a business from answering European researchers. This 'overstudied' field is also the reason why it was so crucial for me to access the interview partners through personal networks and gatekeepers, as formal organisations working on the situation of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco are overrun by requests and always refer to the same migrants in their own networks. Some of the respondents have been

²⁸ Among many others, Tarozzi 2013; González y González/Lincoln 2006 and Temple 1997 discuss the problems of translated data material in qualitative research.

²⁹ For instance Wolf forthcoming; Human Rights Watch 2014; Médecins Sans Frontières 2013; Cherti/Grant 2013; Bilgili/Weyel 2012.

interviewed in the past (Sékou, Khoudia, Néné) and all respondents knew the concept of 'conducting interviews for a master's/PhD thesis'. For one interview partner (Awa) I offered a financial incentive.³⁰ All other interviews I could realise without incentives. Comparing Awa's interview with the other ones, I do not have the impression that the incentive somehow influenced the content of the interview.

Language is a crucial issue reflecting my data and results. All interviews were held in French. French is neither my native tongue nor the one of the respondents. I am a native German/Swiss German speaker; the mother tongue of interview partners is one of the 36 Senegalese languages (Albaugh 2007, 2). The lingua franca in Senegal is Wolof. French is the colonial language (cf. González y González/Lincoln 2006, 4) and today only used in governmental contexts and university education. However, usually Moroccans and Senegalese communicate in French, therefore my respondents speak French on a daily basis during their stay in Morocco. In intercultural research, language competences exclude potential interview partners and determine the selection (Sheridan/Storch 2009, 5). Accordingly, the ability to talk in French was one of my most important selection criteria. One potential respondent could not be interviewed because we could not communicate in a common language. But language not only influences the results through its selective function, it is also quite likely that the language skills of my respondents determined the content of the interviews, as the data would be different if I conducted the interviews in Wolof (or the appropriate native language). Several of the interview partners searched for the right terms during the interviews and apologised for their limited language skills. I also experienced several moments during the interviews when there were misunderstandings between the respondent and me, or the respondent answered a question with another topic than I had intended, obviously due to language issues. Limited language skills might be the reason why some of my respondents answered in extremely short sentences (e.g. Tabara, Ismail) and the interviews were rather short in average (around 30 minutes). Another consequence of language issues is the high number of questions and answers in some interviews (e.g. Tabara: 423 questions and answers in under 30 minutes). However, I did not want to use a translator if possible, since it would change the social dynamics of the interview and pose some additional logistical challenges. Only one interview (Ablaye) I conducted with the help of a

³⁰ As my personal networks mainly brought me in contact with male Senegalese, I worried that the data sample would not be balanced in terms of gender. Therefore, I contacted the organisation *Voix des femmes migrantes au Maroc* and asked the president to arrange an interview with a Senegalese woman for me. The president demanded remuneration both for her own transport costs and for the respondent. She explained to me that, as there has been an increased foreign interest in the situation of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa in Rabat, the migrants suspect the staff of non-governmental organisations of making profit from acting as agents between migrants and researchers. This is why the migrants demand remuneration for interviews now. The president said that she would not pass the cash directly to the respondent, but rather buy some rice and oil from the money and give this to the respondent. I did not observe this transaction myself.

translator.³¹ Looking at my results I found the same migration reasons in all interviews, despite the varying language skills. I therefore think that the language skills of the respondents did not influence the reasons for migration I detected in the data. Also in the typology, persons with a high level of French and with limited French vocabulary belong to the same type and thus confirm my typology. The opportunist is the only type for which I am not sure if language skills have influenced my type building. Both respondents belonging to this type speak a rather basic French, and for theoretical saturation it would be necessary to validate this type with a person speaking French more fluently.

The place of the interview might also influence its content. As I conducted seven interviews in public or semi-public space (café, university, market), there was always a chance of an unwanted audience. Even though I did not ask about topics concerning the Moroccan society, many respondents mentioned their living situation. They also told me that, in the current rather strained atmosphere, there have been incidents of Moroccans eavesdropping on discussions between sub-Saharan migrants and Europeans, or even interventions and harassments. Thus, being interviewed in public might evoke a feeling of insecurity that might influence the course of the interview. Apart from some situations where the interview partners expressed concerns about listeners, however, I had the impression that they were relaxed during the interviews and answered outright to my questions.

Reflecting the empirical material, I also have to consider my own person and its influences on the sample and interviews. Being a Swiss citizen, I saw myself confronted with images of Europe (and especially Switzerland) as an incredible rich place where living is easy and one can earn a lot of money. Further, as a young white woman working and travelling alone in a male-dominated environment (both Moroccan public space and the migrant networks I had access to), I might have taken an unusual role for some of the interview partners. I cannot estimate if and how these characteristics of my own person influenced the interview partners' attitudes and willingness to participate, as well as the content of the interviews.

This research has its limitations. It is in the nature of a small qualitative sample that results cannot be generalised. The analysis and results of this research only apply to its own data. Looking at existing migration research, it seems likely that the main reasons and the typology presented in the results' chapter might also appear in other samples or in other research contexts. For instance, many results of my own research also are present in

³¹ The translator was a friend of Ablaye who introduced me to him. Ablaye had a significantly lower level of French than all other respondents. He, however, spoke enough French to understand most of the questions and usually started the answers in French. He only switched to Wolof when he felt his vocabulary was too limited to express what he wanted to say.

the empirical research of Cherti and Grant (2013). However, whereas it is possible to compare the results of this research with other empirical work, it is not legitimate to generalise or scale up the results.

There are some problems coming up from my research design when looking at reasons for migration: the results of this study can only show which factors the respondents perceive as crucial for their migration decision. With this kind of research design, factors that are only indirectly affecting migration decision-making are impossible to measure, because they do not appear in my data if the respondents do not mention them. The advantage of qualitative research – mapping perceptions and attitudes of the respondents – turns into disadvantage if we want to investigate more complex connections and indirect effects. However, collecting this kind of data is simply outside the scope of my research design (see an extended discussion of this aspect specifically focusing on environmental causes in chapter 4.1). The second problem about my research design is that I interviewed persons after they migrated. This means that there is a temporal distance between the act of decision-making and the narrative generated in the interview. Furthermore, people tend to rationalise their actions in retrospect and build a coherent story that does not necessarily corresponds with the real process. This, however, is not a problem for my research question as it asks about perceptions and not about ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ facts. Thirdly, asking for factors influencing the migration decision, I only look at the ‘dependent variable’, speaking in terms of quantitative research (Faist et al. 2014, 153). For a comprehensive research on migration decision processes and influences, it would be indispensable to interview also people who decided to not migrate, or did not have the resources to migrate, as this has been done by several empirical studies (e.g. Hummel et al. 2012; Bleibaum 2009). And at last, Faist et al. mention essentialism as a challenge for research on transnational migration (2014, 154). I also have to consider this for my own research because I selected the interview partners due to their Senegalese nationality. Therefore, their nationality is the most important category characterizing them (ibid., 154). I do not consider the heterogeneity of the Senegalese society (ibid.) and do not differentiate other characteristics such as religion, social class or lifestyle (ibid., 159). However, thanks to my qualitative data analysis, there is enough space for attitudes and values that might differ among the respondents.

4 Results

This chapter presents the results of the empirical research and is structured as follows: the first three subchapters are built around the major topics found during analysing the interviews. I divided them roughly into environmental factors, economic and social factors, yet this is a very blurred classification. The 4th subchapter presents a typology derived from the data.

4.1 Environmental factors

The interview data shows no direct link between environmental change and migration. There is of course the possibility that there is simply no environmental influence in the data. Nevertheless, we have to consider several factors that might make it difficult to detect such a connection, even if it existed. The qualitative research model, the sample, the limited time range and the fact that environmental change is often perceived through economic factors (see chapter 2.2.4) could all influence the collected data. In this section, I will further discuss these issues.

4.1.1 Insights from the sample

Analysing the characteristics of the respondents shows two results. First, I collected data on a middle-class, urban-urban migration. Looking at the educational background of the interviewed persons, there is only one person who never attended school. The large majority of the respondents comes from middle-class families, and their parents work or worked in professions such as teacher (Sékou, 19)³², driver (Khoudia, 30) or in public administration (Badou, 118). The respondents themselves have worked in jobs such as welder (Ismail, 29), in trade (Kader, 63) or as housekeeper (Tabara, 176). Therefore, this sample coincides with the description of international migration as a middle-income phenomenon. It is clear that this urban, highly educated population is not directly influenced by environmental change since their incomes are not directly depending on natural resources. Or, as Van der Land and Hummel (2013a, 4) express it: “people with a formal education, particularly the better educated, seem to be less vulnerable to environmental changes since they are less dependent on climate-sensitive economic activities than participants with no formal education.” Of course, indirect influences of the environment, e.g. rising food prices, also concern the urban populations. Khoudia (143) says that living costs in Dakar are extremely high and that this was a reason for her to

³² This kind of quotation indicates a statement from an interview. First comes the name of the respondent, then a number that indicates the section of the statement. All interview transcripts can be found on the CD.

come to Morocco. Sékou (51) notes that the food prices have increased dramatically over the last few years. However, both of them do not refer to environmental reasons when looking for explanations, but rather to politics (Sékou, 59). With my data, it is impossible to reveal those indirect influences of environmental change on my sample of town dwellers.

Looking at the geographical origins of Senegalese migrants in Morocco, my field experience and the interviews with experts (interview Lmadani, 41; interview Yamta, 105) showed that the large majority of the Senegalese living in Rabat is from Dakar. Even though I tried to diversify my sample geographically, the majority of the interview partners are from urban areas from different regions of Senegal. During my field research, I met only a few persons from villages. Thus, most persons in my sample moved from an urban area in one country to an urban area in another country. There are three reasons for this: firstly, it is clear that an urban population prefers to live in an urban area in a foreign country, as this is the environment they know. Secondly, as most of the interview partners had worked in Senegal in the service sector or in trade, it is the urban areas where they can find work. And thirdly, sub-Saharan migrants of all origins assemble in certain areas of the big cities such as Rabat, Casablanca, Tangier and Marrakech, organise themselves, support each other and provide new arrivals with information. These diaspora communities attract further migrants. Furthermore, the strong links between Dakar and other urban centres in Senegal with the large Moroccan cities are signs of well-developed migration routes. Migration networks perpetuate migration from these origins to these specific destinations. Maybe, when taking another sample at other places in Morocco, one would discover other networks with other places of origin. It might also be the case that people from rural areas of Senegal prefer to live in rural regions in Morocco and work in agriculture. There might even exist networks linking Senegalese rural populations with international destinations. Lmadani (58) for example refers to the example of a migration network linking a rural population in northern Senegal with France. But these are only assumptions neither reflected nor verified in my data.

The second insight resulting from my sample is that I have collected data on a generational migration. Three persons of my sample said that it was their parents who moved from rural areas towards the principal town of the region. Badou and Kader's grandparents lived from agriculture and their parents moved to Tambakounda and Kaolack respectively for educational and later employment reasons (Badou, 365; Kader, 112). Khoudia's father even was a farmer himself, but then stopped farming and started to work in an enterprise before becoming a taxi driver (Khoudia, 199). Sadly, I have no information about the father's decision to leave agriculture as this happened before Khoudia's birth. Kader and

Khoudia have no agricultural skills (Badou's case is special as he was working for the Peace Corps in environmental education (181)). This generational movement confirms the theoretical assumption of a stepwise migration that happens over generations. As in the example of Kader, the first generation migrates internally by moving from a rural towards an urban area within the country. The second generation then migrates internationally (Badou, Kader and Khoudia first moved to Dakar from their hometowns, thus performed another internal migration, before deciding to leave the country). Therefore, while environmental influences are relatively easy to discover in the first migration from rural to urban areas, it is almost impossible to trace back the migration of the second generation to environmental change. Furthermore, qualitative interview data here is especially challenging because this second generation often has no knowledge about environmental phenomena anymore as expressed by Kader (118) and Khoudia (207).

4.1.2 The stories of Oury, Moussa and Ablaye

In my sample are, as mentioned before, three men whose families live from agriculture and who partly have been working in agriculture themselves. In this section, I will take a closer look at their migration history. In Oury, Moussa and Ablaye's narrations, some general topics already appear that will be discussed later in detail, as they apply for all my respondents and not only for those with agricultural background.

Although Oury has left his village in the region of Matam at the age of 16 for higher education, he still feels very attached to his home village (184). His father was a merchant, but his family owns land. His brother is a farmer and his younger brother works in Dakar as a disc jockey (390). Oury explains the social structure of his village:

Because, you know, it's like this, where I'm from. [...] We are divided. There are some people who are made, who are ready for staying at the fields. There are some people who are made for staying at the house. There are some people who are made for leaving, and migrating in order to work. So, this is us. We, the people who are here, the migrants. We are obliged to send money. (106)³³

Today, it is not automatically the oldest son of the family who leaves, as this was the case in the past (334). In Oury's family, it was always clear that he would be the one leaving, as he always liked travelling and discover new environments (340), whereas his older brother does not like to travel and prefers the countryside (344). The migrants thus are

³³ "Parce que, tu sais, nous, c'est comme ça, comme chez nous. [...] On est divisé. Il y a des gens qui sont fait, qui sont prêt pour rester aux champs. Il y a des gens qui sont fait pour rester à la maison au village. Il y a des gens qui sont fait pour aller, et aller immigrer pour travailler. Donc, c'est nous. Nous, les gens qui sont là, les immigrants. C'est nous qu'on est obligé d'envoyer du sou." (Oury, 106)

responsible for providing the family with money as those who stay mainly live from subsistence farming. Oury explains:

Thus, the money, it comes from [...] us, the migrants. Thus, over there, they are preparing, they are cultivating the rice, voilà. So, we, we send them the money for buying clothes. Because, you know, if you harvest for eating, you don't have any money for buying clothes. [...] We send them money so that they can buy clothes, shoes, voilà. Electricity, you know, all that. (110)³⁴

Oury's story coincides with the perspective of the New Economics of Labor Migration theory on migration as a household income diversification strategy. The household's income is directly depending on the rain (96). Oury says, a year without rain is "the disaster" (100)³⁵. If the crop is bad, the family has to buy millet and rice with the money sent by the migrants. In this case, it is the migrant's duty to send money (108). Oury's statement shows the interplay of the three topics of environmental factors, family expectations and remittances as insurance for the household. These topics will be discussed in detail further below. Summing up, my data shows no direct trigger for Oury's migration decision that is linked with a specific environmental phenomenon, but (internal and international) migration is a well-established adaptation strategy of his household to deal with the high climatic variability of the region.

Moussa's parents are farmers in a village in the Casamance. Moussa says, he is "born in a poor family, in a poor place" (152)³⁶. They cultivate for subsistence (56), but sell vegetables to earn money (60). At a certain moment in the year, they have to buy rice since the harvest is not sufficient for the whole year (56). Individual crop results vary each year and therefore the villagers exchange their products (84). According to Moussa, it is God who decides on the crop (86), as well as on the rainfall:

Well, in Senegal, sometimes, the seasons vary, too. Usually, in Senegal, during the month of May, it varies. You can go until May 20, the rain begins to threaten. And sometimes, you can pass May 20, there is not even a sign. Thus, all this depends on God's creation. (80)³⁷

The crop directly depends on the rain, as too much rain and too little rain can destroy the seeds (96), but this does not happen regularly (100). The way of agricultural production changes slowly (72) at his village, but Moussa has seen other places that are much more advanced, for example by working with tractors whereas his family ploughs the ground

³⁴ "Donc, l'argent, ça vient de [...] nous, nous les immigrés. Donc, là-bas, eux ils sont en train de préparer, ils sont en train de cultiver le riz, voilà. Donc, nous, on les envoie de l'argent pour acheter les habilles. Parce que quand tu récoltes pour manger, tu n'as pas de l'argent pour acheter des habilles. [...] On les envoie de l'argent. Pour acheter des habilles, des chaussures, voilà. L'électricité, tu vois. Tout ça." (Oury, 110)

³⁵ "la catastrophe" (Oury, 100)

³⁶ "né dans une famille pauvre, dans une localité pauvre" (Moussa, 152)

³⁷ "Bon, au Sénégal, des fois, les saisons aussi ça varie. D'habitude au Sénégal, au mois de Mai, ça varie. Tu peux aller jusqu'au 20 mai, la pluie commence à menacer. Et des fois tu peux aller jusqu'à dépasser le 20, il y a même pas de signe. Donc, tout cela dépend de créature de Dieu." (Moussa, 80)

with cattle (78). His objective is to earn enough in Morocco to provide his parents with the financial capital to buy more developed means of production for making their lives easier:

[W]hen I realised some travels, going to certain places, I found that they use other means. I said: But my parents don't have the financial means for having these materials. So, I, what can I do for that my parents can get out of this situation. (102)³⁸

He also dreams of creating employment opportunities for young people in his home village and thereby fighting unemployment and rural exodus that is very common in this region (240). Another important motivation for Moussa's migration is the desire to be financially independent of others, especially of his brothers who live in Germany, and to be able to provide a secure future to his children (144), which he could not if he stayed at his home. Moussa's story corresponds with the idea of migration as adaptation. By sending remittances, Moussa wants to modernise the farming practices of his family and later even invest in his home village. Hence, for Moussa, migration is not an income diversification strategy as in the case of Oury, but rather a way to accumulate funds for a later investment. Environmental change is not a direct trigger of his migration decision, but might influence the living conditions of his family and thus his desire to develop the agricultural production.

Ablaye's story differs from Oury and Moussa's. He initially left Senegal to study in Fez. After one year, however, he had to give up his studies and earn money to support his mother and younger siblings who were depending on his remittances after the death of his father and a family conflict. Ablaye himself had farmed for one year and paid the journey to Morocco with the revenues from the sold crop (394). In his opinion, crop outcome depends of course on rain, but also very much on the skills of the farmer (201). If the crop is bad in one year, the farmer has to identify the mistake and optimise the cultivation methods to earn better crops the next year (192). His father was a very talented farmer and had better results than many other farmers of the village (253). For Ablaye, the main difficulties in agriculture are: not enough rain, birds or insects destroying the seeds, and not enough financial capital to buy fertilizer, seeds or horses for the fieldwork or to pay people to work on the fields (294f./380). Currently the most important problem is lacking financial resources (386), because

the harvest needs money. If you don't have the money, you won't have any good results. Agriculture needs money together with the techniques. If you don't have the money, you don't have the technique, it won't work. (199)³⁹

³⁸ "quand j'ai effectué des déplacements, en allant sur certaines localités, j'ai trouvé d'autres moyens qu'ils ont. J'ai dit: Mais mes parents n'ont pas les moyens financiers pour avoir ces matériaux. Donc moi, qu'est-ce que je dois faire pour que mes parents puissent quitter de cette situation." (Moussa, 102)

³⁹ „les récoltes il faut, il faut de l'argent. Si tu n'as pas de l'argent, tu n'as pas biens résultats. L'agricole demande l'argent avec les techniques. Si tu n'as pas d'argent, tu n'as pas de technique, ça ne marche pas." (Ablaye, 199)

In this quota, we see again the nexus of agricultural success, environmental variability and financial resources that can stem from the preceding year's harvest or from migrants' remittances. Ablaye's statement corresponds with Mertz et al.'s research when they asked farmers about the most important issues for agricultural production. Also Mertz' respondents named "[a]vailability and affordability of farm equipment, seed, and fertilizers" (2009, 814) as most decisive issues. Ablaye mentions precipitation extremes, but does not perceive it as the most threatening factor for agricultural production, just like Mertz' respondents (ibid.). The economic situation, and, indirectly, agricultural policies, seem to be much more important than environmental change. Ablaye reports that in his village, agriculture is appreciated even higher than migration:

If you went, now, if you came to Morocco. They say to you: Ah, we don't have anything there. Why do you want to go there. It's here, it's better you do agriculture. [...] if you have good agricultural results, you don't need to enter Europe. (343)⁴⁰

The reason why he stays in Morocco is that he has to take care of his family now (484). He wants to earn enough money to provide his younger sister and brother with a good education (478), and he wishes to return to Senegal soon (442).

The attitudes of the three interviewed persons towards migration and agricultural production differ fundamentally. Whereas Oury considers migration as an adaptation strategy to climatic variability by diversification of the household income, Moussa sees migration as a possibility to change and develop agricultural production and thus adapt to slow environmental change. Ablaye, however, emphasises that agricultural success mainly depends on personal farming skills along with available financial resources. For him, in contrast to the other two persons, migration is not a strategy to support agricultural production at his home. It is even possible to earn more money from agriculture than from migration. None of these three perceives environmental change or an environmental phenomenon as a factor that has been influencing his migration decision. However, environmental influences can be considered as indirect factors at least for Oury and Moussa's migration decision.

⁴⁰ „Si tu allais, maintenant, si tu venais au Maroc. Ils te disent: Ah, on a rien là-bas. Pourquoi tu veux aller là-bas. C'est ici, c'est mieux tu fais l'agriculture [...] si tu as les bons résultats agriculteur, tu as par rapport de rentrer en Europe.“ (Ablaye, 343)

4.1.3 Discussion

All respondents, no matter whether they are experienced in farming or not, agree that droughts threaten agricultural production and are a major problem for farmers. This common knowledge is not surprising after the devastating droughts Senegal has experienced during the 70s and 80s. Further, many of the respondents who are not involved in agriculture think that farmers live in precarious situations and that one cannot earn a lot from agriculture (Khoudia, 18; Kader, 118). Being asked whether they have observed environmental change, the respondents mention floods from extreme rainfalls (Sékou, 71; Awa, 72; Kader, 130), bushfires (Ablaye, 365; Badou, 74; Sékou, 99) and diseases affecting crops (Moussa, 114) and humans (Kader, 143). Therefore, there seems to be an awareness of environmental change. Nevertheless, no one refers to these environmental phenomena when talking about his or her migration decision. This is due to the fact that, as illustrated above, the livelihood of most of the interview partners was not based on natural resources before migration and they thus could experience environmental change at most through indirect effects. In the case of the persons from rural areas in the sample it can be assumed that, if environmental conditions change, this process happens very slowly. Therefore, it is not perceived as a reason for a specific action like migration.

Remembering Black et al.'s (2011b, 5) figure in chapter 2.2.2, environmental change is a driver of migration that influences migration decision-making on the macro level, and at the same time environmental change affects other macro factors, e.g. financial factors. In the (post-migration) stories of the interview partners about their migration decision processes, environmental change does not play a decisive role. However, one cannot say that environmental change has absolutely no influence on the migration decision of the respondents. It is possible that their decisions are indirectly affected by environmental change (and other factors). As explained before, the data sample only covers factors the interview partners perceive as decisive for their migration decision. This perception depends on many different individual characteristics, e.g. education, the place of living, livelihood, or indirect effects of previous events. The chosen research design is not suited for tracing back causal chains of several factors affecting each other for finding the 'primary trigger' (if, at all, it is possible to determine such a thing). Figure 05 shows a causal chain and the 'window of perception' that is covered by the research design and data material. The collected data cannot tell anything about effects and influences outside the window. However, this does not mean that there are not any processes ultimately influencing the data material. There might be cases in which the migration decision of the interview partners depends on environmental changes, but the respondents do not

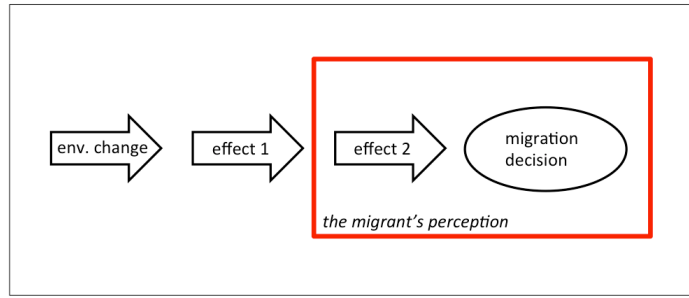


Figure 05: The window of perception captured by the interview data of this thesis. Own figure.

perceive it as influencing factor. As an example, environmental change such as irregular rainfall might affect the crop results (effect 1), this results in higher food prices (effect 2) and the living expenses are rising so high that a person decides to migrate and support their family with remittances. This person might live in an urban environment and might not have noticed the irregular rainfall initiating this causal chain. Therefore, they will not refer to this environmental phenomenon when asked about their migration decision.

An important reason for their migration decision the respondents often mentioned is that they could get a job more easily in Morocco and earn more while doing the same work as in Senegal. Looking at the macro-level of Senegal and Morocco's GDP, it is clear that in some economic sectors, environmental events certainly have a direct influence on revenues (see chapter 2.3.3). This is, of course, the case for the agricultural sector, but also Senegalese marine and inland fishery that experienced a decline due to, among other things, climate change and its consequences such as water overuse and increased evaporation (Sow et al. forthcoming, 4f.). Other economic sectors may also be affected by Senegalese high rainfall variability with strong rainfalls destroying infrastructure and roads which, in turn, halts economic flows and weaken Senegal's GDP. However, the relation of environmental events and the GDP are only examples to show that the causal chain does not stop at the limitation of my 'window of perception'. To measure such chains, though, one has to work with another research design. These kinds of questions request quantitative longitudinal data from the places of origin of the interview partners. With the research design used for this thesis, I neither can make any statements about such connections nor it is the aim of this thesis.

4.2 Economic factors

The sample confirms the findings from previous studies on migration motives: all interviewed persons mentioned economic reasons that had influenced their decision to migrate. In this section, I will present the main reasons derived from the sample.

4.2.1 Financial situation before migration

Before their migration, the interview partners found themselves in three different types of economic circumstances. These financial situations influenced their decision to leave, but the migration goals differ.

Unemployment

Senegal's unemployment rate is about 23% (Tall/Tandian 2011, 6). For two persons of the sample, unemployment played a crucial role for their migration decision. One of them is Sékou who did an apprenticeship as a general mechanic and worked for different enterprises. Then, unexpectedly, Sékou lost his job (37f.) because his employer shed labour (39). It was a difficult time for several enterprises: *"I worked in quite some enterprises. But after, you know, with the problems. You know, the enterprises shut down and then there was no work anymore"* (31)⁴¹. After his dismissal, Sékou experienced hard times. He stayed at home without occupation (39) and had difficulties dealing with this situation. In the interview, Sékou alludes to psychic problems: *"I couldn't find myself anymore"* (31)⁴². Along with the mental stress came social pressure, *"[b]ecause where I'm from, if you don't have anything, they don't acknowledge you. If you don't do anything, if you stay immobile. People say: Yes, that one, he doesn't want to do anything."* (141)⁴³. In this difficult combination of a tight job market, the personal crisis following the loss of job and social contempt, migration to Morocco became a possibility to escape the situation. Sékou has had a lot of working experience at the moment of his suspension. Another case is Badou, who was unable to find employment after finishing his education. Badou did several trainings for different professions, e.g. for teaching physical education at primary schools. He asked schools for employment, but found none. He then trained as a project manager, but also with this training, he could not find a job (203). In this situation, Badou's strategy was to continue with other professional trainings. To find further education opportunities was also one of the main reason for him to come to Morocco (239). The experiences of

⁴¹ *"j'ai pas mal travaillé dans des entreprises. Mais après, tu vois, avec des problèmes. Tu vois, les entreprises sont fermées et ensuite il n'y avait plus de boulot."* (Sékou, 31)

⁴² *"je me retrouvais plus, moi-même."* (Sékou, 31)

⁴³ *"Parce que chez nous, si tu n'as rien, on te considère pas. Si tu fais rien, si tu restes immobile. Les gens disent qui: Oui, celui là, il ne veut rien faire."* (Sékou, 141)

Sékou and Badou illustrate that for some Senegalese, migration might be a strategy to deal with the high unemployment rate. Furthermore, Sékou's experience facing social pressure after losing his job confirms the findings of Willems (2014, 324) that social prestige is often linked to employment in Senegal.

The topic of unemployment was mentioned by many of the respondents. They explained that especially smaller towns lack employment opportunities, because industries and enterprises are often concentrated in Dakar (Kader, 207; Moussa, 194). This is why people move to Dakar looking for a job (Moussa, 192; Kader, 209; Khoudia, 211). Kader (209) and Moussa (192) explicitly mentioned rural exodus, i.e. young people leaving rural areas and moving towards the urban centres. Oury and Kader's stories illustrate this phenomenon: they left their home village/town and went to Dakar looking for work. Kader says, he barely has worked in his hometown Kaolack, but immediately went to Dakar when he quit school (47). The problem arising from this mass migration is that *"Dakar is saturated"* (Kader, 214)⁴⁴. It becomes difficult to get a job, even in Dakar (Moussa, 176; Khoudia, 171) and living there is extremely expensive (Moussa, *ibid.*). The interview partners did not question why the economic situation, employment opportunities and wages are worse in Senegal compared to Morocco. They localise the reasons for the difficult economic situation in the concentration of employment and capital in Dakar (Kader, Khoudia, Moussa), the politics (Sékou, Kader), and the violent conflict in the Casamance region (Néné).

Insufficient income

Some of the respondents had an income in Senegal, but the money was not enough to cover their costs of living, so this led to their decision to migrate. Néné earned her money from buying shrimps and crayfish from fishermen and selling them to the tourist hotels of her home village Diembéren (30). When violent conflicts re-emerged in 2012, the number of tourists dropped and many hotels had to close (80). Néné could not earn enough money anymore to cover the costs of living for her family. She especially struggled to pay the school fees for her seven children (40). This is why she decided to go to Morocco:

*What should you do there? Because the hotels, this didn't work. It didn't work. It was at this moment when I bought some small things, some jewellery [...] from Senegal, and I sell here. To earn something a bit. (58)*⁴⁵

Néné's sister has been living in Rabat for a long time, thus Néné had a contact person who accommodated her when she arrived. Néné even returned once to Diembéren, but she

⁴⁴ *"Dakar est saturé"* (Kader, 214)

⁴⁵ *"Qu'est-ce que tu dois faire là-bas? Parce que les hôtels, ça marche pas. Ça marche pas. C'est là j'ai acheté des petits choses, des bijoux [...] qui viennent de Sénégal, et je vends ici. Pour gagner quelque chose un peu."* (Néné, 58)

came back to Rabat for the following reason: *“Well, there yet, it didn’t work yet. It is still hard. [...] This is why I returned. Because, if I stay there, if I earn a little bit, we will live from this.”* (184)⁴⁶. At the moment, Néné does not see any chance to earn sufficient money to pay their children’s school fees. This is why she chose to stay in Rabat. But she wishes to return home and resume her work for the hotels (60).

Khoudia tells a very similar story. She was an employee in a shop in Dakar, working together with her husband. She says that the money her husband earned was not enough to cover the living costs of her family:

If you have a husband, he has to pay the rent, water, electricity, food, and he has to pay school fees for the children. One single person cannot do this. It’s very difficult. [...] Even if you had 200’000 CFA per month, or 300’000, it will be very difficult. (143)⁴⁷

Khoudia stresses that the demands from relatives put additional pressure on the family budget: *“There are the dependent persons, the parents. Voilà. Even if it’s enough. You want to give to your mother, you want to satisfy your family.”* (145)⁴⁸. In this situation, Khoudia decided to travel to Morocco and earn some money from trade. Her nieces were already in Rabat, and therefore Khoudia chose that city.

There are some differences as well as commonalities in Néné and Khoudia’s stories. Néné’s husband died a long time ago whereas Khoudia’s husband is living with her. Néné comes from the countryside and Khoudia from Dakar. The common element in their migration decision process is the economic responsibility for a family with school children. Further, both Néné and Khoudia had an income but it was not enough to sustain the livelihoods of their families. In this situation, they decided to leave for Morocco. In Khoudia’s case, it is a diversification of the household income according to the New Economics of Labor Migration theory. As Néné is the only breadwinner of the family, her migration is rather a change of the income source than a diversification. Néné and Khoudia both had relatives who had already installed themselves in Rabat, and this fact significantly reduced the costs and risk of their migration.

Eager to improve the income

Due to the limited employment opportunities of the formal job market, many people in Senegal are active in the informal job market, working in petty trade, as tourist guides, etc. In the sample, the majority of the people earned their money from these kinds of activities

⁴⁶ *“Bon, là-bas encore, ç’a pas encore marché. C’est plus dur encore. [...] Pour cela je suis retourné. Parce que si je reste là-bas, si je gagne un petit peu, on va vivre avec ça.”* (Néné, 184)

⁴⁷ *“Si tu as un mari, il veut payer la location, l’eau, l’électricité, la nourriture, et il veut payer la scolarité des enfants. Une seule personne ne peut pas faire ça. C’est très difficile. [...] Même si tu avais 200’000 CFA pour mois, ou bien 300’000, ça sera très difficile.”* (Khoudia, 143)

⁴⁸ *“Les dépendants, les parents sont là. Voilà. Même si ça suffit. Tu veux donner à ta maman, tu veux satisfaire ta famille.”* (Khoudia, 145)

before migrating. In the informal sector, it is common that people earn money from different activities at the same time or change their occupation if another opportunity comes up. Thus, migration to Morocco is an attempt to earn more money under more stable conditions. Some of the respondents have already tried to reach this point of stability in Senegal, and with migration they continue this search in Morocco. Oury is a good example for this kind of migration. He left his village Sinthiou Bamambé for a higher education in Dakar (120). When he quit school, he stayed in Dakar and earned money from varying occupations. He worked in petty trade (234), as a barman in Saly (230), and as tourist guide (524). He has no professional education, and he got many jobs through family contacts (e.g. his French cousin was the owner of the bar Oury was working at (230)). Therefore, Oury is used to irregular work situations and repeated reorientation. He decided to come to Morocco when his cousin closed the bar temporarily to return to France and earn more money for further investments in Senegal (230). Describing his situation, Oury says: “[I]n Dakar, there was a moment when it was a bit hard. Well, there, so I decided. [...] I wanted to earn my thing no matter where.” (236)⁴⁹. Thus, Oury, in an economically difficult situation, decided to leave, as it is not important to him where he earns money.

Like Oury, most persons of the sample have had an income in Senegal, but no stable employment. Oury, Awa and Kader have worked in different occupations; their last activity before coming to Morocco was in petty trade. Mansour and Ismail even left the profession they had trained for (car mechanic and welder) because they earned not enough money to live from, and entered the informal job market working as lorry driver (Mansour) and in trade (Ismail) when still living in Senegal. Therefore, the persons of the sample are used to search for new income opportunities. Migration to Morocco is another station of this ‘trial and error’ pattern they already had lived in Senegal.⁵⁰

For Oury, a crucial point is to live under economically secure conditions: “*You always have to be stable. Easy. Tranquillity. You shouldn’t have any stress.*” (Oury, 276)⁵¹. But it is not only about economic security, it is also important to live and work in a good, safe

⁴⁹ “à Dakar, il y avait un moment, c’était un peu dur. Bon, là-bas, donc, j’ai décidé. [...] Je voulais gagner mon truc n’importe où.” (Oury, 236)

⁵⁰ For some men of this group, the intention is rather to enter Europe than to stay in Morocco, which is seen as a stage of transit. Their objective is to earn a lot of money in Europe and return to Senegal in the long term. They imagine that it is much easier to make money in Europe than in Morocco (Kader, 225), and that life is generally easier (Oury, 404). Oury, Ismail, Mansour and Kader have already tried to cross the sea from Tanger. Oury and Mansour want to continue their attempts until they succeed (Oury, 426; Mansour, 198). Ismail wants to try it one last time, and if he will not succeed, return to Senegal. Kader gave up on this plan after numerous attempts (Kader, 20) and moved from Rabat to Marrakech to earn some money before returning to Senegal (Kader, 229).

⁵¹ “Il faut toujours être stable. Tranquille. Tranquillité. Il faut pas avoir de stress.” (Oury, 276)

environment. Oury illustrates this with the example of one of his jobs he had in Rabat and quit, because he felt not comfortable:

Here in Morocco, here in Rabat. But when I was working there, at this place, I was not. I wasn't calm. I was too stressed. When I worked at a... Here, next to the medina over there. There is an old man, because I also know a bit the cyber, the machines. The old man employed me, I worked for seven months, well. But there were too many problems with him. Do this, do that, do this, do that. Well, I preferred to stop. You always have to be calm in your head. (280)⁵²

And Oury stresses that he will continue his search until he has found such stable conditions (280).

For other persons of the sample, the main reason for coming to Morocco was not the unstable situation or informal occupation status, but rather financial incentives. Kader (104), Ismail (107), Awa (44), and Mansour (54) explained that they were quite happy with their work and the income they had in Senegal. Ismail said about his job as a vegetable merchant: "Yes, yes, you earn some money. You earn a lot of money. Because I spent there one year. I saved a lot of money." (107)⁵³. Nevertheless, they hoped that they would earn more in Morocco. In Senegal, Morocco has the reputation that there are jobs available and one can earn more money for the same work as in Senegal:

Morocco, because. When you hear people talking about Morocco. For me, it's a good country, wallah. There is too much, you can earn. You know, you hear the people. When you hear rumours. And voilà. I need to go and see what's there. Voilà, this is how I came to Morocco. (Oury, 244)⁵⁴

In some cases, the respondents also heard from their relatives, who were already in Morocco, that one could gain more money in Morocco than in Senegal, like Tabara, whose sister already lived in Morocco before Tabara left (188).⁵⁵

⁵² "Ici au Maroc, ici à Rabat. Mais quand j'ai travaillé là-bas, dans ce lieu là, je n'étais pas. J'étais pas tranquille. J'étais trop entre stress. Quand je travaille dans un... Ici, à côté dans la médina là-bas. Il y a un vieux, parce que je connais un peu aussi le cyber, les machines. Le vieux m'a pris, j'ai travaillé sept mois, bon. Mais il y avait trop des problèmes avec lui. Fais ceci, fais cela, fais ci, fais cela. Bon, j'ai préféré d'arrêter. Il faut toujours être tranquille dans la tête." (Oury, 280)

⁵³ "Oui, oui, tu gagnes de l'argent. Tu gagnes beaucoup d'argent. Parce que j'ai fait là-bas un an. J'ai économisé beaucoup d'argent." (Ismail, 107)

⁵⁴ "Le Maroc, parce que. Quand tu entends des gens parler du Maroc. Pour moi, c'est un pays qui est bien, wallah. Il y a trop de, tu peux gagner. Tu vois, tu entends des gens. Quand tu entends des rumeurs. Et voilà. Il faut que je vais voir ce qu'il est là-bas. Voilà, c'est comme ça que je suis venu au Maroc." (Oury, 244)

⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the promise of wealth of Morocco often turns into disappointment considering the difficult living conditions in Morocco. Ismail and Kader plan to return to Senegal soon:

"No, I came here to [...] seek. Because you have to try everything in your live. I came here to try if I have more than I had in the country. But I came here: No, it's not here. This is why I said: In one month, two months from now, I want to return to the country. If I return, I will stay there." (Ismail, 97)

"Non, je suis venu pour [...] chercher. Parce qu'il faut tester tout dans la vie. Je suis venu ici pour tester que j'aurais le plus que j'avais dans le pays. Mais je suis venu ici: Non, il y a pas. C'est à cause de ça que j'ai dit: d'ici, un mois, deux mois, je voulais retourner au pays. Si je retourne je vais rester là-bas." (Ismail, 97)

Also, the other people earn not (much) more money in Morocco than they did in Senegal. Living costs are high and the income is low and uncertain (Néné, 58; Moussa, 230).

4.2.2 Remittances and financial responsibility

I asked all respondents if they were sending money back home.⁵⁶ All respondents know the concept of remittances, but their practices are very diverse. Moussa, Ablaye and Néné send regularly some money to their relatives because their families need this additional income (Moussa, 230; Ablaye, 452; Néné, 40). Some people do not send any remittances at all (Ismail, 268; Badou, 291). They explained that their families do not need the money (Badou, 291; Sékou, 199) or that there are older brothers or sisters in Europe who provide their families back home with sufficient financial supply (Ismail, 270; Kader, 33). Kader explains that he is not financially responsible for his family, thus if he sends money, *“it’s just for pleasure”* (33)⁵⁷. Then there are some people who are not able to send any remittances because they do not earn enough (Awa, 136). Tabara for instance was ill in Morocco for a long time and just recently started to earn some money again (372). People who plan to continue migration to Europe save their earnings for their next attempt of passage (Oury, 420; Ismail, 270). However, for this group, it is clear that, once in Europe, they will certainly send back money (Oury, 400). Most of the interview partners send a little money from time to time, but as their earnings are low and very irregular, the remittances are also small and rare (Sékou, 199). For these people, remittances are rather a sign or gesture of ‘I am thinking of you’ (Sékou, 203). They also send money on the occasion of religions celebrations (Awa, 136), so that the family will pray for the migrant (Sékou, 201).

As shown above, for most of the respondents, migration to Morocco is linked with the hope of earning more money because they feel financially responsible for their families back home. We have seen that two, Néné and Khoudia, left because they needed higher incomes to sustain their families’ livelihoods than they could earn in Senegal. For Moussa, the financial responsibility is a central element of his migration decision: he wants to provide a secure future for his children (144). For this objective, he needs to be financially independent from his family. His brothers, who live in Europe, could certainly support him and his children financially. But Moussa is afraid that in the future, there might be a conflict between him and his brothers, or between their children (144), and the financial support might stop. Therefore, he himself has to actively seek for wealth because he does not want to depend on his parents either, because they will die one day. It is his own task to ensure a secure future for his family (110). At the same time, Moussa has the desire to

⁵⁶ Sending money from Morocco to Senegal is not so easy. The Moroccan government prohibits the export of Moroccan dirhams and other financial transfers from Morocco to sub-Saharan African states (interview Yamta, 122). The respondents explained that there are some informal transfer systems with agencies in Casablanca and in Dakar (Mansour, 216). Further, they buy products and send them to Senegal with people covering this distance (Moussa, 159), or they send cash if they know someone who travels from Morocco to Senegal. Due to this lack of official channels, the money transfer is very expensive.

⁵⁷ *“c’est juste par plaisir”* (Kader, 33)

return some financial means to his parents, as they have always supported him: “[T]hey have done everything for me. I cannot give them back all of that, but at least, I can give them the money.” (152)⁵⁸. Hence, coming to Morocco is an attempt to find the wealth to give something back to his parents (as shown in chapter 4.1.2, Moussa mainly wants to modernise the agricultural production with these funds to make his parents’ lives easier). He will continue this search until he succeeds: “I am always looking for the place where I can position myself well to support my parents a lot.” (157)⁵⁹. As we have also seen before, Oury explains the different roles of his village’s community, and his role is the one of the migrant. Thus, it is his responsibility to provide his family with money. He even left to Morocco against the will of his mother, and told her when leaving: “Because I’m doing all this for you. I have to earn, I have to earn my living for you. I earn all that I can.” (398)⁶⁰.

4.3 Social factors

Several social factors play a crucial role in the migration decision-making of the respondents. In this section, I present the most important reasons.

4.3.1 Migration networks

All but two of the interview partners had a contact person in Morocco before they arrived, mostly members of their families. In some cases, this person actively encouraged the respondent’s migration. Ismail’s example shows this well. Ismail’s older brother lived in Morocco for some time before Ismail joined him. It was his brother who proposed that Ismail should come to Morocco; he himself had not had this idea (209). Ismail thought about this possibility, and his brother insisted: “Because, it’s him who pushed me, said to me: Come, come, come. Come, come, come.” (187)⁶¹. Thus, Ismail saved some money and left (209). A similar case is that of Tabara, whose sister has been living in Morocco for some time together with her Senegalese husband and their children. She asked Tabara to join her: “Come, we will work. You will work with me. We work together. This is better than

⁵⁸ “ils ont tout fait pour moi. Je ne peux pas tout le remettre, mais au moins je dois leur rendre la monnaie de ma part.” (Moussa, 152)

⁵⁹ “Je suis toujours à la recherche de voir l’endroit où je peux me bien positionner pour secourir beaucoup à mes parents.” (Moussa, 157)

⁶⁰ “Parce que je fais tout ça pour vous. Je dois gagner, je dois gagner ma vie pour vous. Je gagne tous ce que je peux.” (Oury, 398)

⁶¹ “Parce que c’est lui qui m’a poussé, de me dire: Viens, viens, viens. Viens, viens, viens.” (Ismail, 187)

staying in Senegal" (188)⁶². Her husband would even pay for Tabara's ticket (329). Other respondents had a relative in Morocco that facilitated the arrival, but did not actively influence the migration decision. Examples are Néné and Khoudia, who joined their sister and nieces respectively, as mentioned in chapter 4.2.2. Likewise, it was the example of Sékou's cousin that inspired Sékou to leave and join him in Agadir (139). Those who did not have a direct contact in Morocco got information about the journey and the situation in Morocco from returning migrants or other people who knew Morocco well. Awa's aunt, for instance, often commuted from Senegal to Morocco for trading. It was this aunt who suggested that Awa would leave and provided her with some information about Morocco (48). Badou's older brother has spent two years in Morocco (271) and often spoke about his experiences (263). He returned, however, before Badou's arrival (267). Ablaye had no family connections in Morocco, but asked several people about the journey before leaving to get information about the travel costs and the route (409). Kader, Oury, Moussa and Badou are the only persons of the sample who said that they had no contact in Morocco before arriving. However, Moussa and Badou had information resources, as mentioned above, and Oury travelled together with a friend (282). Kader, the only respondent without any personal links to Morocco, describes his arrival in Morocco:

*I didn't know anyone. I came here only with a bag like this, with my money. I didn't know anyone. I arrived in Casablanca. I went to the Senegalese market, there I met some Senegalese. I told them about my problems [...]. Somebody accommodated me for two months. (181)*⁶³

Even without any family links and previous knowledge, Kader immediately got in touch with the Senegalese community and obtained support. Kader's experience shows that besides many family connections, there is a strong group identity and mutual support of the Senegalese living in Morocco. Therefore, a migrant does not even need an individual migration network to get access to these collective diaspora structures. Sometimes, it is even the Moroccans that facilitate the contact between the migrant and the diaspora, as Badou's story illustrates:

*When I got out the airport, I took a taxi to Rabat. Once arrived, well, the taxi driver, he said to me: I will take you to some place, where you maybe will find some Senegalese. And when I dropped out there, well. I met some Senegalese. We discussed, we arrived at home, that's it. (275)*⁶⁴

⁶² "Viens, on va travailler. Tu vas travailler avec moi. On travaille ensemble. Ca vaut mieux que tu restes au Sénégal." (Tabara, 188)

⁶³ "je connaissais personne. Je suis venu ici juste avec un sac comme ça, avec mon argent. Je ne connaissais personne. Je suis arrivé à Casablanca. Je suis parti dans le marché des Sénégalais, j'ai vu des Sénégalais là-bas. Je lui ai dit mes problèmes [...]. Quelqu'un m'a hébergé là-bas pendant deux mois." (Kader, 181)

⁶⁴ "Quand je suis descendu à l'aéroport, j'ai pris un taxi jusqu'à Rabat. Une fois arrivé, bon, le taxi m'a, il m'a dit: je vais t'amener quelque part, là où peut-être tu pourras trouver des Sénégalais. Et quand je suis parti là-bas, bon. J'ai rencontré aux Sénégalais. On a discuté, on est arrivé à la maison, saïé [arabe, my own addition]." (Badou, 275)

In the sample, the most important functions of the migration network are to inspire the future migrant and, in agreement with network theory in chapter 2.1.2, to lower the costs and risks of migration by providing information before migration and contacts at the destination. Sékou says: *"I also knew what was expecting me here in Morocco" (193)*⁶⁵. The respondents are well aware of network dynamics and its perpetuating character. Ismail said that his hometown Louga is known as *"the capital of migrants" (217)*⁶⁶ in Senegal. When asked, why, he explained that there are so many migrants leaving Louga, and imagining that *"me too, I go to Europe. I will do my best to bring my sister along, or my little brothers."* (233)⁶⁷. That way, migration dynamics continue.

4.3.2 The 'culture of migration'

All respondents said that at their place of origin, migration is a very common act.⁶⁸ Ismail explains: *"[I]n our quarters, in Louga, our region, there is no house who has no migrants. Even all the houses there. There is, if you enter a house, you will find three overseas, in Europe, or four."* (217)⁶⁹. Sékou (167), Oury (330) and Moussa (206) use exactly the same image of 'at least one migrant in each household' when describing migration behaviour at their places of origin, even though they come from very different places. For the respondents, (international) migration is a common behaviour for (young) people. In the sample, there is evidence of the "culture of migration" that has been identified by Cherti and Grant (2013, 20; cf. chapter 2.3.1). International migration is a well-established behaviour and a common lifestyle. Hence, the decision to leave is nothing extraordinary. The manifold examples of other migrants who left before (whether they are relatives or acquaintances) spread the idea of migration. Tabara, Ismail, Sékou, Mansour, Néné, Badou, Kader and Oury had family members who had gone abroad (permanently or temporarily) before they themselves decided to leave. Oury's father even took his family to the Central African Republic for some years when Oury was a child (120), and went to the US later (330). The high number of migrants might even trigger a feeling of being the one left behind and therefore push people to migrate as well. Awa says, the majority of her female friends have left their home Dakar (116). She, as an unmarried woman, felt lonely and left behind:

⁶⁵ *"Je savais aussi ce qui m'attendait ici au Maroc."* (Sékou, 193)

⁶⁶ *"la capitale des étrangers"* (Ismail, 217)

⁶⁷ *"moi aussi, je pars en Europe. Je vais faire de mon meilleur pour amener ma soeur, ou ma, ou mes petits frères."* (Ismail, 233)

⁶⁸ However, not so many migrants choose Morocco (Ablaye, 432; Sékou, 171). People rather go to other African countries (Egypt, Cameroun, Côte d'Ivoire (Ablaye, 434), Europe (Switzerland, France (Awa, 120), Spain (Mansour, 166), Italy (Ismail, 219)) and the US (Sékou, 171), but the majority is in Europe (Sékou, 171).

⁶⁹ *"à notre quartier, à Louga, notre région, il n'y a pas une maison qui n'a pas de, des étrangers [des personnes qui sont à l'étranger]. Même toutes les maisons qui sont là-bas. Il y a, si tu rentres dans une maison, tu vas trouver à l'étranger, en Europe, ou quatre."* (Ismail, 217)

Sometimes, I told myself, with the, my friends in France. The majority, there are some who are married, there are some who went to Europe, all that. So, you feel lonely there. It's not easy to stay. I told myself, why not leaving. This is it, to change a bit. (154)⁷⁰

When she had the opportunity she decided to leave too and go to Morocco.

4.3.3 Family pressure and expectations

For Tabara, Awa, and Sékou's migration decision, family members came up with the idea of migration to Morocco or even decided on their migration. Sékou's mother suggested that he should go to Morocco and join his cousin after Sékou had lost his job in Senegal (139). Sékou himself has not thought about going to Morocco. Sékou says, *"I couldn't reject her. Seriously, I didn't even dare."* (139)⁷¹. It was also Awa's aunt, knowing Morocco from commuting, who had the idea that Awa could leave (48). Awa had never considered this option (96). Tabara's migration decision is the extreme case of all respondents, as her family decided about her migration against her will. She tells:

Even the first day, for applying for my passport. I didn't go. It was my brother who took my papers. It was my brother, my brother who went to the police for applying. But not me. (324)⁷²

These three people of the sample had not considered migration to Morocco as an option. The impulse for migration came from the family and their migration decision-making was a heteronomous process.

In contrast to these examples of direct family intervention in decision-making, some of the interview partners felt subtler pressure from their families. This especially concerns the position of the oldest son who is expected to take the responsibility for his parents when they grow old, and of other family members if there is need. Sékou explains:

Since I am the eldest of my family. And where I'm from, you know, our, the Senegalese culture, if you are the eldest of your family, it's normal that you do something. That you contribute a plus for your family. You know, do you. This, we, we grew up like this. (31)⁷³

When he lost his employment, he felt unable to fulfil the expectations linked with that role. This was the moment when he decided to leave, because migration gave him the opportunity to actively strive for success. Sending remittances is a possibility to meet the

⁷⁰ *"Parfois moi, je me suis dit, avec les, mes amis dans la France. La meilleure part, il y en a qui sont mariée, il y en a qui sont parties en Europe, tout ça là. Donc, tu te sens seule là-bas. C'est pas facile de rester. Je me suis dit pourquoi pas de sortir. C'est ça, de changer un peu."* (Awa, 154)

⁷¹ *"Je pouvais pas la refuser. Franchement, je n'ose même pas."* (Sékou, 139)

⁷² *"Même le premier jour, pour aller déposer mon passeport. Je ne pas partais. C'est mon frère qui a pris mes papiers. C'est mon frère, mon frère qui est parti à la police pour déposer. Mais pas moi."* (Tabara, 324)

⁷³ *"Alors que je suis l'aîné de ma famille. Et chez nous, tu vois, notre, la culture Sénégalaise, si tu es l'aîné de ta famille, c'est normal que tu, que tu fasse quelque chose. Que tu apportes un plus pour ton famille. Tu vois, non. Ca, nous, on est cultivé comme ça."* (Sékou, 31)

family's expectations, as Willems confirms with her empirical results (2014, 321). Furthermore, Sékou states that even if he is not successful, already the attempt is better than staying at home unemployed (139). Ablaye, too, is the eldest son of his parents. After the death of his father, he felt the pressure to take care of his mother and his younger brother and sister (484). This is why he quit his studies in Fez and went to Marrakech where he earns enough to send remittances. Kader, on the other hand, explains that he is not responsible for financing his family, because *"I am also not the eldest of our family. I have older brothers, I have sisters. And they are older."* (33)⁷⁴. In some cases, it is not a question of age, but each child is (more or less) free to choose their role (Oury, 334). Oury, despite being the middle one of three brothers, was the one of his family who left, first for Dakar, and later going abroad (398). His older brother chose to stay at home and work in agriculture (340). Independently from the birth order, once in the role of the money-earning migrant, Oury feels the high expectations to financially succeed and send remittances to the family (398).

4.3.4 Prestige

As Willems (2014, 321) shows (see chapter 2.3.1), migration is prestigious and successful migrants are honoured members of the society. The successful migrant is a role model for young people, as it is a way to become a respected adult. Sending remittances and therefore supporting the family comes along with prestige within the family and the broader social environment. Prestige is directly linked with financial wealth, as a person who possesses a large amount of financial means has always a good reputation.

Moving up the family hierarchy

The interview partners often refer to the image of the successful migrant who is able to financially support their family in Senegal. A migrant might even become the exclusive breadwinner:

Because, if you are going there, you can look after the family. Satisfy the needs of the father, all that he wants. You know. There are some people, who, if their big brothers or their big sisters go to Europe, they do not even work. (Ismail, 239)⁷⁵

The position of the family breadwinner is extremely prestigious and the migrant moves up in the family hierarchy. The migrant changes his or her position within the family from being dependent on the family to being the family's provider. The interview partners highly honour migrants who successfully enter Europe and provide their family with

⁷⁴ *"je suis pas aussi l'ainé de notre famille. J'ai des grands frères, j'ai des soeurs. Et ils sont aisés."* (Kader, 33)

⁷⁵ *"Parce que si tu pars là-bas, tu peux, tu peux gérer la famille. De satisfaire les besoins de père, ce qu'il veut. Tu vois. Il y a des gens qui ne, si leurs grandes frères ou leurs grands soeurs partent en Europe, ils ne travaillent même pas."* (Ismail, 239)

money (Kader, 199). Being the breadwinner is one possibility to move up the family hierarchy and gain prestige. The other possibility is to start a family of their own and therefore become autonomous and independent from relatives. Oury's motivation shows this second option. In Senegal, he has frequently been working for relatives, e.g. he was selling goods for his aunt and working in his cousin's bar (230/220). His migration to Morocco is motivated by the desire for financial independence: *"I didn't want to depend on someone"* (Oury 236)⁷⁶. Only at this point he will be able to bear the financial responsibility to marry and start his own family:

*[T]o have a wife, first, you need to have money. For taking the responsibility. Because I am a man. Well, I don't depend on my wife. I, my wife has to depend on me [...]. I will have children. I have to pay for the children, the school for the children. [...] You should never be dependent. Voilà. This is why, until now, I am not married. (376ff.)*⁷⁷

At the same time, as seen in chapter 4.2.2, Oury has the strong desire to support his family financially and even dedicates his migration to his family (*"I'm doing all this for you."* (398)⁷⁸). From a theoretical viewpoint, this is an interesting combination of the New Economics of Labor Migration approach that focuses on the household income, and an ambition for individual wealth that directs towards Korzeniewicz's theory of social mobility and advancement through migration. As Willems writes (2014, 311f.), migration seems to be a way to combine individual aspirations with social commitments. In any case, financial success is linked with a prestigious position within the family. Migration is thus a 'rite of passage' to become an adult, honoured member of the family (cf. De Haas 2014a, 17; Willems 2014, 321).

Social reputation

Several of the interview partners have expressed the attitude that one has to succeed and accomplish something in life (Moussa, 102; Mansour, 88). This desire is not related with family needs or the position within the family, but rather a strategy to enlarge social reputation. Migration is, thus, a possibility to gain prestige not only within the family structure, but also in a broader social context. Moussa mentions migrants who returned wealthy to his home village, bought cars and started their own businesses (198). Therefore, migration is a strategy to quickly climb up the social ladder. This thinking corresponds with Korzeniewicz's hypothesis of migration as a strategy for social mobility (chapter 2.1.2). The example of Kader shows how important social reputation is. Kader decided to return to Senegal, but he cannot do so before he has not earned *"an enormous*

⁷⁶ *"Je voulais pas dépendre de quelqu'un."* (Oury, 236)

⁷⁷ *"pour avoir une femme, d'abord, il faut, il faut d'avoir des sous. Pour prendre la responsabilité. Parce que je suis un homme. Bon, je dépends pas de ma femme. Moi, ma femme doit dépendre de moi. [...] J'aurai des enfants. Je dois payer pour les enfants, l'école des enfants. [...] Il faut jamais dépendre. Voilà. C'est pour ça que jusqu'à présent, je suis pas marié."* (Oury, 376ff.)

⁷⁸ *"je fais tout ça pour vous."* (Oury, 398)

sum" (20)⁷⁹, because he cannot "return to Senegal empty handed" (*ibid.*)⁸⁰. He feels the pressure to succeed even though his family is not depending on his money (33). Returning unsuccessfully to Senegal would mean failing and therefore disregard.

The respondents use the symbol of the quest to describe their attempt to change their situation and gain prestige through migration. Almost identical, they said they came to Morocco to "seek my future" (Oury, 236)⁸¹, "seek my life" (Mansour, 164)⁸², "seek my good luck" (Sékou, 31; Ablaye, 486)⁸³, or "seek the fortune" (Kader, 235)⁸⁴. Moussa refers to the same subject. According to him, every person is responsible for finding a good, secure position, and has to continue the search until they found it:

*This depends of the courage and the will of everyone. Because I, if I say, I'm leaving Senegal, I want to go to the quest for something. Once here in Morocco, if I find this, so, now I say: I have found what I was looking for. So, now, what should I do to return at home. And him, who has recently left and arrives here. He also, he came for the quest for something. If he doesn't find it here, he says, now, I will find a solution for leaving Morocco, go to another place. (122)*⁸⁵

Therefore, migration to Morocco is an attempt to manipulate one's own luck and destiny.

At this point, we have to take a closer look at the age range of the respondents. All the interview partners are between 27 and 33 years old, with the exception of three women in their early 40s (Néné, Awa, Khoudia), even if I did not consider the age as a selection criterion. This concentration is no hazard. It is the age when all the respondents have completed their education and gained some years of professional experience. There are two reasons why the interview partners left exactly at this point of their lives: Firstly, most of the respondents are not married and have no children (except Néné, Khoudia and Moussa). Hence, the respondents are not bound in Senegal and have few social obligations. A few years later, some of them might start a family and leaving gets more difficult. Therefore, the late twenties simply seem to be the right phase of life to leave and try something new. The second reason is about prestige gaining. Some interview partners clearly expressed that migration is an attempt to establish oneself in both the family and in a broader social structure. Oury wants to earn a lot of money to finance a marriage and start a family (374). Ablaye is already engaged and will marry when he returns to Senegal (458). Hence, even if the interview partners have been working for some years in Senegal,

⁷⁹ "une somme colossale" (Kader, 20)

⁸⁰ "rentrer bredouille au Sénégal" (Kader, 20)

⁸¹ "chercher mon avenir" (Oury, 236)

⁸² "chercher ma vie" (Mansour, 164)

⁸³ "chercher ma chance" (Sékou, 31), "chercher le bonheur" (Ablaye, 486)

⁸⁴ "chercher la fortune" (Kader, 235)

⁸⁵ "Ca dépend le courage et la volonté de tout un, chacun. Parce que si moi, je dis, je quitte au Sénégal, je veux aller à la recherche de quelque chose. Une fois ici au Maroc, quand je trouve ça, donc je dis maintenant: Ce que j'ai cherché je l'ai trouvé. Donc maintenant qu'est-ce que je devais faire pour retourner chez moi. Et lui qui vient de quitter fraîchement et vient ici. Lui aussi, il est venu à la recherche de quelque chose. S'il ne trouve pas ici, il dit que maintenant je vais trouver une solution pour quitter au Maroc, aller dans un autre endroit." (Moussa, 122)

they obviously have not reached the position they aimed for within these years. With their decision to migrate, they chose – after these unsuccessful efforts - the high-risk strategy to improve or at least change their situation and move to a more prestigious position.

4.3.5 Curiosity and learning

Curiosity is an important stimulus for the interview partners' migration decision. Some people leave Senegal for the first time when they travel to Morocco: *"Well, because I also wanted to leave. I wanted to see elsewhere and I wanted to know what's happening elsewhere. Because this is the first time I leave."* (Badou, 209)⁸⁶. Other respondents have been travelling to some African countries (Mansour, Awa, Tabara, Oury), but not to North Africa or non-African countries. Furthermore, many of the interview partners addressed the subject of learning during the interviews. As said before, for Badou, this seems to be a central topic: He came to Morocco because he thought he could do some professional training here (239). The other respondent who explicitly mentioned education opportunities as reason for migrating to Morocco is Ablaye, who went to Fez to continue his studies of the Quran. According to him, education diploma obtained in Egypt or Morocco are more valuable than those obtained in Senegal (324). For Badou, besides formal education the experience of travelling and living in a foreign country is already part of his learning process: *"for me, travelling, it's also very important. What you learn at home. You leave and you watch it elsewhere. Thus, this is a school too. I can say, I am at a great school now."* (211)⁸⁷. Also for other respondents, learning processes are an important side effect of their migration experience, even if it is not the central reason for their decision. They are eager to get to know other ways of living: *"Yes, I thought about it, I said: ah, well, I have to move a bit, to know the other mentalities too, how the people, how they work also in other countries."* (Néné, 160)⁸⁸. For Oury, it is important to learn from others to be able to live a better life, and he especially wants to learn from Europeans:

*I, as I come from Africa, I know all the African cultures. I wanted not only Africa. I want to go to the North. [...] Since I have the African culture. I want to know the European culture. That's it. For making greater headway. But if you know only the African culture, ah, well, you are not. You have to know the European culture for a better life. (364)*⁸⁹

⁸⁶ "Bon, parce que je voulais quitter. Je voulais voir ailleurs, et je voulais savoir qu'est-ce qui se passe ailleurs. Parce que c'est la première fois que je sors." (Badou, 209)

⁸⁷ "pour moi, voyager c'est très important aussi. Ce qu'on apprend dans la maison. On sort et on le voit ailleurs. Donc, c'est l'école aussi. Je peux dire je suis dans une grande école maintenant." (Badou, 211)

⁸⁸ "Oui, j'ai réfléchi, j'ai dit: ah bien, il faut que je bouge un peu, aussi pour connaître les autres mentalités, comment les gens, ils marchent aussi dans les autres pays." (Néné, 160)

⁸⁹ "moi, je, comme je viens de l'Afrique, je connais toutes les cultures d'Afrique. Je voulais pas que l'Afrique. Je veux aller à nord. [...] Comme moi, j'ai la culture des Africains. Je veux connaître la culture des Européens. C'est ça. Pour

Moussa also has the desire to learn from other people. However, it is his wish to share his experiences and learning process with his relatives back home who never had the chance to travel and see other places. He describes how his parents and grandparents boil water for tea in a clay pot on the fire. When he returns at his home now, he tells his mother and grandmother not to use the clay pot, but the teapot he brought, because “[t]his is how one prepares now. This is how one does this.” (216)⁹⁰. This topic of curiosity and learning very much resembles the category of the “adventurer” Cherti and Grant (2013, 20) identified in their own interview analysis. The “adventurer” decides to migrate not (only) out of financial or other pressure, but is eager to explore foreign countries. There is a crucial difference between learning as a reason of migration decision-making and the other reasons presented in this chapter: learning is a motive that focuses on individual profit and development. It is the migrants themselves who benefit from the consequences of their migration decision, without any further social interactions. All other reasons mentioned before cluster around social factors such as financial responsibility or external expectations, or the migrant’s reputation within a broader group.

4.3.6 Wrap up

Looking at the reasons influencing the migration decision of the interviewed Senegalese, it becomes evident that these reasons cluster on three different levels. The environmental, economic and social factors presented above show that for the Senegalese migrants, there are reasons affecting their decision to migrate to Morocco on the individual level, on the family level and on a broader social community level. As a wrap up of this chapter’s results so far, figure 06 below illustrates this arrangement. On the individual level, curiosity is a reason directly influencing the respondent’s decision to migrate. The financial situation works on both the family and the individual level whereas all family related reasons (family relationship, responsibility, expectations, pressure) of course influence the migration decision from the family level. Broader reasons such as role models and migrant networks influence the decision-making from a community level. They influence the individual migrant through social norms and exemplary behaviour. Two reasons are important on all three levels: gaining prestige through migration and information about the migration destination. Outside these three levels, there are structural elements such as environmental conditions, politics, economic or social factors influencing an individual’s migration decision. The collected data cannot identify these structural factors, as they do

mieux avancer. Mais quand tu connais seulement la culture des Africains, ah, bon, tu es pas. Il faut connaître la culture de Européens pour mieux vivre.” (Oury, 364)

⁹⁰ *“C’est ça maintenant qu’on prépare. C’est ça qu’on fait ceci.” (Moussa, 216)*

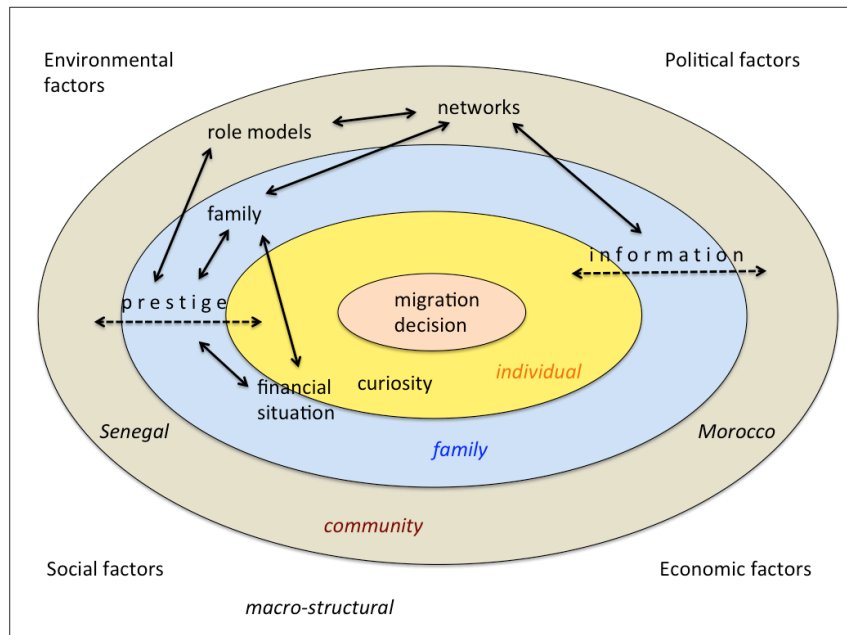


Figure 06: Factors influencing migration decision arranged by social unit. Own figure using elements from Black et al. 2011b, 5.

not appear in the interviews. However, as they certainly influence the circumstances of migration decision-making, these factors are added to the figure according to Black et al.'s model (2011b, 5). Some reasons are located at the place of origin, hence in Senegal (family, financial situation), whereas others are affecting the migration decision from the place of destination (e.g. migration networks or information available about the destination and migration course). Some reasons closely interact with others, as shown by the arrows in the figure. The family situation and familial responsibilities of the migrant are, for example, highly interdependent with their financial situation.

4.4 A Typology

Until now, the analysis of the interviews assembled and discussed the main reasons found in the data. To end this chapter, I will now present a hierarchy of categories (in figure 07 below) illustrating the most important reasons influencing migration decision-making. They mostly are social factors, as variability is highest within these. This categorisation is the basis for a typology of the main migrant types whose characteristics I will present in the second part of this chapter.

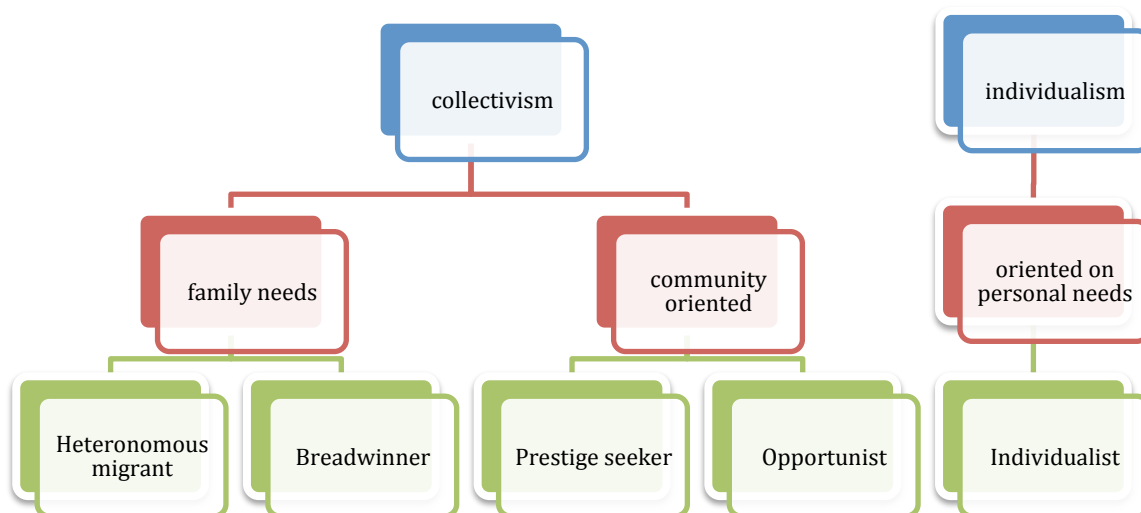



Figure 07: Categories according to the levels of distinction. Own figure.

There are three levels of distinction: the first big categorisation is the tendency towards collectivism or towards individualism of a person. A person belongs to one or the other category depending on their migration decision being either influenced by collective norms or needs, or influenced by individual desires. Within the collectivism category, one can distinguish between a family-oriented category, and community-oriented category according to the reference group. Members of the family-oriented category mainly consider family needs and the family's well-being for their decision-making. The family category is subdivided in a heteronomous and an autonomous type according to the way of decision-making. I will call these types the heteronomous migrant and the breadwinner. For the community-oriented category, the most important influences are examples from peer groups and considerations of social reputation. There are again two subcategories: the first type considers very much their social reputation and migration is a strategy to enhance their position within the community. This is why I call this type the prestige seeker. The second type is influenced by the example of their peer group and finds opportunity structures that offer migration at a low risk. These two factors are decisive for the migration decision of this type that I call the opportunist. Moving back to the top level of the hierarchy, there is, next to collectivism, the second category of individualism. As I only have one person of the sample in this category, the single type in this category is the individualist. Individualists consider only their personal needs, benefits and expectations for their migration decision.

Table 02 below provides an overview on the main characteristics of the five types I found in the interview data. These types differ in migration motivation, the things they strive for, the relation to the family and other aspects. They are: the heteronomous migrant, the

Table 02: Characteristics of the types. Own figure.

	Heteronomous migrant	Bread-winner	Prestige seeker	Opportunist	Individualist
Reference	Family		Community	Peer group	Himself/herself
Searching for	Income	Financial autonomy	Wealth	Income, adventure	Experience
Motivation	Support family	Support family/moving up family hierarchy	Social reputation	Opportunity	Education
Family relation	Strong		Weak		
Financial pressure	High			Low	
Mobility aspiration	Low	High	Low		High
Impulse	Heteronomous	Autonomous	Heteronomous	Autonomous	
Contact at destination	Yes	No		Yes	No
Interest	Others' interests 				Self-interests

breadwinner, the prestige seeker, the opportunist, and the individualist. Of course, these five types are ideal types and no real person matches every aspect of a type. Some people also show characteristics of different types. The following sections describe them in detail.

The heteronomous migrant is highly influenced by family members in their migration decision process. This type has not considered migration as an option themselves and might even not want to leave. As family needs are the most determining factor for migration decision, the heteronomous migrant is looking for a higher income to support their family. Tabara, Awa and Sékou are people fitting into this type, with Tabara as an extreme case whose family decided on her migration against her will. For Awa and Sékou, it was a family member who suggested migration when they were in personally difficult situations. Awa and Sékou had not considered migration before. But in this category, it is not only the family that may decide about migration. The heteronomous migrant might also leave due to financial necessity for the wellbeing of the family, but against their own desire. Khoudia and Néné are examples from the sample. They did not want to leave, but could not pay the living costs of their families. There is also the possibility that a migrant leaves due to the moral wellbeing of the family. For example, Sékou did not want that his unemployment would negatively influence the reputation of his family. The heteronomous

migrant usually has a personal contact at the destination, who provides information about the destination, accommodates the arriving migrant and thus lowers the migration risk. All women from the sample belong to this type of the heteronomous migrant. Therefore, despite some voices that notice the tendency of more and more women migrating independently (interview Yamta, 2; interview Lmadani, 108), for all the interviewed women, the family was directly influencing the migration decision.

The breadwinner decides autonomously about their migration, sometimes even against the will of other family members (as Oury did, 398). They have a strong feeling of responsibility for their family, especially a financial responsibility. Oury's statement *"I'm doing all this for you. I have to earn, I have to earn my living for you. I earn all that I can."* (398)⁹¹ sums up these people's attitude of migration as a family obligation. Migration is, furthermore, an attempt to become the household's breadwinner. Financial independence is very important for them, because they want to be able to provide economic security to their parents and their (future) children. By becoming the breadwinner of their family and/or starting their own family, the breadwinner moves up the family hierarchy and becomes a fully acknowledged and important member. The breadwinner migrates without having a contact at the destination. The obligation to take the financial responsibility for the family is stronger than the high risk of migration without direct contacts at the destination providing security. In the sample, Oury, Ablaye and Moussa correspond with this type. Interestingly, Oury, Ablaye and Moussa are also the only migrants coming from rural areas and an agricultural context. Hence, this type corresponds with the NELM approach of migration as diversification of the household income. The remittances of the breadwinner are insuring the family against crop variability and other environmental phenomena.

The prestige seeker feels the urge to be successful in their life, because they strive for a good social reputation at their community. Migration is the attempt to gain this reputation by earning a lot of money. They therefore cannot return home without wealth or other visible signs of success. However, it is not the family of the migrant that expects or depends on this wealth, but the single motivation for its acquisition is social reputation. Kader is the prototype for this type in the sample. He, after unsuccessfully trying to enter Europe, now has to earn a fortune before he can return home with his head up. Other respondents expressed the feeling that one has to succeed in life, too. Oury, Sékou, Mansour and Moussa all are ambitious to achieve a good social position and wealth. Success stories of other migrants encourage their migration decision. The prestige seeker does not necessarily have a direct contact at their destination. More often, there are loose

⁹¹ *"je fais tout ça pour vous. Je dois gagner, je dois gagner ma vie pour vous."* (Oury, 398)

connections through people from the same origin that provide some information, but are not especially useful accommodating the arriving migrant. The theoretical approach of Korzeniewicz explains this strategy of migration as an attempt for social mobility: as one can, on a global scale, immediately climb up the social ladder when earning money in a richer country, migration might be the easier way of social mobility than aiming for a higher position within the social structure of the home country.

The opportunist is very much influenced by examples from their peers. They have a family member who already settled at the destination. The idea to migrate might come from the already migrated family member or from the migrants themselves, but the opportunist takes the final decision autonomously. In any case migration is rather the result of the favourable circumstances and not a plan set in stone for this type. The migrant tests the opportunities with low commitment and a low risk. The opportunist is not financially responsible for their family, as older brothers and sisters ensure the family members' livelihood. If they successfully establish themselves at the destination and earn good money, they are happy. If it will not work out, the opportunist will return without loss of their face. Besides earning money, the opportunist is also curious about new experiences and adventures. Ismail and Mansour are the respondents fitting into this type. They both have older brothers who paved the way for them. There is also the possibility that someone starts the migration journey as opportunist, but becomes a prestige seeker during the stay abroad. A person might leave due to a favourable opportunity, but finds themselves under pressure to succeed after leaving. Obviously, migrant networks are crucial for the opportunist as the migration decision mainly depends on examples from others and on opportunity structures.

The individualist autonomously decides to leave without family constraints and social expectations influencing their decision-making process. For them, the central reason for migration is the will to educate themselves. Even though several people from the sample evoked the motive of learning (Oury, Néné, Moussa), it is the crucial impulse to leave for Badou. Curiosity to see other parts of the world and a sense of adventure further trigger the individualist's migration decision. As Badou is the only individualist in the sample, it is difficult to speculate why his reasons for migration differ so fundamentally from the rest. The fact that Badou has been working for the Peace Corps when he was younger might have some effects on his migration decision. Badou was permanently in contact with Americans who left their home country to explore the world. Another reason might be the financial background of his family. His father and mother work for civil services, and Badou does not bear any financial responsibilities as they earn enough. He even mentions that his family will support him in Morocco if he was in financial difficulties (291). This

kind of migration - aiming at an individual learning process and therefore personal improvement without financial commitments - resembles very much migration profiles of young people in contemporary Western Europe.

5 Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I will first present a summary and will then discuss the results considering current tendencies of migration research.

In the introduction, I presented the central question of this thesis, which is to identify the reasons that the interviewed Senegalese perceive as decisive factors for their migration to Morocco, and to analyse to what extent they refer to environmental changes influencing their migration decision process. Further, I described the Senegalese-Moroccan migration system as transnational migration system. In the 2nd chapter, I provided the theoretical background: starting with different levels of migration theory (macro-, micro-, meso-level), I presented some sociological approaches to migration focusing on the individual level that is of importance for the research design. The selected approaches presented in detail are neoclassical microeconomic theory and the New Economics of Labor Migration theory on the micro level, and migration networks and a global mobility approach on the meso-level. It is legitimate and necessary to combine these different approaches to analyse the interview data (De Haas 2014a, 14f.). I further presented the discourse on environmental migration tracing the development of the discussions over the last 20 years and introducing a framework by Black et al. (2011b, 5) that integrates environmental drivers as a macro-level factor into a model on migration decision-making. Ending this theoretical background, I provided the reader with information on out-migration of Senegal, in-migration to Morocco and the state of research on environmental migration within and from Senegal. In the 3rd chapter, I explained the research design of qualitative post-migration interviews with twelve Senegalese currently living in Morocco, the data collection procedure and the data analysis that is based on Grounded Theory. I also reflected on critical issues and limitations of the research with the most crucial points being the sample selection, explanatory power of the results and the topic of conducting interviews in a foreign language of both interviewer and respondent. The 4th chapter presented the results starting with the topic of environmental migration. I showed that the respondents do not perceive environmental change as a decisive factor for their migration decision because the sample mainly describes urban-urban migration of people whose families are active in the tertiary sector and thus are not directly depending on natural resources. Additionally, I illustrated the meaning of migration for the three respondents who stem from families living from agricultural resources in rural regions, and showed that for two of these three persons, migration is most likely a household adaptation strategy. However, their migration decision is not linked to a direct environmental event. I also discussed the limitations of the research design that only can collect data, which the respondents perceive as important, but fails to identify indirect events or causal chains.

After leaving the discussion on environmental migration, I turned towards the general reasons for migration. Data analysis of the interview material showed that the main reasons for migration decision can be classified into two broad categories: economic and social factors. The category of economic reasons plays a crucial role for all respondents. An important reason that certainly influences the migration decision process of the respondents is their financial situation and occupational status before migration. Examples of different financial situations from the sample are unemployment, insufficient income to sustain livelihood, or no stable income in the informal sector linked with the hope for a better, more stable income after migration. Further, since many of the interview partners bear financial responsibility for their families, as a second economic reason, migration is a strategy to fulfil these obligations. Most of the respondents either support their parents or children already with remittances or show a strong intention to do so in the future. Related to this point, the income differences between Senegal and Morocco is a factor that fosters migration. Several respondents, despite having an income in Senegal before migration, could not earn enough money to support their relatives and therefore decided to leave, hoping to earn more in Morocco. In the category of social factors, there are several reasons influencing the migration decision-making process of the respondents. A central element is the existing migration network of a person. Almost every respondent had a direct relative already settled in Morocco at the time of migration decision, which clearly facilitates the migration process due to lower migration costs and risks. Furthermore, migration is an extremely common behaviour at the place of origin of all respondents. The respondents are certainly influenced in their migration decision by the role models of their peers. A feeling of being left behind or not making enough of an effort might trigger migration. In some cases, the family took an active role in the migration decision process, either directly encouraging the interviewed person to migrate, or putting more subtle pressure on the migrant. The migrant in this case chooses migration as a strategy aiming for financial and social success to fulfil the family's expectations. Migration decision is closely linked with the attempt to enhance one's prestige. A migrant who can provide their family with remittances or even returns home wealthy has a good reputation within the family and in broader social groups. A more individual reason for migration decision that came up from the data is the migrant's curiosity and their desire to explore the world and to learn new things. I ended the data analysis identifying five migration types from the sample. The first type is the breadwinner who is eager to support their family financially and, as a side-effect, to move up within the family hierarchy with a highly autonomous migration ambition. The data reveals that this type strives for financial independence and bears a high degree of responsibility for their household back home. Referring to the question of environmental influences, it is interesting that the three

people with an agricultural background from the sample (and exclusively these three) belong to the type of the breadwinner. Thus, for the breadwinner type, migration might be a household adaptation strategy to cope with variable or erratic climatic conditions by diversifying the household income through the remittances sent by the breadwinner. The second type is the heteronomous migrant whose migration decision is highly influenced by family members or external circumstances and who mainly looks for financial resources in Morocco. All women from the sample belong to this type. The third type is the prestige seeker whose main motivation is financial success, too, but their goal is to earn a high reputation in their community of origin. Family needs are not a crucial factor for their decision, as their family is not depending on their earnings. The fourth type, the opportunist does not migrate due to financial or social pressure, but decides to try this option because it exists. For them, migration is a low risk strategy because their personal network facilitates them the settlement in Morocco. The fifth type is the individualist who decides to migrate independently of family needs and their main motivation is the desire to learn new things.

De Haas (2014a, 11/14) suggests combining different migration theories to describe different contexts of human movement. Considering the five types presented above, it becomes clear that these types emerging from the data material need different theoretical approaches (although it is not an exclusive one-to-one match; elements of some approaches might be important for all types). For analysing the breadwinner and the heteronomous migrant, the New Economics of Labor Migration theory seems appropriate. These types' main migration goal is to provide their households with financial resources, and the family played a decisive role in the migration decision process. Korzeniewicz and Moran's work on global inequality (2009) perfectly fits for the type of the prestige seeker who aims at climbing up the social ladder at the place of origin by earning money at the destination of their migration. Migration networks are crucial factors facilitating the migration of the opportunist; therefore an analysis focusing on these networks seems to be fruitful. This type has a contact person in Morocco, which significantly lowers the migration risks and costs and clearly influences their migration decision. Finally, the type of the individualist matches with the neoclassical migration theory as they decide about costs and benefits independently of family obligations. They mainly aim for individual profit focusing on human capital.

One finding from the sample contradicts previous empirical research on migration. As Black et al. show (2011b, 5), most migrants refer to economic reasons when asked about their migration decision in post-migration interrogations. The collected data confirms the importance of economic reasons, but for many of the interview partners, financial

resources are a mean to gain social prestige. Moving up the family hierarchy, gaining independence and social reputation are the motivations behind the superficial desire to earn more money. For most of the respondents, migration is a high-risk strategy to autonomously move up the social ladder and transfer from one's role of a dependent family member to that of the breadwinner. De Haas agrees that especially for young adults, migration might be a 'rite of passage':

Young people, in particular, exhibit a strong desire to leave home, at least temporarily, for a variety of reasons, ranging from the psychological need to separate from their parents, to prove their independence and coming-of-age. (2014a, 17f.)

For future research, I therefore suggest to further investigate this function of migration as a strategy to gain prestige or even become a fully-fledged society member at the place or origin.

The most striking result from data analysis, which, according to De Haas, is not sufficiently covered by current migration theory, is the fact that migration is not always an instrumental act to obtain a higher status or financial security, but in some cases migration is motivated by its intrinsic value (De Haas 2014a, 17). The individualistic type identified from the data corresponds with De Haas' estimation that people "may also value migration only for the sake of moving, out of wanderlust, curiosity and the desire to discover new horizons" (ibid.). In the interview data, however, not only people belonging to the individualists' type mention these topics of learning and discovery. Even people whose migration process is influenced mainly by financial needs or family interventions refer to this motive. Most respondents think that they benefit from migration and consider it as a chance for them to learn new things and thus develop their personality. I therefore suggest including this intrinsic value of migration and the importance of curiosity for future work on migration in this region. Especially when looking at migration behaviour in the so-called global South from a European perspective, migration research should not neglect this aspect of migration. Because, as De Haas says "[g]ap years' and working holidays are not necessarily a prerogative of privileged Western youth, but can also be seen as a modern manifestation of a more intrinsic or innate desire" (ibid., 18) of migration.

Coming back to the question of environmental influences on migration decision from Senegal to Morocco, the chosen explorative approach shows some indirect links of environmental factors and migration decision-making for the type of the breadwinner whose family lives from natural resources. It therefore seems to be fruitful for further researchers interested in the relation of environmental change and migration in this region to focus exclusively on persons with a livelihood basing on agricultural or other

natural resources. However, one has to remember that of all Senegalese I met in Morocco during the field phase (not only those I interviewed), only four people came from rural areas and were familiar with agriculture. The large majority of all Senegalese currently settled in Rabat are from Dakar, thus from an urban environment. Therefore, the validity of a research only selecting these few migrants from rural areas remains to be discussed. Research on environmental migration from Senegal to Morocco should further also consider environmental change in Morocco, as North Africa is highly affected by phenomena such as water stress, desertification etc. that tend to increase with advancing global warming (Niang et al. 2014, 11). Moreover, I suggest investigating potential environmental influences on migration with another research design and data sample than I chose for this thesis, e.g. a combination of qualitative interview data with quantitative longitudinal data on environmental phenomena and out-migration.

According to the results, it turned out that the environmental migration approach does not serve very well for a general analysis of migratory movements between Senegal and Morocco, as references to environmental change as influencing factor are quite limited in the sample. For future research on the journey from Senegal to Morocco, I therefore propose an approach focusing more on the role of the social context of migration since I found the most interesting aspects in the data covering this topic. Especially the role of the family and household in migration decision process seems worth further investigations. Regarding the theoretical background, I would emphasise the New Economics of Labor Migration approach, as this seems to be a suitable approach to analyse the specific case of Senegalese migration to Morocco (and back). Furthermore, it might be interesting to analyse these movements with the sustainable livelihoods approach (McDowell/De Haan 1997; Carney 1998; Ellis 1998) that I did not use for this master's thesis. Both, NELM and the sustainable livelihood approach consider "internal as well as international migration as part of a broader household livelihood strategy to diversify income and overcome development constraints in the place of origin" (De Haas 2010, 244). The second aspect worth to examine in future research is the relation of prestige and migration. Prestige seeking seems to me a central category to understand the migration motivations of the Senegalese currently living in Morocco. The entanglement of financial success and social reputation needs to be analysed in further detail. A final aspect that is certainly necessary but clearly goes beyond the scope of this master's thesis is to collect data not only with people in a post-migration phase in Morocco, but also with aspiring migrants in Senegal or persons who do not plan to migrate at all. This would deepen the knowledge about migration reasons of this specific, highly dynamic transnational migration route.

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8 Appendix

8.1 Interview guide

Est-ce que tu peux me décrire ton lieu d'origine ?

Comment était ta vie là-bas ? (Qu'est-ce que t'as fait pour vivre? (en terme de travail ?) De quoi vivait ta famille ?)

*S'il y a une référence à l'agriculture:*⁹² Qu'est-ce que tu as cultivé principalement? Est-ce que tu étais propriétaire de la terre ou elle était louée (appartenait à qqn d'autre)? Est-ce que tu as eu des animaux ? Lesquelles? Combien (ca.)? Est-ce que tu as eu toujours le même nombre d'animaux ou est-ce que ça a changé? Est-ce que vous avez cultivé à votre compte (vous étiez votre propre patron) ou pour quelqu'un d'autre dans une „grande“ ferme ? Quelle surface de terre vous avez cultivé (environ) ?

Pourquoi t'as quitté ton lieu d'origine ?

- *Raisons économiques: emploi, revenu*
- *Education/ formation*
- *Raisons personnelles: disputes/conflits/violence dans la famille/mariage, événements négatifs /expériences, exclusion/mésestime de la famille/amis, mort*
- *sécurité: conflits, menace*
- *raisons politiques: mécontentement, persécution*
- *changements de l'environnement*

Est-ce qu'il y avait d'autre raisons qui t'ont influencé?

Avant que tu sois parti, est-ce que ta condition de vie a changé ?

Je m'intéresse beaucoup à l'environnement. Est-ce que tu as remarqué des changements de la nature ? (par ex: Est-ce qu'il a plu plus ou moins comparé aux années précédentes ? Est-ce que la récolte était différente ? Est-ce que les saisons ont changés ?)

- *changements de l'environnement:*
 - *changements de la pluie/ des saisons*
 - *agriculture : récolte, entretien d'animaux*
 - *sécheresse*
 - *inondation*
 - *risques naturels (natural hazards ?!): tempêtes, pluies violentes*
 - *désertification*
 - *dégradation du sol*
 - *accès à l'eau/ au sol (accaparement des terres, land grab)/ à nourriture*
 - *santé: maladies, nourriture, qualité de l'eau*
 - *montée du niveau de la mer*
 - *incendies/ feux*
 - *déboisement*
 - *pollution*

⁹² Italicised words are notes for the interviewer and are not mentioned during the interview.

Est-ce que tu connais le terme « changement climatique »? Qu'est ce que ça signifie pour toi ? Est-ce que tu penses que le climat de ton lieu d'origine a changé ?

Avant de partir, est-ce que tu connaissais des gens qui ont déjà émigré de ton lieu d'origine au Maroc ? Est-ce que tu avais des contacts pour l'accueil au Maroc ? T'es venu seule ou avec un groupe (famille) ?

Est-ce tu peux me raconter comment t'as pris la décision d'émigrer ? (*par ex : est-ce que t'as décidé spontanément ou c'était prévu depuis longtemps ? T'as décidé seul ou avec quelqu'un ? (famille, amis)*)

Est-ce que tu as considéré des alternatives au Maroc (*par ex. de rester, une autre destination*) ?

Pourquoi tu es venu au Maroc en particulier ?

Comment ta famille (tes amis) a pris ta décision ? Comment ils ont réagi ?

Est-ce que c'est commun que des gens émigrent de ton lieu d'origine ? Est-ce que ça arrive souvent ?

Est-ce que tu pense que le fait que tu es un homme/une femme a facilité la migration ou l'a compliqué ?

Qu'est que tu espérais de la migration ? (attentes ?)

Est-ce que tu as encore de la famille dans ton lieu d'origine ? T'es encore en contact ? Est-ce que tu soutiens ta famille (financièrement ou d'une autre manière) ? Si financièrement : combien ?

Quels sont tes plans pour le futur ?

Est-ce que tu aimerais rester au Maroc, rentrer ou aller ailleurs ?

Données biographiques:

- Depuis quand t'es au Maroc?
- T'as quel âge ?
- Quel est ton lieu d'origine (région?, ville ou campagne?, combien de personnes habitent dans ton lieu d'origine?) - dessiner dans la carte!
- Sexe
- Marié-e ?/ enfants ? (situation familiale)
- Est-ce que tu as trouvé du travail au Maroc ? Quoi ?

8.2 Presentation of the respondents

8.2.1 Sékou

Sékou, 33, male, grew up in Guédiawaye in the periphery of Dakar. Guédiawaye is also called *cit  des enseignants* (teacher's town), and congruently, both his parents are teachers. His mother worked at a primary school, his father was also a teacher, then became headmaster and is retired now. S kou is the oldest son of the family and has one older sister and three younger brothers and sisters. Two siblings are working as teachers, too, and the youngest sister is studying. S kou did an apprenticeship in general mechanics and has worked for different enterprises. When he lost his job due to cutbacks, he could not find another one and stayed at home unemployed. For S kou, this was a hard time; he felt he was useless and a burden to his family. His mother suggested that he should go to Morocco and join his cousin who is living in Agadir, because it is apparently possible to make a living there. After spending some time in Agadir and working in the agricultural sector, S kou went to Rabat because a childhood friend, who lived there, told him that it is easier to earn money from petty trade than from agriculture. He is now selling mobile phones next to the market in Rabat. He has been living in Morocco for two years now. If he had a lot of money, he would return to Senegal or go elsewhere, but until today, he was unable to earn a lot. The interview took place at his home with two of his roommates joining us for some time, but otherwise without interruption. S kou has some interview experience as he was interviewed by a German two months earlier.

8.2.2 Mansour

Mansour, 27, male, is from Kolda, a town in the Casamance. His father worked for a cotton company and is retired today, his mother died in 2004. Mansour has younger siblings and two older brothers who both currently live in Spain. He left school against his father's will and did an apprenticeship as a car mechanic. Since this work was not well paid, he got his driving licence and worked as a lorry driver. That way he saw many regions of Senegal and the neighbouring countries Mali, Guinea, and Guinea-Bissau. One of his brothers in Spain promised Mansour to buy a lorry for him. When the brother put Mansour off again and again for two years, Mansour decided to leave and earn his own money in Spain. He first joined a neighbour and friend of his brother in Rabat who has been living there for five years. Later, he went to Tangier and tried to cross the sea several times without any success. Disappointed, he returned to Rabat and is now working in petty trade. He will continue to try to get to Europe. If this will not work, he considers returning to Senegal, though he could also imagine staying in Morocco if he finds a well-paid job. Altogether, he

has now been in Morocco for two years. The interview took place at a friend's house who introduced me to Mansour. No one else was present. We had some misunderstandings because of language issues during the interview.

8.2.3 Awa

The entire family of Awa, 42, female, lives in Dakar. Her mother worked as a secretary for the Ministry of Environment. Her father died when Awa was 26. She has five sisters; two of them are working as secretaries, three in petty trade. Awa studied until her father died, then she left university and worked as a typist. After four years, Awa - following the advice of her aunt - borrowed some money from her uncle and started working in petty trade. She travelled to Gambia to buy merchandise and sold it back in Dakar. This worked well, although some customers did not pay their debts. Also, Awa, as an unmarried woman, felt lonely in Dakar, since many of her female friends had left the city. Her aunt, who frequently travelled for commercial reasons between Morocco and Senegal, suggested that Awa could work in Morocco. An agency placed her with a diplomat's family in Casablanca, where Awa's task was mainly to serve at receptions. Her sister followed Awa and started to work as housekeeper for a family in Rabat. As Awa's work was hard, she left her job with the diplomat, moved to Rabat to join her sister and started petty trade in the streets of Rabat. Her sister returned to Senegal, however, as she had an accident and could not work any more. Awa has been living in Morocco now for two years. Hélène Yamta from the non-governmental organisation *Voix des femmes migrantes au Maroc* organised the interview with Awa. I agreed to pay Hélène 100 dirham (ca. 10 €) from which Hélène would buy a bag of rice and some oil for Awa as remuneration of the interview. I did not observe the transaction of goods between Hélène and Awa. The interview took place at the university campus with Hélène present.

8.2.4 Ismail

Ismail, 27, male, is from Louga, a town in the northern part of Senegal. His father works as a driver. Ismail's older sister lives in Italy with her husband, his older brother lives in Spain, and three younger brothers are studying. Ismail did an apprenticeship as welder and has worked for some years. Over the years, people preferred aluminium to steel, so Ismail's boss could not pay him anymore. Ismail quit his job and earned his money by buying vegetables from farmers and selling them at the market for one year. During that time, his brother asked him to join him in Morocco, from where he wanted to reach

Europe. Ismail saved some money and left his home. He has been in Morocco for two years now. Soon after he arrived, his brother successfully crossed the Sea and is in Spain now. Ismail worked as a welder first, but since one can gain more from petty trade, he sells mobile phones on the streets now. Ismail tried to cross the Sea several times too, but was discovered by the police. Now he plans a last attempt. If that one remains without success, he will return to his family in Senegal. I met Ismail on the streets of Rabat through a tip of another Senegalese and the help of a Moroccan friend. The interview took place in a café with the Moroccan friend sitting with us. Several times during the interview, Ismail could not express himself the way he wanted because of language issues.

8.2.5 Moussa

Moussa, 30, male, is from Diannah-ba, a village in the Casamance. He says he comes from a poor family. His parents are farmers, and additionally, his father teaches children about the Quran. His brothers (and some cousins) came to Europe via Morocco and now are living in Germany, Italy, Spain while some stayed in Morocco. One brother is living in Dakar. Moussa is married and has a daughter and a son, both living in Diannah-Ba.⁹³ Moussa worked together with his parents on the fields. He left his home because he wanted to earn money to develop their agricultural production further (like he has seen at other places) and therefore lighten the workload of his parents. Furthermore, he wants to secure his children's future so they are independent of others. He also stresses the fact that travelling is a form of education, to get to know other people and ways of living. He came to Morocco because he could pay the travel costs for this journey. He had no contact person in the country and he chose Rabat because he preferred to be in the capital. Now he works as day labourer at construction sites. He definitely wishes to return to Diannah-ba, but first he wants to earn a lot of money, in Morocco or elsewhere. His dream is to create employment opportunities for the younger generations in his village and therefore stop rural exodus. Moussa is a friend of Mansour who took me to Moussa's home. The interview took place on the rooftop of Moussa's home with ca. ten men sitting in a circle around Moussa and me, listening to our conversation and not saying a word during the whole 1.5 hours of the interview.

⁹³ Moussa did not talk much about neither his children nor his wife. He rather referred to his parents when talking about family responsibility. I did not enquire about the relationship with his wife.

8.2.6 Néné

Néné, 43, female, is from Diembéréng at the seaside of the Casamance. She has seven children, her husband died a while ago. Néné never went to school and therefore is illiterate. In Diembéréng, she bought prawns and crayfish from the fishermen and sold them to the hotels of the area. When the tourists stayed away from Casamance and hotels had to close down because of the re-emerging armed conflict in 2010, the income was not enough anymore to subsist Néné's family. Her younger children are still at school, so Néné has to pay their schooling fees. Therefore, Néné left Dimbéreng and joined her sister who has been living in Rabat for a long time. Her other sister takes care of the children back home. Another reason for Néné to choose Morocco is the traditional friendship between the two countries that exists for a long time. Néné has been living in Rabat now for four years. She returned once to Diembéréng to see her children, but came back to Rabat because she still does not see income opportunities in the tourism industry at home. In Rabat, she sells cloths and jewellery next to the market. Her oldest son is in Rabat with her. As she is not quite fluent in French, there were some misunderstandings during the interview. I got in touch with her through another Senegalese who introduced me to Néné. We carried out the interview during a calm period at the market with the recorder hidden in my bag, so that we would not attract so much public attention.

8.2.7 Khoudia

Khoudia, 47, female, lived in Diourbel in central Senegal until the age of 14. At this age, she left school against her father's will, joined her sister in Dakar, found a job as telephonist and stayed. Her father, after working in agriculture and in an enterprise, was a taxi driver. Khoudia met her future husband when she was working in a shop run by a Moroccan owner, and both continued to work there after getting married. Khoudia has three children that live with her husband in Dakar. When the living costs (that include rent, food, schooling costs, electricity costs, money for relatives) were higher than their income, her husband decided to send Khoudia to travel from Senegal to Morocco to buy and sell merchandise. Khoudia has two nieces who are living in Rabat, this is why she chose this destination. When she arrived in Rabat, her suitcase with her merchandise got stolen. So she was stuck in Morocco and had to work to re-earn the value of the goods. She has been living in Morocco for two years now. Together with her husband, she decided to stay in Rabat because income opportunities are better in Morocco than in Senegal. Khoudia would like to return to Senegal to see her children, and to continue travelling between the two countries with merchandise. I got in touch with her through a Senegalese who introduced

us. The interview took place at the market and was interrupted several times when friends of Khoudia arrived. Once, Khoudia left the place of the interview, but came back some minutes later. Khoudia said she had been interviewed a couple of times before, as she is at the market every day and there are many researchers working on the topic and interviewing migrants in Rabat.

8.2.8 Kader

Kader, 29, male, is from the town of Kaolack. His mother is a housewife and his father was working for the financial administration. He died a few years after his retirement. Kader has several siblings and half-brothers and sister, since his father had two wives. Some half-brothers are living in Europe. Kader left school at the age of 17 and went to Dakar looking for work. He bought and sold merchandise in Dakar and in smaller towns within Senegal. This way, he was earning good money and saved some for the journey to Europe. However, his brother got ill so Kader stopped working and had to take care of him for two years. With his savings spent on treatments, he chose to pass through Morocco instead of flying directly to Europe with a visa, as he had planned before. The idea of leaving Senegal was in his mind for a long time. Kader emphasises that it was not his half-brothers that gave him the idea to go to Europe. He had no contacts in Morocco when he arrived. Now, he has been living in Morocco for two years and has tried to cross the sea from Tangier several times, but found himself stuck in Morocco. When his money was gone, he went to Rabat to get the funds for another try. He was working in a depot for cement and concrete. When all his attempts to go to Europe failed, he disappointedly decided to go to Marrakech, earn a lot of money and return to Senegal. Kader stresses that he is not the oldest son and therefore is not obliged to send money back home, as his older brothers and sisters take care of his mother. Now he is selling watches in a pedestrian zone of Marrakech. A common Senegalese friend introduced me to Kader. We started the interview in a café but had to leave as they were closing. We continued on a bench at a square. The Senegalese friend was listening to the conversation.

8.2.9 Ablaye

Ablaye, 27, male, is from Taiba Niassène, a village in Kaolack famous for its religious history. His father was the head of a Quran school and students from the region came to learn from his father. To earn their livelihood, the students worked on his father's fields. Ablaye's father owned much ground and cattle. He was a rich man having a great

agricultural expertise and better crop than other people of the village. Ablaye was working together with his father teaching the Quran. When he finished school at his home, he went to Kaolack to get his baccalaureate. During Ablaye's last year in Kaolack, his father died. Ablaye wanted to continue his studies of the Islam. Therefore, he cultivated maize for one year on the land he had inherited from his father and sold the crops. With this money, he went to the University of Fez, where he studied for one year. In the meantime, there were family conflicts about the heritage of his father, since his father has had two wives. Ablaye's mother found herself, together with her children, separated from the rest of her family. Ablaye had to give up his studies to provide his mother and siblings with money, as he is the oldest son and felt responsible for them. He moved to Marrakech, because there are more income opportunities than in Fez, and started to work in petty trade. He has been living in Morocco for two years now. Ablaye's goal is to earn a lot of money to provide his younger brother and sister with a good education. He would like to return to Taiba Niassène, work in agriculture and continue the school of his father, because teaching the Quran is his true profession, not petty trade. He is engaged and will marry his fiancée when he returns. I met Ablaye through a common Senegalese friend. As Ablaye's French is limited, the friend translated my questions and Ablaye's answers when necessary. However, Ablaye's French was sufficient so he could answer most questions himself. The interview took place at Ablaye's home and was interrupted for a meal together with his roommates. The Senegalese friend was present during the interview and sometimes clarified contextual information for me.

8.2.10 Badou

Badou, who I estimate is around 28 (he did not want to reveal his age), male, comes from the town of Tambakounda. Badou's father and mother work in public administration in Tambakounda. Badou has older brothers. As a child and an adolescent, he spent much time in surrounding villages with his grandfather who is a herdsman. For higher education, he later went to Dakar, where another part of his family lives. From the age of twelve, Badou worked as a translator and later as an instructor for the Peace Corps in Tambakounda. Badou later did several trainings at the Peace Corps, and another one in Dakar to become a physical education instructor and one as a project coordinator. Before coming to Morocco, he was enrolled in an apprenticeship to become an electrician, but quit. One of his older brothers had been in Morocco before, but he was not here anymore when Badou arrived. In contrast to all other interviewed persons, Badou travelled by plane. He came to Morocco because he wanted to travel and gain more experiences, and he was also looking for further education possibilities. He has been living in Morocco for a bit

more than one year, coming directly to Rabat because it's the capital. He had no contacts before arriving. In Rabat, he did a training to become a pastry chef and worked in this profession for some months in Settat. Due to conflicts with his boss, he left for Marrakech. Now he is working in petty trade. He does not know how long he will stay, saying that he could return even tomorrow. For the moment, he makes enough money for a living, but he could even ask his family for money if he needed it. When he returns to Senegal, he would like to found a centre for environmental education in cooperation with a non-governmental organisation. I met Badou through a Senegalese friend who lives together with Badou. We did the interview at their home with some roommates sitting with us for some time of the interview.

8.2.11 Tabara

Tabara, 31, female, grew up in Bignona, a town in the Casamance, with her grandmother, a midwife. At the age of 13, during a vacation in Gambia, Tabara started to work as a nanny, much to the chagrin of her family. Tabara refused to return because she felt attached to the children and enjoyed the greater liberty in Gambia. In 2005, when her grandmother died, she returned to Dakar, where the rest of her family lives. There, she continued to work as a housekeeper for several families. Her sister, who has been living in Morocco together with her Senegalese husband and their children, asked Tabara to join her, because work is better paid in Morocco. Before that, Tabara had already thought of going to Mauritania, but did not realise her plans. However, she did not want to leave for Morocco. It was her brother who made sure she got a passport and her family convinced her to leave. She has been living in Morocco for two years now. She arrived in Casablanca and started to work in a restaurant, later she worked for a family in Mohamedia (where her sister lives now). Then Tabara got ill and had to stop working. Only recently she recovered so far that she could start to work again, this time with a family in Casablanca. She would like to return to Dakar because she misses her nieces and nephews. At the same time, she says that she has more liberty now in Morocco. Before in Dakar, she only went to work and returned home directly after work. Now she knows Casablanca a little bit. I got in touch with Tabara through a Senegalese working for a cultural association. We met in Casablanca and as Tabara did not know a quiet place in the area, we did the interview on a bench next to a major road, the recorder hidden in my bag. We had some misunderstandings because of language issues and this might also be the reason for Tabara's very short answers.

8.2.12 Oury

Oury, 31, male, is from Sinthiou Bamambé, a village in Matam, but spent his childhood in the Central African Republic with his family where his father was trading cloth. When he was ten years old, his parents left the Central African Republic and returned to their village of origin. Oury has one older and one younger brother. His father later went to the US, first working in trade and later in an enterprise. He returned to Sinthiou Bamambé after he injured his eyes in an accident. Agriculture is important in Sinthiou Bamambé. Oury's family owns land and his older brother is a farmer. Oury left middle school with 23 after obtaining the *Brevet de fin d'études moyennes* (Certificate of Intermediate Education). He then went to Dakar and earned money through different activities such as being a trader or as a tourist guide. He also worked for a while as barman in a bar owned by his French-Senegalese cousin in a tourist town called Saly. When his cousin went back to Europe to earn money for further investment in Senegal, Oury decided to leave as well. He wanted to gain his own money and be independent of others. He had tried to enter Europe before: in 2008, he had bought a visa and a flight ticket. But when he had to stop over in Casablanca, the police arrested him because he (unknowingly) had bought a falsified visa. This time, he came to Morocco overland. He did not have any contact in the country, but he travelled together with a friend from Cameroon. He has been living in Morocco now for 1.5 years, first in Casablanca working in a call centre, then in Rabat working in an internet café. Now he is working in petty trade, enjoying the greater liberty and self-responsibility. He has tried to cross the Sea from Tangier several times and his friend succeeded already. Oury will join him when he reaches Europe. In Europe, he wants to earn a lot of money to support his family for which he feels responsible (his father died when Oury was already in Morocco). He wants to return to Sinthiou Bamambé and raise a business together with his Cameroonian friend. I met Oury through a tip of Mansour who lived together with him in Rabat. We did the interview in the upper room of a café, with some students and a Moroccan woman sitting next to us.