

Onward Migration of African Europeans: Comparing Attitudes to Migration Motives

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Abstract

Studies on the mobility patterns of African refugees who fled to Europe have shown that especially Somalis tend to move onward from continental Europe to the UK. African migrants have long been moving to Sweden, known for its liberal migration and naturalization policies. However, these migrants are among the least integrated in Sweden, both socially and economically. This paper aims to increase our knowledge on onward migration, both in terms of migration attitudes and actual migration motives. We compare onward migration attitudes among African Swedes in Sweden with reported migration motives of those who migrated onward to Australia, and patterns of onward migration from Sweden. Results show that very few migrants have definite plans to move, but most are unhappy with their socioeconomic situation and feel discriminated, though being grateful for all Sweden offered them. Quantitative analyses show a massive recent increase in onward migration, especially among Somalis. Onward migrants are more often male, single and live under very poor economic circumstances in Sweden despite reasonable educational levels, before they move onwards, mostly to the UK. Onward migrations to Australia report to have moved in order to improve their livelihood prospects; furthermore they feel more accepted and fare much better in Australia.

Keywords: onward migration; international migration; integration; comparative research.

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1. Introduction

The mobility patterns of African refugees who have fled to Europe have gained interest among researchers in the last decade. Those gaining citizenship in a European country have been observed to have high mobility levels, mostly expressed in the considerable share choosing to migrate onward to English-speaking countries such as Canada, Australia and the UK, where many have relatives (Bratsberg et al, 2007; Lindley & Van Hear, 2007; Valentine et al., 2009). This relatively unexplored field has mostly been approached by qualitative methodologies, focusing predominantly on Somali migrants who leave the Netherlands and Denmark for the UK (Bang Nielsen, 2004; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Moret et al., 2006; Van Liempt, 2011a, 2011b; Van den Reek and Hussein, 2003; Zimmermann, 2009a, 2009b), while Hassanen (2013) focused on Sweden. Most studies indicate problems in the first country of asylum as main reasons for onward migration. However, although on the increase, this migration flow is still poorly understood.

In Sweden, migrants from the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia) have been seeking refuge and thereafter joining their families in Sweden since the late 1980s (SCB, 2010). At present, they make up half of all African migrants (SCB, 2004). As a group, they are diverse in terms of gender, class, history as well as culture and heritage. Yet, they not only share a common geographical origin but also a common religion. These migrants can be seen as one of the least integrated migrant groups into Swedish society. They have high unemployment levels, are overrepresented among jobs that are both low-skilled and low in status, have low levels of intermarriage with native Swedes, and live in strongly segregated areas (Andersson, 2007; Andersson and Scott, 2005; Rydgren, 2004; Wadensjö, 1997). Furthermore, they are young, have high fertility levels among the first generation, and have strong networks coupled with a high level of mobility (Bevelander and Dahlstedt, 2012; Westin and Hassanen, 2013). The onward migration direction is interesting because these migrants move from a country renowned as the epitome of welfare states.

In a qualitative study on the onward migration attitudes of African migrants in Sweden, Hassanen and Haandrikman (2013) found that many had relatives and acquaintances in Australia and knew fellow countrymen who had migrated there. To expand our view of onward migration among African Swedes, we compare migration attitudes to migration motives of those who actually migrated onwards; also as sample selection bias might occur when only those migrants are taken into account that stayed in Sweden. In addition, the qualitative studies are complemented with quantitative analyses of onward emigration records of all African Swedes registered in administrative databases over the last two decades, as we know so little of the actual onward migration patterns of African Swedes. In applying mixed methods to the study of onward migration, we hope to give a comprehensive and rich picture of the phenomenon.

In our aim to compare onward migration attitudes among first generation African Swedes with Swedish citizenship with reported migration motives of those African Europeans who have migrated onward to Australia and observed patterns of onward migration from Sweden, we are inspired by a

transnational perspective, examining how individual migrant's economic, socio-cultural and political sphere of action are widened well beyond the location of their physical presence. In addition, we are interested in the role of migration, social and family related policies in onward migration processes.

The paper aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes of migrants from the Horn of Africa towards onward migration, and how are these attitudes influenced by previous migration experiences, socio-economic status and perception of life in Sweden?
2. How do these onward migration attitudes relate to observed patterns on onward migration among African Swedes?
3. What are the migration motives of those African migrants who have migrated onwards from Sweden and other EU countries to Australia, and what is the role of previous migration experiences, socio-economic status and perceived policy difference between countries?

The research design is mostly qualitative in nature, consisting of in-depth interviews and participant observation the Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali communities in both countries, complemented with quantitative data on emigration propensities of African Swedes.

The scientific relevance of this study includes increasing our knowledge of the migration patterns, integration and the transnational experiences of a relatively under-studied group. While there are quite some studies on Somalis and a few on Ethiopians, the Eritrean community has been overlooked in the literature. Second, though the onward migration of European citizens of refugee backgrounds has increased over time, underlying mechanisms are still poorly understood.

2. Onward Migration: Mechanisms

Onward migration is usually defined as migration to third-country destinations, as opposed to return migration to countries of origin (e.g. Nekby, 2006), and is usually seen as a form of voluntary and unplanned migration between countries in the North (Kelly, 2013). Only in the last decade has onward migration received some attention in the literature, with studies largely being qualitative in nature.

Three possible mechanisms behind onward migration can be identified: pre-migration history, difficulties conditions in the country of first asylum, and policy factors. First, compared to voluntary migration, the migration motives for forced migrants tend to be different. Among others, events that occur during the flight might result in situations where refugees may not be in the place they want to be in (Havinga and Böcker, 1999; Moret et al., 2006; Van Liempt, 2011a). Also, circumstances in geographically proximate countries where many refugees end up first, leave much to be desired, as conditions are meant to be temporary (Moret et al., 2006; Zimmermann, 2009a). Thus, onward migration intentions might be increased for refugee migrants in countries of the North.

Second, once refugees reach safety, opportunities to establish themselves in the host society become more important (Westin and Hassanen, 2013). An increasing number of studies document that an important reason for displaced people to migrate onward is being faced with difficult circumstances

in countries of first asylum, especially in the social, economic and cultural context (Kelly, 2013; Lindley and Van Hear, 2007). Experiences of limited employment and education opportunities in continental Europe seems to lead Somalis to move to the UK (Moret et al., 2006; Van Liempt, 2011a; Van den Reek and Hussein, 2003). In addition, experiences of hostile attitudes, racism, and discrimination have been reported among Dutch and Danish Somalis (Bang Nielsen, 2004; Hassanen, 2013; Lindley and Van Hear, 2006; Moret et al., 2006, Van den Reek and Hussein, 2003). For Sweden, Edin et al. (2000) found that the least economically successful immigrants are more likely to emigrate, though the study included both return and onward migrants. Comparing onward migrants to immigrants who stay in Sweden, Nekby (2006) found that higher education increases the chance for onward migration. This is corroborating older studies, such as DaVanzo (1976), who suggested that onward migration, as opposed to return migration, is motivated by labour market factors. Iranian migrants who migrate onwards from Sweden for instance, are characterized by low income and low employment levels, combined with high educational levels (Kelly 2013). African migrants tend to have higher probabilities of leaving Sweden with increased duration of stay, which could be a signal for lack of integration into the Swedish labour market, according to Nekby (2006). The same study finds that onward migrants tend to have lower incomes than those migrants who stay in Sweden, partly as a majority of onward migrants is made up by Africans who have on average lower incomes than other ethnic groups. Lastly, onward migrants were more often highly skilled compared to return migrants (ibid.). Summarizing, onwards migrants tend to be higher educated migrants with low incomes, implying that these migrants cannot find jobs corroborating their merits in Sweden and therefore migrate onwards, in the expectation of higher earnings in third country destinations.

Third, differences between national migration, integration, social and family policies might influence onward migration intentions and actual moves. Sweden is known for its liberal migration and naturalisation policies, ranking fifth in the top-15 of receiving countries of asylum-seekers in 2011 (UNHCR, 2012). Acquiring refugee status and citizenship are important steps for refugee migrants to access social protection that was lacking previously. To become a Swedish citizen, a person must have had a permanent residence permit for a period of four years, and have no criminal record (Swedish Migration Board, 2014). Acquiring Swedish citizenship could be perceived as relatively easy compared to other European countries (Goodman, 2010). There are no requirements regarding language or civics and migrants do not have to take an oath of allegiance (Sainsbury, 2006). In 2001, the Nationality Law introduced dual citizenship (Sainsbury, 2006), thereby opening up new opportunities for migrants in Sweden. Acquiring Swedish citizenship implies free movement within the EU, and thus increased freedom to visit family members, and to expand one's horizon by considering job and educational opportunities across the EU. Especially for refugees, the EU passport is a lifeline for maintaining family relations across borders, secure in the knowledge that their rights will be protected (Hassanen, 2007).

Swedish migration policy can be seen as embedded in multiculturalist ideology, underlining ethnic diversity in society (Schierup, 2006). *Resident* migrants enjoy similar rights to natives in terms of welfare and public services. Sweden is often seen as an international model regarding its policies for incorporating immigrants (Schierup, 2006), with integration policy being part of wider welfare state policies. Refugees receive support via standardized government programmes to find housing and employment, and language training is provided for free by each municipality.

However, the Swedish model has been criticized for being ambiguous and for ignoring racial and ethnic differences (Ålund and Schierup, 1991; Hübinette and Andersson, 2012; Kelly, 2013; Pred, 1997). Sweden's multicultural policy and strong focus on equality for all inhabitants has led to a decreased attention for structural inequalities between different groups (Kelly, 2013). According to Pred (1997), racism is flourishing in "a country long stereotyped as a paradise of social enlightenment, as an international champion of social justice, solidarity and equality" (Pred, 1997: 385). Hübinette and Andersson (2012: 97) argue that Sweden is "imbued with official antiracism, with colour-blindness as the societal and cultural norm".

The number of migrants from Africa, Asia and the Middle East to Sweden has increased substantially since the 1980s. As opposed to earlier migrant groups, the new groups came from geographically and culturally distant societies, and were seen as different in comparison to Swedes, for instance regarding gender and class equality, and religion (Kelly, 2013). Kelly speculates that the ongoing distinction between Swedes and immigrants, both in political debates and in the popular discourse, has led to these migrants having difficulties of developing a sense of national belonging (*ibid.*). In her study on Iranians leaving Sweden for London, she found that Britain was perceived as more welcoming and open to ethnic difference; a multicultural place where it was easier to socialize. Iranians in general did not feel accepted by Swedish society and wanted to escape their unfavourable social situation.

Besides specific migration and integration policies, differences in social and family policies possibly influence onward migration attitudes, as suggested by Nekby (2006). Sweden has one of the world's most expansive social welfare programmes. Each individual has the right to support from the system if they cannot look after themselves, for instance in the case of illness, unemployment, raising children or retiring from work. The universalistic welfare state, with its generous social benefits, the parental leave system, inexpensive health care, subsidised and high quality childcare, child benefits, unemployment benefits, state pensions, equal opportunity employment laws, anti-discrimination laws, and policy initiatives designed to benefit disadvantaged people in society are highly praised. All legal residents, irrespective of citizenship and employment status, are entitled to social rights and income security, with an established minimum standard of living guaranteed by law (Klas and Åmark, 2001).

The use of these policies among a group that is disadvantaged in the labour market will be particularly interesting. Edin et al. (2000) in a study on emigration of immigrants found that immigrants who emigrate from Sweden were less likely to receive social assistance and also received

fewer benefits than those who stayed. Likewise, Kelly (2013) found that Iranian migrants who moved onwards from Sweden had received less state benefits than those who stayed. The transnational networks of these migrants might play a role in the knowledge of different national social and family policies, and the way they are discussed in the communities.

3. Transnational Networks

Migration policies, the enactment of laws, and upholding them are still the domain of the nation-state and its institutions, making the state a powerful actor in the lives of migrants. In turn, migrants navigate, challenge and transcend states, often through their transnational and social networking practices. To understand if and why onward migration from Sweden occurs, we must theorise our exploration beyond the policies and laws into the behaviour of the migrants as actors.

Transnationalism encapsulates the idea that (groups of) people, economic structures, states and societies are connected in a continuum beyond the nation-state (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Al-Ali and Koser, 2002; Vertovec and Cohen, 1999; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002). Thus, transnationalism and social networks are important concepts that shed light on the embeddedness of migrants and their families. The transnational perspective enables us to see the homeland and the host country as interlinked systems. The migrant network reflects a continuum of geographical settings, in a common system in the everyday life of migrant communities (Castles et al., 2014; Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Social networks provide information preceding emigration and emotional support, information on policies and assistance in finding employment on arrival (Castles et al., 2014; Hassanen, 2007). The access to information through the network does, however, not necessarily eliminate a degree of ignorance about conditions for migrants in specific countries in the North (Havinga and Böcker, 1999; Koser and Pinkerton, 2002). Not to mention the decision smugglers take, when dumping migrants whenever and wherever convenient to them (Hassanen, 2007; Koser and Pinkerton, 2002).

Yet, the impact of transnational networks can widen the individual's economic, socio-cultural and political sphere of action well beyond the location of their physical presence. Conceptualizing the migration experience within transnationalism and social networking envisages an analytical perspective not exclusive to the migrant's physical location. A grounded perspective must recognise migrants' conduct as the immersion in a cross-cutting web of multidirectional social relationships that it is. As Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) assert, social fields are a set of multiple and combined networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are irregularly exchanged, organized, and transformed.

To the significance of transnational social networks to the decision on onward migration should be added the historical and lived experience of migrants with a 'culture of migration' (Cohen and Sirkeci, 2011; Hahn and Klute, 2007). In the case of migrants from the African Horn, cognisance should thus be accorded to the importance of pastoralism and transhumance as livelihood in that region (Bang Nielsen, 2004; Kibreab, 1990). In more recent years, migration to the Gulf States for employment has

also become an established tradition, in addition to the older types of migrations for religious purposes.

4. Data and Methods

To understand the onward migration attitudes, migration motives as well as actual migration patterns among migrants from the Horn of Africa from Sweden to third country destinations, we employed mixed methods. Questions on the attitudes of migrants towards onward migration, and how these attitudes are influenced by previous migration experiences, their socio-economic situation and perception of life in Sweden were approached with qualitative research methods. In order to relate these migration attitudes to observed onward migration to third country destinations, the research design was complemented with quantitative analyses of emigration patterns. Employing a multi-method approach, we respond to the theoretical call of using different conceptual and analytical approaches (Axinn and Pearce, 2006; Creswell et al., 2006; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Qualitative study Sweden

For answering the first research question on onward migration attitudes, and how these are influenced by previous migration experiences, socio-economic status and perception of life in Sweden, qualitative methods were used. As we seek to understand and explain the social world and the everyday life of the individual migrants and migrant communities, observation, listening, discussing and reflecting on their experiences and their realities is an appropriate research method (Kvale, 2008; Sedman, 2006).

The qualitative research design consisted of in-depth interviews and participant observation, conducted in the period 2012-2013. The core material for this paper was based on interviews with 15 Somali, Eritrean and Ethiopian first generation migrants with a refugee background who acquired Swedish citizenship and lived in the greater Stockholm area, where the majority of these migrants reside. In addition, participant observation was carried out, including informal interviews in different settings. The diverse types of data collected were used as a corroborative technique to ascertain reliability of facts of migrant experiences. Interviews were held in settings of the respondents' choice, ranging from coffee shops and shopping malls to restaurants.

Seeking information from segregated and alienated communities can be challenging depending on the potential interviewee's perception of the researcher, either at a personal level or at a general one. Participant recruitment was done based on earlier contact of the second author in these communities, followed by snowball sampling. Being a refugee migrant from Eritrea herself enabled access to the migrant communities. Sharing some of the migrants' conditions, this positioning afforded a unique vantage point as an 'insider' looking in, making it easier reaching out to informants and earning their trust. Using linguistic and other cultural expressions, the researcher had a unique standing to perceive the underlying meanings of the respondents' value-loaded information. However, despite being an

insider, it was not problem-free when potential informants view the researcher as a privileged of their own, divorced from their more challenging lives. Even though most requests for interviews were accepted, occasionally barriers were encountered, such as suspicions about whether the researchers were acting in regard of the government. To ensure the maintenance of ethics, potential informants were informed about the purpose of the research, that it was not commissioned for any policy purposes by the state, that they had the right to withdraw at any point, and that their statements would only be used if they permitted them, and if so used, they would be anonymously cited. Direct questions on personal aspects were avoided as that was in concert with informants' wishes.

At the time of interviews, riots took place in the Stockholm suburbs that disrupted the city's usual peacefulness (Evans, 2013). The riots turned out to provide many opportunities for observation and spontaneous interview since many of residents of these suburbs, and some of the participants in the riots, were African Swedes. At times, observation and impromptu chats during the riots were followed by personal interviews. The study may have benefited from the riots, as many were not afraid to talk openly about how they felt about their life in Sweden.

For this study, 8 women and 7 men were interviewed, aged between 27 and 52 at time of interview, with an average age of 39. All respondents had migrated to Sweden as adults, in the period 1989-2001. Eight were from Somalia, six from Ethiopia and five from Ethiopia. The majority was employed at the time of interview, though most did not have jobs in accordance to their educational levels; some were unemployed, one was a full-time student and two were on parental leave. The informants were relatively well educated, with a majority having a university degree from developing countries. Twelve out of 15 respondents were married, while the others were either single or divorced.

Most interviews were audio-recorded and fully transcribed; while for others it was only possible to take notes. Interviews were conducted in the language of the informants, namely Arabic, Tigre, Blin or Swedish, and transcripts were later on translated into English. Recurring themes and critical issues were identified, after which categories were created from the data. Field notes from the participant observation and group discussions were organized systematically, and used to countercheck the information gathered from the individual interviews, which was extremely useful.

Quantitative study Sweden

Complementary quantitative analyses of register data were conducted to compare the onward migration attitudes from the qualitative study with actual patterns of onward migration of African Swedes, in order to address the second research question. As Lindley and Van Hear (2007) indicate, the viewpoints of those who do not move might be quite different from those who did move, and therefore should be included. We therefore designed the study in a way enabling the comparison of those African Swedes who stay in Sweden with those who leave the country.

The data used is the PLACE database, a full-population register data base that is managed at Uppsala University. All 51,950 individuals who at one point in the period 1990-2008 were registered

to live in Sweden and were born in Eritrea, Ethiopia or Somalia were identified. The database contains annual information on demographic and socio-economic status, geographical location and use of social benefits. Linkage between the different datasets is based on the anonymized unique social security number. For all migrants, their demographic attributes such as age and family type; socio-economic status such as educational level, employment status and income level, and use of benefits such as unemployment and social welfare benefits are available for every year a person is residing in Sweden.

Statistics Sweden defines an emigrant as a person who moves to another country for at least one year and has send the tax office a message on this event. This study uses register data so is dependent on the reporting of events. However, it is common knowledge that many emigrants do not report their emigration to the country they are leaving. The reporting of emigration may thus be underestimated to an unknown and perhaps substantial extent. If an emigration is not reported, Statistics Sweden will eventually find out if about it using several administrative procedures, thereby delaying the administrative reporting of events. As a result, the year of emigration may not always be correct. We therefore have to take into account information in years prior to emigration in order to have a full picture of the circumstances under which individuals emigrated.

In the study, onward migrants were defined as those emigrating to third country destinations that were not equal to Eritrea, Ethiopia or Somalia, as these were identified as return migrants. It is not uncommon for Horn of Africa migrants to migrate in and out of origin countries, Sweden and other countries. In this study, the definition of onward migrant was based on the last year of emigration and associated country of destination. The approach further consisted of several descriptive statistics comparing onward migrants with those who stay in Sweden.

Qualitative study Australia

The second research question on the migration motives of those African Europeans who migrated onwards to Australia was addressed by qualitative fieldwork in Melbourne, Australia in July-August 2013. Methods consisted of in-depth interviews in combination with participant observation. Through contacts in Sweden and Australia, local Somali, Ethiopian and Eritrean communities in the neighbourhoods of Flemington, North Melbourne and Carlton were contacted in order to reach possible respondents. 16 adult migrants with relatively recent migration experience from Sweden, Denmark, Germany or the Netherlands were interviewed on their migration motives and the role of their life experiences in Europe, family formation, labour market attachment and social policies therein. Participant observation was carried out in ethnic coffee shops, at a community centre and at the local library. The setup of the Australia study was very similar to the Sweden study with interviews done by the same researcher.

Of the respondents, six were Somalis; five were from Eritrea, and five from Ethiopia. Eight were female and eight male and informants were between the ages of 30 and 56 at time of interview. All

had fled to countries in the Middle East, Ethiopia, Kenya or Sudan, whereafter they had migrated to Europe. All respondents had obtained European citizenship and migrated onwards to Australia. Before they migrated to Australia, seven lived in Sweden, four in Denmark, and five in the Netherlands. In Australia, nine out of 16 informants owned their own businesses; six were employed – all on the level of their qualifications; while one person worked as a taxi driver while he had been a teacher in Sweden. Among the men, the average educational level was high with most having completed their education before coming to Europe. The educational levels of the female informants were somewhat lower. Interviews were conducted in Arabic, Tigre, Tigrinya and Blin for Ethiopian and Eritrean informants while interviews with Somalis were conducted in Arabic.

5. Results

The importance of transnational links

A common characteristic of all interviewees is that they left their areas of origin against their will because of war and internal conflict. All have lived in different developing countries as refugees, but due to the lack of protection in those countries they migrated to Europe. For all respondents, help from their social and transnational networks in Europe, USA, Canada and Australia was vital in this migration and possible onward migration to Australia, but also in coping with daily life. This applies to both those who stayed in Sweden and those who migrated onwards.

Close connections with relatives and other acquaintances are very common and part of everyday life. Different kinds of information are exchanged, ranging from information on local circumstances to financial support before arrival, and from help in finding accommodation and work, social issues, survival strategies and coaching to assistance in pursuing education after arrival.

The fieldwork in Australia showed that the social and transnational networks were the way through which onward migrants got to know about the possibility of migrating there with their European passport. Having a European nationality made life much easier, because as Europeans they could extend their stay until they could show they could support themselves. Networks functioned as the main mode through which onward migrants received information about life in Australia and through which they were helped to settle down there. Interviewees argued that adjustment was relatively easy because of the information and help from the networks.

From insecurity to a safe haven

The life stories of the informants are characterized by different types of exploitation, corruption and injustice in countries with insufficient social and economic protection, both in their countries of origin and the countries they fled to in Africa and the Middle East. They lacked guaranteed protection, access to education and employment, and protection from being discriminated. The main reason for these migrants to come to a country in the north was to find a safe haven; to have proper refugee status for themselves and their families. Teke is one of those migrants who moved to Sweden with his family:

“I was a company manager in an American company in Saudi Arabia. It was a well-paying job but the rights for immigrants were limited. Refugees cannot turn to an embassy if something happens. We lacked protection. The future of our children was in jeopardy. Me and my wife decided to migrate to Sweden because we prioritized our children’s future above everything we had” (Teke, 52-year-old man)

Before moving, some respondents had information about the Swedish democratic and humanitarian system and about the social policies in the country that protected its citizens, though some hardly knew anything about the country, such as Hanse below. But all informants felt fortunate with the prospect of living in a free and democratic state enabling them to have a dignified life instead of living in fear.

“All I knew was that it was a Christian country that follows God’s orders and implements human rights conventions. I had high hopes of education and a better life” (Hanse, 22-year-old man)

The opportunity to become citizens of European countries meant a life changing event for these migrants, who, in any country they had lived in before did not get the chance to acquire citizenship or to be naturalized the way they did in Sweden. Access to naturalization means a lot for people who have been forced to leave. A European passport means rights and responsibilities, freedom to live, work and travel without being judged and harassed as they had been before. This is how Sbina expresses her feelings:

“Being a Swedish citizen means that you are global, that you are respected and that you are protected” (Sbina, 48-year-old woman)

Pros and cons towards life in Europe

Life in Sweden and Europe was discussed widely among the informants in both settings. In general, both positive and negative attitudes occur, in Sweden as well as in Australia. Positive aspects centred mostly on the advantages of living in a democratic state, where human values are respected and one has freedom of expression. Migrants said to be forever grateful and loyal to Sweden for giving them security and social protection. Negative issues that prevailed were besides the cold climate; local language and culture proficiency, acceptance by the host society and the poor employment situation for non-western migrants, which are discussed below.

In their early days of migration, a lack of Swedish language skills restricted participation in the labour market and in the host society. For those who moved to Australia, language was no problem because they generally had good language proficiency, partly acquired before migration to Europe, while others had learnt English in Europe. Another issue the informants in Sweden brought up was the cultural shock and the norms and values that were different from theirs. Informants found it difficult to socially connect to Swedish people, were they neighbours or colleagues, which is in line with other studies reporting very limited contact between natives and immigrants in Sweden (Hassanen, 2013). Similar experiences were shared by informants in Australia, who had experienced life in Europe as

very individualistic. Many expressed their disappointment with being isolated from the majority society.

Informants in Sweden all had experienced negative attitudes of local people towards immigrants, and had experienced discrimination, racism and islamophobia. Many had been surprised by feelings of otherness and associated discrimination based on their cultural, ethnic and religious identities. After giving up everything in their home countries to live in a democratic country, and then to be discriminated due to their looks in Sweden was not something they ever imagined. It made many to feel excluded and never welcome by the host society. Following the attacks of 9/11, some informants described that they been treated as criminals; there were regular accounts of being stopped and searched by the police. After being naturalized, many were disappointed to still feel excluded from Swedish society and to feel isolated and lonely. These findings are in line with recent studies documenting incidents of xenophobia and racism towards non-western migrants (Hübinette et al., 2014) and migrants suffering from ethnic discrimination based on their skin colour and background (Westin, 2006). Contrasting to the way they were treated in Europe, Africans in Australia argued that in their new country, they felt accepted as members of society the day they arrived, regardless of gender and country of residence in Europe. They felt more at home and secure compared to the Africans in Sweden. As an African Swede who migrated to Australia said:

“In Europe, people do not accept migrants as part of their country, no matter how long people reside there and no matter what kind of status people have” (Est, 36-year old woman)

The informants in Australia argued that they had acquired experiences and knowledge on how things work in western countries work, so settling in Australia had not made them feel as unfamiliar as they had in Europe. Their life experiences in Europe contributed to a better interaction with the majority society and the labour market in Australia. Besides language and cultural knowledge, their social networks also helped them to adapt better in Australia.

The poor employment situation among African Swedes is well documented. Although many informants in Sweden were employed, most of them did not have jobs corresponding with their educational qualifications and skills. Many said to have settled for any job available to them in order to avoid unemployment. The informants linked the limited employment opportunities to the Swedish society not embracing migrants as they do natives.

Informants worked as cleaners, bus drivers, ticket sellers or in the care for elderly. However, none of the informants enjoyed the jobs they had. Employment was seen as hugely important for their identity – it gives them dignity. Through their transnational networks, migrants are very aware of better livelihood prospects elsewhere, as is the case for Rajab:

“My siblings who reside in Australia and in North America and the UK all have better jobs than me here. I thought obtaining Swedish citizenship would be a turning point. However, my life seems to have stopped instead of progressed. My life in Sweden is “sweet sour”.” (Rajab, 27-year old man)

The informants in Sweden see access to education for their children as a major achievement of their move to Sweden and as a key to their children's future success. However, all worry about the future. Most migrants argue that their children do not have a bright future ahead in Sweden, as their employment opportunities are limited, due to being African and not being accepted by the overwhelming Swedish society. Especially sons of first generation migrants are not motivated to complete a good education as they lack role models. Kemal expresses his feelings in the following way:

“How can one show his son that this is a fair and good country when the father is treated negatively and does not have a job that corresponds to his merits? I am an electrical engineer working as a bus driver. I told my son to get an education and he said to me: “why would I get educated to something I will never use?” (Kemal, 38-year old male)

Compared to the informants in Sweden, those in Australia are involved in different kinds of jobs; some had jobs that do not match their qualifications but they were jobs they said they benefited from, and others do have work by qualification. Worries about the second generation were not mentioned whatsoever in Australia. African Europeans in Australia seem to fare much better compared to Africans in Sweden. They all own their own houses and some have their own businesses; many work by their qualifications. None regretted the decision to migrate to Australia, and none thought about ever going back to live in Europe, although they keep on visiting friends and family there. The following informants sum up their perception about the differences between Sweden and Australia:

“In Europe I never dreamed of having property or nice house or have the desire to live; now I am one of the people who own houses and have my own restaurant. Here my restaurant serves African food and most of my clients are not Africans but white people and other ethnic people who happen to be of non-African origin. In Sweden I owned a restaurant and my clients were only my countrymen” (Reb, 34-year old woman).

Attitudes and knowledge about migration and social policies

The informants in both settings expressed great appreciation for the social protection offered by Sweden. Migrants mostly mentioned social benefits, maternal leave, free childcare, free health care, unemployment benefits and free democratic venues. The way Sweden protects its nationals through generous policies providing care from birth to death was something mentioned mostly by fathers, while mothers showed their appreciation for benefits for children and families, and the way that in Sweden, women can be independent. The following excerpt shows how an Eritrean mother thinks about the Swedish welfare state.

“Our relatives in Italy do not have the kind of benefits we have here in Sweden. Their children do not get what our children get here. To us, Sweden is the country where we want to raise our children. We will never need any kind of social support beside what is provided to us by the system. For this reason, we are very grateful to Sweden” (Hon, 35-year-old woman)

Many migrants feel very privileged to live in a country where “the state pays parents for raising children”. The fact that all children, from day-care centres to secondary schools, are served food at schools is much valued. Similarly, the way children and adults have access to education in Sweden was mentioned often, usually compared to much worse situations in countries such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Some migrants appreciate Sweden’s family policies to such an extent that they do not intend to leave the country because of it, such as this Ethiopian mother:

“For someone who wants to have children, Sweden is the right place, which is why I will never leave Sweden. Although my husband has a different opinion, I have always believed that Sweden is the best country when it comes to all the service human beings need” (Esher, 36-year-old woman).

The fact that all residents are protected and their income is secured when they fall ill or become unemployed was mentioned by many informants. Some stress that this is one of the reasons why they think very positively about the country and that it is one of the reasons why they will never leave. However, the knowledge on specific social policies among migrants seemed to be mixed and not very precise. All knowledge on procedures and rules is obtained through networks and not via the social insurance agency for instance. Knowledge is concentrated on earnings-related income, such as parental leave benefits being related to previous earnings, as Alem reports:

“Before I gave birth to my two children I had tried to get a job, because I knew from my relatives that if the salary one gets if employed prior to giving birth is good, it will be enough to cover the daily and motherly expenses. To have a job is not only good for this purpose but is also good in case of unemployment at a later date. In case of a membership with the unemployment union, one would also receive unemployment benefits” (Alem, 43-year old woman).

Although Sweden has adopted a multicultural policy, many informants experienced different kinds of exclusion and racism, felt that Swedish society is not open and positive towards immigrants even though national policies protect minority groups from being treated differently. Informants emphasized their appreciation for the government policies in Sweden, but felt that the local population does not embrace these policies, which makes life difficult for them. Many contrast this with African government policies which may be restrictive and discriminatory, but at least the locals embrace new arrivals as their brothers and sisters. Regarding broader migration policies, informants in Australia had negative attitudes on the way people in Europe think about multiculturalism. Some even thought the migration policies in Europe made migrants move onward to Australia.

Onward migration attitudes and motives

We have established that African Swedes felt fortunate to live in a country that gives them security and social protection. On the other hand, most informants in Sweden questioned the welcoming strategies of the native population, felt isolated and excluded from the majority society, all experienced difficulties on the labour market, and none of the migrants worked by qualification, all

said to suffer from discrimination and racism, and most do not see a bright future for their children in Sweden. On top of this, their EU passport enabled them to move onwards, plus they have the networks to help them to find out better places to live and to get help in practical matters when moving.

However, does this mean that all African Swedes want to leave Sweden? Saana explains the odds are against staying:

“Our children master the local culture and language and all went to school here, and still they do not have access to work. What does this tell you? No matter how much we want to stay in Sweden, the odds are against us staying. It is not up to us thus, we have to look for other places such as the UK, where opportunities are better than here.” (Saana, 48 year-old woman)

However, not a single informant that we interviewed in Sweden indicated that they wanted to leave the country in the near future. However, none denied it would be an option either. All of the first generation migrants we interviewed were uncertain what the future would bring them in Sweden, especially with regard to their children. Many named providing a bright future for their children as a main motive why they had moved to Sweden in the first place. As a solution, some send their children abroad to study in English-speaking countries, such as Teke:

“When my children said to me that they want to study abroad I advised them to choose English speaking countries. Now my children are studying in USA, Canada and England. I want them to do that because these countries are known to us, they are multicultural societies, and they will have better future in those countries than in Sweden (Teke, 52-year-old man)

Survival strategies exist not only of moving onward to places where better livelihoods may be ahead, but also of coping with difficulties in the current place and try to make the best of it. Through knowledge coming from transnational networks, migrants realize how fortunate they are to live in such a well-functioning welfare state. And maybe, one day, some will move onward to fulfil their dreams. In any case, migrants said to be very loyal to Sweden, to never be willing to give up their Swedish nationality and some indicated that because of this loyalty, they would never leave the country.

The migration motives distilled from the interviews in Australia revealed that the issues migrants in Sweden were dissatisfied with were also the main ingredients of their migration motives. Better livelihood opportunities made most migrants move onward, usually connected to some kind of family reunion. Though thankful for all that Europe gave them, as humans they needed to “extend their needs and desires” and have a better life. Informants in Australia were very happy with their move, and none had plans of returning to either Europe or their countries of origin. Even so, all indicated not to be willing to give up their European citizenship.

Patterns of onward migration and selectivity of onward migrants

Analyses of register data on all those born in the Horn of Africa and living in Sweden at some point during the period 1990-2008 (N=51,950) shows their dynamic and varying immigration patterns.

Figure 1 shows that there have been two main waves of Horn of Africa migrants to Sweden: the first concentrated in the period from the middle of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s, with the majority of Somali migrants coming a few years later than Ethiopians and Eritreans. The second wave that started in the second part of the 2000s is more substantial in numbers, and is ongoing at present. The annual number of Somalis immigrating to Sweden has by far outnumbered the other two groups, arriving at about 30,000 Somali born persons in 2008 or about 57 percent of all migrants from the Horn of Africa. Ethiopian and Eritrean migration to Sweden has a much longer history, with the first Ethiopians and Eritreans arriving in the 1970s.

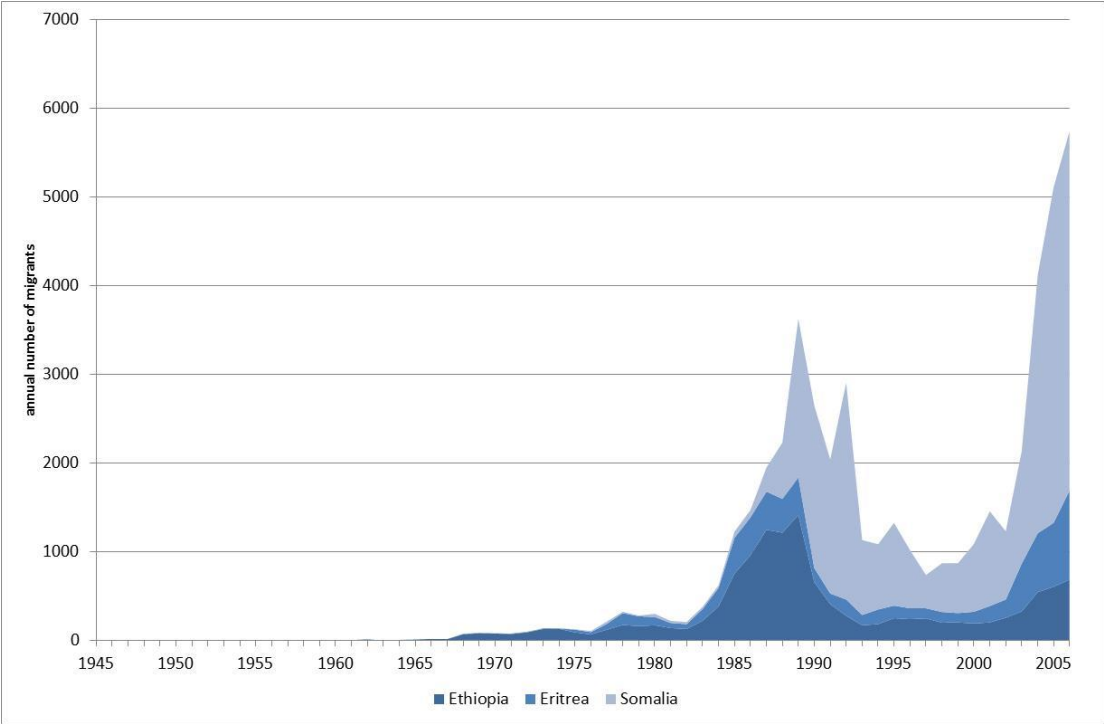


Figure 1. Immigration of Horn of Africa migrants to Sweden by country of origin¹

Source: Swedish register data, first author’s calculations.

¹Based on last reported year of immigration to Sweden.

In the period 1990-2008, 14.3 percent of Horn of Africa migrants emigrated from Sweden. Of these 7,424 migrants, the major part, 82 percent, are onward migrants, while 18 percent returned to their countries of origin. Figure 2 shows that the extent of onward migration has substantially increased over time, and especially so in the last five years. From less than 100 migrants per year in the beginning of the 1990s, annual onward migration doubled at the end of the decade, before ending up to 600-700 each year a decade later. In the period 2006-2008, annual numbers have however decreased. The distribution of migrants by country of origin is about proportional to those present in Sweden; Somalis make up the majority of both immigrants and onward migrants.

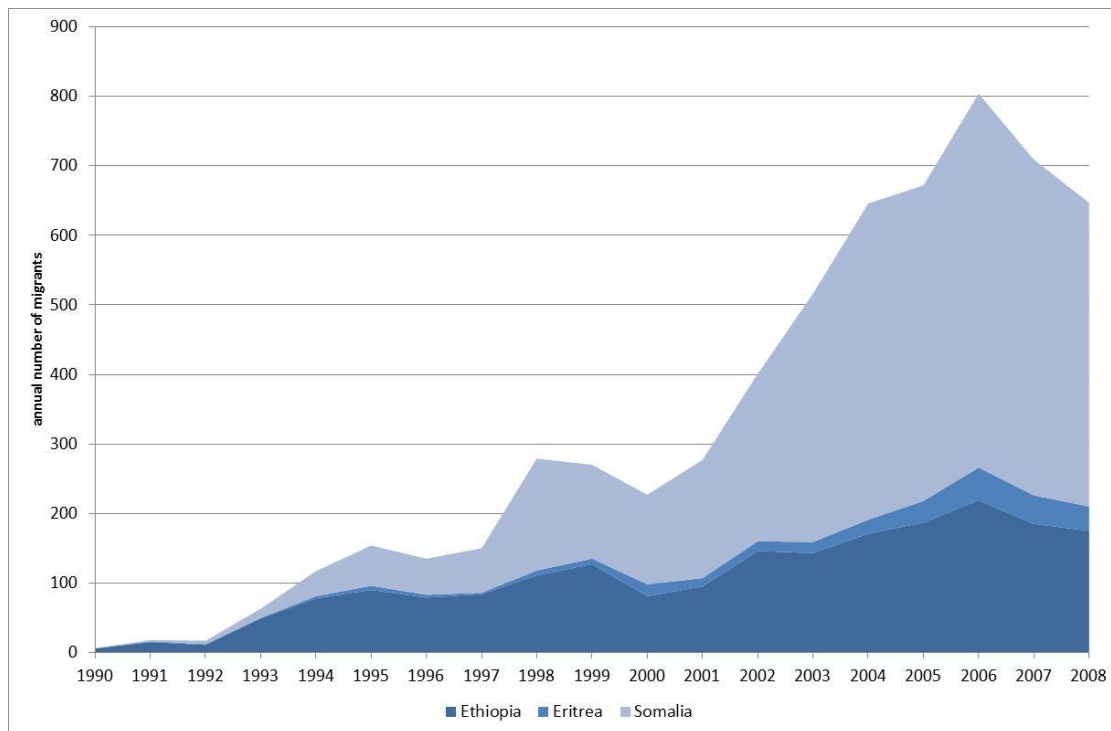


Figure 2. Onward migration among migrants from the Horn of Africa by country of origin, 1990-2008
Source: Swedish register data, first author's calculations.

The destinations of onward migrants have changed over time, as shown in figure 3. Whereas moves to the UK were non-existent in the 1990s, they became the major onward migration destination in the last decade. Another substantial increase occurred in emigrations with unknown destinations. It is likely that many of the latter migrated to English-speaking countries such as the UK, USA, Canada and Australia as is common among these migrants. The number of migrants who reported a move to Australia is very low and this migration does not seem to be increasing over time, which is unexpected. But as stated, the reporting of emigration tends to be underestimated so actual emigration numbers might be much higher.

Whether onward migrants are a selective group in other aspects is answered by comparing descriptive statistics on their demographic characteristics, socio-economic status, and use of social benefits, as compared to return migrants and those African migrants who remain in Sweden (table 1). Based on these statistics, duration of residence does not seem to play a big role; onward migrants have resided in Sweden as long as those who did not move. An average period of 11 years before onward migration seems to be in line with the view that lack of integration in the host society after a substantial period of time may lead to onward migration (Nekby, 2006), but still the majority of African Swedes stays while a minority migrates onwards.

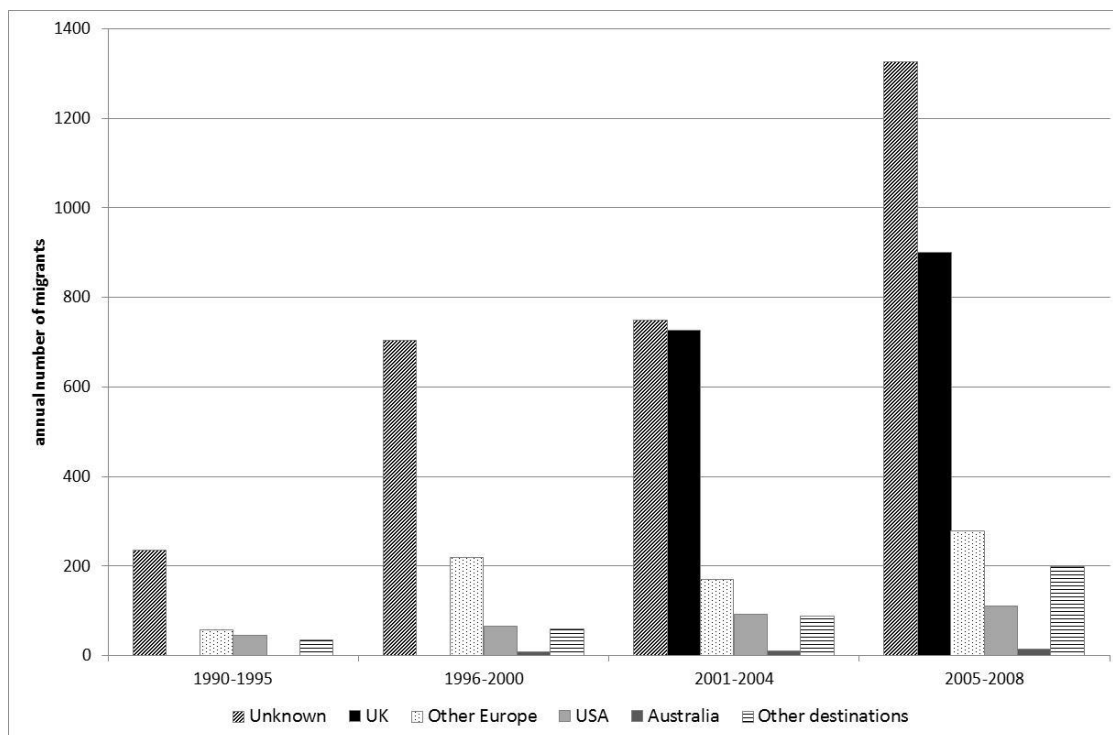


Figure 3. Onward migration by destination country and period of emigration

Source: Swedish register data, first author's calculations.

Onward migrants were a few years older, both at immigration and emigration, than those who stayed. Men are more likely to be onward migrants. Regarding family position, we see quite clear differences between onward migrants and stayers. Onward migrations were much more often singles and were less likely to live with a partner in Sweden, signalling less local ties.

In terms of socio-economic status, findings from other studies can largely be confirmed: compared to those who do not move, onward migrants are more often in very poor labour market positions, but are higher educated – but not as high educated as Iranians moving from Sweden (Kelly, 2013). Moreover, this is substantiating our qualitative studies.

Onward migrants from the Horn of Africa are much less likely to receive social benefits than those who stay in Sweden, also supporting previous findings on onward migration from Sweden. Onward migrants are slightly more likely to have received unemployment benefits, although the differences with stayers are not substantial. It is interesting that as high a share of 83 percent had no income when they emigrated, but at the same time did not receive much state benefits.

Table 1. Characteristics of onward migrants and stayers¹

	Onward migrants	Stayers
Average duration in Sweden in years	10.7	10.8
Mean age at last immigration	26.1	24.8
Mean age at last emigration	33.9	31.9
% Women	43.8	49.0
Family position at immigration, %		
Single	49.0	35.0
with parents	6.4	6.4
with partner ²	22.4	27.4
single parent	5.6	6.6
missing family position	16.6	24.6
Family position at emigration, %		
Single	54.0	33.8
with parents	10.5	7.6
with partner ²	19.4	31.4
single parent	12.2	12.0
missing family position ³	3.9	15.2
Employment status: share unemployed at emigration ³	92.2	54.5
Educational level at emigration, % ⁴		
primary education	31.5	36.7
secondary education	49.7	43.3
tertiary education	18.7	20.0
Mean annual income at emigration, % ⁴⁵		
No income	83.0	44.5
<100,000 SEK	11.5	15.7
100,000-250,000 SEK	4.3	21.3
>250,000 SEK	1.2	18.5
Share receiving social benefits at emigration	21.6	35.9
Share receiving unemployment benefits at emigration	8.5	5.8
N	6,108	44,526

Source: Swedish register data, first author's calculations.

¹data at immigration was measured one year after immigration; data at emigration was measured one year prior to emigration, both in order to prevent substantial numbers of missing values; data for stayers was measured in 2008.

²measured as a married partner or a cohabitation partner with whom one has common children.

³those with missing family position are largely recent migrants.

⁴for those aged 22-65 at emigration or in 2008 for stayers.

⁵annual work and business related income measured in kronor.

6. Conclusions

This study has examined onward migration attitudes and actual migration patterns among African Swedes as well as migration motives of African Europeans. The overall picture of the situation of African Swedes is that many have ambivalent feelings towards life in Sweden. On the one hand, they are very thankful for having reached security and a safe haven, after experiences with injustice and insufficient social and economic protection. The many benefits the Swedish universalistic welfare states offers, such as free education and health care, receiving benefits in situations where one is unemployed, on parental leave or otherwise unable to obtain an income, are much appreciated.

However, on the other side of the coin, life in Sweden has been very hard. Many are dissatisfied with their life. Their poor employment situation, characterized by high shares of unemployment, and employment unmatched with qualifications makes them feel undignified and excluded from mainstream society (in line with for instance Omar, 2013). These feelings are reinforced due to experiences of racism and discrimination and the overall impression of being unwelcome in Swedish society. Many feel that although Sweden has generous humanitarian migration policies and very generous social and family policies, the local population does not embrace these.

Based on statistics on onward migration patterns, we have established that onward migration is on the increase, and especially so in the last part of the 2000s. The increase is mostly attributed to an increase of Somalis migrating to English-speaking countries, a trend which was also found in other studies among Somalis (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007) and Iranians (Kelly, 2013). The UK is an emergent destination, confirmed in both the quantitative and the qualitative study. The UK is by many considered as a migration option, as many have relatives and friends there, as a place where their children can enjoy the English education system, where society is perceived to be truly multicultural, and whereto they now can travel easily.

Those who migrated onwards to Australia indicated similar motivations for onward migration as those indicated by informants in Sweden. In Europe, they felt that their merits and cultural background were not valued as they wanted to. They had not been able to find jobs that fitted their competences and skills. Many said to have suffered from different types of alienation and discrimination due to their cultural and religious background. Despite experiencing many difficulties, all still think that life in Europe provided them with useful experience and life training that made them to become who they are today in Australia. Many indicated that they learnt to be independent in Europe, and to work hard in order to have a better life. Moreover, they also mentioned that their life in Europe and the opportunities they got there, apart from the experiences of discrimination and segregation, taught them to know how they can face and challenge difficulties. In contrast to their previous situation in Europe, most migrants are doing very well, owning houses and businesses and more often than in Europe have jobs that correspond to their qualifications. In Australia, they feel more part of society and more accepted than they did in Europe.

A closer look at the survival strategies of the migrants in both settings show that most made some kind of trade-offs to adjust themselves to their new situation. The informants who stayed in Sweden had to scale down on their career visions and wishes and settle for jobs that they were too highly qualified for, in order to secure income and avoid unemployment. The coping mechanism is to survive and keep some dignity, leading to psychological challenging as many always keep in mind what one were once dreaming of, besides the financial and time investment in one's education. But notwithstanding their difficult situation in Sweden, very few had definite plans to move onwards, though future onward migration was always seen as an option. A search for a better life may mean to stay put or to move onward. Social and economic wellbeing influences the attitude towards the host

country, and how the society thinks about newcomers and how multiculturalism is practised are issues that migrants take into account when thinking about the future, but we found no direct relation to onward migration attitudes. To link policies to outcomes is difficult and not self-evident, as it is hard to isolate causal effects from social, family and migration policies on outcomes (Duvander and Ferrarini, 2013). In this paper we have contextualized onward migration attitudes of migrants in two different countries, in order to understand the different ways policies might affect individual and social behaviour.

Refugee studies have indicated that forced migrants tend to be creative and adapt easily to life under difficult circumstances. Forced migrants do whatever it takes to survive and overcome losses, by breaking loose from old lifestyles and starting to live by adjusting themselves in the new situation (Hassanen, 2007). The need for re-organisation becomes necessary and urgent, and backing up each other through networks and accepting whatever migration offers is part of the norm.

The study has established that the value of acquiring dual citizenship is immense for these forced migrants. Whereas a Swedish passport can offer a new understanding of the world, dual citizenship affords bearers the expansion of democratic rights and practices, and allows migrants to dream dreams of more extensive mobility (Hassanen, 2013). In addition, social and transnational networks provide information whereupon migrants may act.

The practices of being discriminated on the basis of cultural and religious grounds might however also exist in optional destination countries. Several studies show that Africans in Australia experience discrimination and racism in the Australian labour market for instance (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2007). The United Kingdom may be a more multicultural society, where ethnic groups have better opportunities to open own businesses with a guaranteed (ethnic) market, that does not been racism or xenophobia do not exist.

What this study also shows is that these migrants' needs are not properly addressed in Sweden. Integration is not a one-way process, but requires input from both the migrant and the host society (Castles et al., 2002; Phillips, 2010). Integration policies might work on paper, but the local population also needs to be actively involved in welcoming newcomers and socializing with established migrants. If certain migrant groups increasingly leave Sweden to settle in other countries because of inadequate integration, policy makers may need to revise their plans, also considering the increase of the number of similar groups of migrants. Moreover, if out-migration is selective – in this case as those performing worst in the labour market leave – a distorted picture may appear, obscuring the fact that groups may improve their socio-economic position over time while in fact there is no improvement for individual migrants (Bratsberg et al., 2007).

In a later stage of this research, we hope to include migrants who moved onward to the UK as well. It is also planned to expand the quantitative analyses by adding more recent data and by following cohorts of migrants over time and examining the risk of onward migration by individual

characteristics. Finally, future studies may focus on future plans of the second generation of these transnational migrants.

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