Living Apart Together Across Borders: A Comparative Analysis of African Migration

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Short abstract: This paper studies "living apart together across borders" (LATAB) couples, i.e. couples who were (or still are) physically separated because of international migration. It focuses on sub-Saharan migration into Europe and provides a comparison of three different migrant groups (Congolese, Ghanaian and Senegalese migrants). Its objective is to study the process of couple reunification (timing and factors) through an even-history approach. Analyses are based on the data of the MAFE project (Migration between Africa and Europe) that collected retrospective life histories both in origin (DR Congo, Ghana, Senegal) and destination countries (Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, The Netherlands, UK). The results show that living apart together across borders is a durable living arrangement for African migrants. The paper discusses the hypothesis that couple reunification is a triple selection process in which governments, the migrants and their relatives interact.

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Introduction

Over the last two decades, European rules regarding family reunification have become increasingly restrictive. In the 1990s especially, most countries adopted new laws to curb the number of new migrants entering on family grounds and also to select applicants for family reunification more explicitly (Kraler, Kofman et al. 2011). A document of the European Migration Network, published in 2012 and entitled "Misuse of the Right to Family Reunification", is illustrative of policy makers' wariness of family reunification, which is commonly seen as an overused channel of entry. (European Migration Network 2012). The view that speedy family reunification is the universal goal of all migrants is pervasive in Europe. Among other factors, this situation is anchored in biased measures of family reunification. Many data sources (especially those of an administrative nature) suffer from their "methodological nationalism" (Bauböck and Faist 2010). They detail the number of reunified families in destination countries and they compare these families with non-migrant families or migrants who are reunified with other migrants, but lacking information on the relatives who stayed at origin (the so-called "left behinds"), they fail to measure the extent of reunification compared with families who remain separate. They are also ill-suited for studies on the factors of reunification because they cannot be used to compare those who reunified with those who did not.

The MAFE project[2] was designed to overcome these shortcomings and open the way for alternative analyses of family reunification. One of its contributions is to move from a destination country approach (focused on reunified immigrants and their sponsors) to a multi-sited approach of transnational nuclear families, i.e. families whose members (partners and children) are scattered among different countries and may eventually reunify or not. This perspective allows us to measure the propensity to reunify, rather than assuming that reunification is a systematic phenomenon, and also to analyse the factors associated with partners' reunification.

Reunification is thus conceived as a selection process into which migrants and their relatives may or may not engage. More specifically, reunification is defined as the result of a "triple selection act" involving an interplay between destination countries, migrants and their families . Bledsoe and Sow (2008) have previously defined family reunification as a "double selection act". In their theory, migrants are seen as agents who adapt their demographic behaviors (e.g. marriage or childbearing) to comply with the legal rules that allow for family reunification. From this perspective, reunified migrants, seen as wives and children, are essentially viewed as passive migrants who do not take part in the reunification decision, or who have the same interests as the pioneer migrants. Migrants and destination countries are the two main actors at play, hence the idea of a "double selection". By defining family reunification as a "triple selection act", we rather argue that family reunification is the result of a bargaining process within families (especially between the migrant already at destination and the left-behinds) in a context of legal constraints imposed by governments. Furthermore, while Bledsoe and Sow adopt a legal approach to family reunification, conceived as a legal procedure through which a sponsor migrant brings relatives into his/her immigration country, we conceptualize reunification as a broader phenomenon whereby family members start living together again in the same country after a period of separation (due to migration), whatever the

[2] The MAFE project is coordinated by INED (C. Beauchemin) and its other participants are the Université catholique de Louvain (B. Schoumaker), Maastricht University (V. Mazzucato), the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (P. Sakho), the Université de Kinshasa (J. Mangalu), the University of Ghana (P. Quartey), the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (P. Baizan), the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (A. González-Ferrer), the Forum Internazionale ed Europeo di Ricerche sull'Immigrazione (E. Castagnone), and the University of Sussex (R. Black). The MAFE project received funding from the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme under grant agreement 217206. The MAFE-Senegal survey was conducted with the financial support of INED, the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (France), the Région Ile de France and the FSP programme 'International Migrations, territorial reorganizations and development of the countries of the South'. For more details, see: http://www.mafeproject.com/

legal channel through which they are reunified, and whether or not they are married. In other terms, we look not only at legal family reunification (i.e. reunification as a legal path of entry), but also at *de facto* reunification (Gonzalez Ferrer 2011), that may be legal or illegal. Legal *de facto* reunification occurs when a secondary migrant (who joins the pioneer migrant at destination) enters through a legal path of entry other than reunification (for instance, as an asylum seeker). Illegal *de facto* reunification occurs when families are reunified in violation of the law (i.e. when at least one of them is undocumented).

In this paper, we compare the timing and factors of couple reunification among Congolese (from DR Congo), Ghanaian and Senegalese migrants. The objective is to study to what extent the process of couple reunification varies according to the context and, potentially, to identify invariants, i.e. features that are common to Senegalese and Congolese couples. The idea is to go beyond case studies and –possibly– identify a general pattern of couple reunification among Sub-Saharan African migrants of different origins. The population of interest comprises what we call "living apart together across borders" (LATAB) couples, i.e. couples in which partners live separately in different countries because of migration but who are still in partnership (if not married). This period of (geographical) separation may end with reunification, either in Europe or in Africa. In this paper, we focus only on reunification in Europe. Furthermore, this paper only looks at couples in which the pioneer migrant (the partner who migrated first) is a male, while the left behind is a female. After this introduction, the first part provides a literature review that explains how family reunification is conceptualized in this paper and provides background information on migration and family in the Congolese , Ghanaian and Senegalese contexts. The second part sets out the data and methods, while the results are presented in the third part.

Literature Review

A spate of studies on migration and family (either family-related migration or migrant families) appeared at the turn of 2010, with the publication of many collective books and special issues of scientific journals (Kraler, Kofman et al. 2011). However, despite the concerns of policy makers regarding family reunification, studies of this specific topic remain scarce, weakly theorized and rarely grounded in quantitative evidence (Gonzalez Ferrer 2011). In addition, sub-Saharan Africa is rarely a focus of quantitative migration studies. Building on current knowledge of migration and family interactions in Sub-Saharan Africa, we explain in this section how we conceptualize family reunification in this research.

Explaining family reunification

Beyond legal family reunification. Family reunification is usually defined as the legal procedure through which migrants bring close relatives (i.e. spouse and children, and more rarely other relatives) into their immigration country. However, it can also be conceived, in a wider approach, as the migration process through which international migrants are joined at destination by their relatives, whatever the legal channel used. Historically, before Northern European countries decided to stop labour migration and adopted restricted immigration policies in the mid 1970s, family reunification was virtually non-existent in administrative statistics. It nevertheless existed in fact, since relatives entered through other legal channels. Reunification has now become the major mode of legal entry into European countries, although this does not mean that reunification only occurs this way. Gonzalez-Ferrer (2011) showed the huge gap between estimates of family reunification based on administrative registers and those based on a demographic survey in Spain in the mid-2000s. Her results suggest that spousal reunification "on the fringes of the law has actually been much more common in Spain than legal reunification", as a result of both over-rigid rules for family reunification and the relative "tolerance" towards undocumented migration in Spain (undocumented

migrants have access to some social services, and are rarely subject to identity checks once inside the country…). Regarding Congolese migration, Lututala (2009) also suggests with anecdotal evidence that the complexity and length of the legal procedure for family reunification pushes some migrants, including women, to reunify through other (including illegal) routes. Neglecting undocumented migrants or secondary migrants (i.e. those who join a pioneer migrant in Europe) who enter through other legal channels (e.g. as asylum seekers or workers) may lead to a biased understanding of family-related migration. In this paper, we thus study *overall* couple reunification (i.e. *de facto* reunification in addition to legal reunification).

A triple selection act. Whatever the mode of entry, governments play a major role in the reunification process. They define who is eligible, taking into account the characteristics of both the sponsor (the migrant who asks for reunification) and of his/her relatives, and especially, since the 1990s, their supposed ability to adapt. However, governments are not the only actors in the process of family reunification, as already shown by Bledsoe and Sow (2008). Adopting an agency perspective, they showed that migrants are actors of the reunification process. Going further, we argue that the migrants' relatives form a third category of actors: although they are not entitled to apply themselves, they potentially possess a bargaining power within the family that may accelerate, delay or even prevent family reunification, as suggested in various studies on gender and migration (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992). In this paper, we thus intend to study family reunification as a "triple selection act", taking into account the policy context, the migrants' characteristics and those of their partners.

To what extent do these three actors converge in the selection process? The fact that migrants reunify "on the fringes of the law", as stated by Gonzalez-Ferrer in Spain (Gonzalez Ferrer 2011), shows quite well that governments do not always respond positively to migrant families' expectations. Official selection criteria have become more and more stringent over the last decades (Kraler 2010), so that selection by the authorities of the destination country is now less likely to coincide with self-selection in reunification (i.e. selection by the migrants themselves and their relatives). However, there are some reasons to believe that the three above-mentioned actors tend to converge towards the selection of the more integrated immigrants already at destination and the more adaptable left-behind partners. In the late twentieth century, the notion of integration was explicitly incorporated in the admission policies of European countries, including in matter of family reunification (Kraler 2010). Perhaps migrants' families also incorporate this dimension when they choose to reunify or not, including in domains not subject to official rules of selection.

Adaptation/adaptability in Europe as a selection factor. Previous research on Senegalese migration that analysed reunification in all its forms (i.e. whatever the legal channel of entry) and the situations of both migrants and left-behind spouses, has shown that reunification in Europe is more likely to occur with increasing economic and cultural adaptation of the pioneer migrants and/or potential adaptability of both partners in Europe (Baizán, Beauchemin et al. 2011). From a socio-cultural viewpoint, couples enmeshed in "traditional" families (in which elders have a strong influence) are much less likely to reunify in Europe than the more "westernized" couples. Not surprisingly, legal integration also acts as a major factor, with migrants holding a residence permit more likely to reunify in Europe than in Senegal. Finally, socioeconomic variables also play a role: the more educated male migrants are more likely to reunify in Europe than in Senegal, while the least educated left-behind women are less likely to do so. Results regarding the female level of education are in line with those found elsewhere. Gonzalez-Ferrer in Germany, for instance, found that more educated women are likely to join their husbands in Germany more quickly than less educated ones (González-Ferrer 2007). Similarly, Mexican women are more likely to migrate with their partner (rather than being left behind) when they are more educated (Gupta 2003). This may be explained by a better bargaining position of educated women within their family regarding the migration decision (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992). To some extent, it also fits economic theories

of migration: more educated migrants are more likely to better integrate the labor market at destination and thus to contribute to the couple's income maximization (following the neo-classic approach) and/or to enhance the household's ability to meet a given savings target (following the New Economics of Labor Migration approach)[3]. On the other hand, left-behind partners may be reluctant to out-migrate when they have a good job (Massey, Palloni et al. 2001). This is especially likely in contexts where migrants are underemployed, as is the case for African migrants in most European countries (Castagnone, Mezger et al. 2013).

Living apart together as a chosen arrangement. Despite the pervasive idea in Europe that family reunification is the universal goal of all migrants, there are reasons to think that some migrants' families prefer to live apart across borders. Historically, when Northern European countries ended labor recruitment and eased family reunification in the 1970s, it was observed that large numbers of separated families chose to continue living apart ((Kraler 2010) cited in (Kraler, Kofman et al. 2011)). The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) offer two rationales for such a choice. First, migration is seen as a way to diversify incomes sources and risks. By bringing family members to the same place, reunification would counter this logic. Second, migrants are seen as target earners who move to overcome various constraints in their place of origin, with the aim of returning once they have achieved what they could not achieve without migration. Following this rationale, reunification would be more likely to occur in the origin country, when the migrant returns, than in the destination country. While measures of return migration are scarce, scattered evidence on various migrant groups suggests that it occurs on a significant scale (Dumont and Spielvogel 2008) and thus that reunification may also occur at origin.

The socio-anthropological literature on Sub-Sahara Africa also suggests that reunification is not a straightforward option for African families. Even though social realities are obviously changing and diverse across the continent, Findley gives insights on some general patterns of family and migration in sub-Saharan Africa (Findley 1997). She shows that couples commonly live in separate places, both because economic and environmental constraints force families to spread sources of risks and incomes (which is consistent with the NELM theory) and also because the process of couple formation implies low levels of interaction within couples (spouses often do not choose each other and have a large age gap; in some countries, polygamy also adds distance between partners). In contexts where families are quite extended, children also live quite commonly with adults other than their parents: according to Demographic and Health (DHS) surveys in African countries, between 9 and 35% of households include children not living with their parents (Pilon and Vignikin 2006). Doing family at a distance is thus quite common in African countries. It also seems to cross national borders, as suggested by several qualitative studies that point to the existence of sub-Saharan transnational families and explain how they function (Barou 2001; Razy 2007; Whitehouse 2009). This is confirmed by some rare available statistics which show that African families are more likely to live apart across borders than other groups of migrants in Europe, and that they take more time to reunify (Esteve and Cortina 2009; González-Ferrer, Baizán et al. 2012).

Congolese families and migration

Family living arrangements. Congolese families are no exception to the above model in which couples (and also parents and children) often live apart, and far away from each other. In matrilineal ethnic groups, wives and children commonly circulate between the husband's home and the wife's

[3] For an interpretation of neo-classical and NELM theories in the case of family reunification, see: González-Ferrer, A., P. Baizán, et al. (2012). "Child-Parent Separations among Senegalese Migrants to Europe: Migration Strategies or Cultural Arrangements?" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science **643**(1): 106 - 133.

place of origin. In other cases, the couple's multi-residence is due to labor migration. It has been demonstrated, for instance, that rural and urban households in Congo complement each other and form a common social unit (MacGaffey 1983). The ability of families to live apart has mainly been described in rural contexts and in socio-anthropological studies of the functioning of lineage systems. It seems that the process of urbanization, associated with the upsurge of new Christian churches, is tending to reinforce nuclear families and co-residence of family members (Ngondo 1996), but multi-residence still seems to be a quite common living arrangement for Congolese families. Lututala, a Congolese demographer, even conceptualized this patterns of multi-residence under the label of "ubiquitous families" (Lututala 1989). At the international level, living apart together is also an option for Congolese families, especially if they succeed in maintaining strong ties with their left-behind relatives through visits, in-kind support or cash remittances. To some extent, these relationships may delay reunification or even be a substitute for it. For instance, Vause reports cases where male migrants have business activities in Kinshasa and a family (wife and children) in Europe and who, for this reason, do regular round trips (Vause 2012). They live between here and there, as a long-term way of life. A significant minority of Congolese migrants in Europe are engaged in a LATAB arrangement. According to MAFE data, among those living in UK and Belgium in 2009, 23% were engaged in a transnational family (with at least one minor child or a spouse left behind in Congo), 24% were already completely reunified with their spouse and children, 27% had moved jointly with their relatives, while 26% had neither a spouse nor children (single migrants). Congolese migrants are more transnational than Ghanaians (16% of migrants in a transnational family), but less so than Senegalese (44%) (Mazzucato, Schans et al. 2013). Although no figures are not available, the proportion of migrants in transnational vs. reunified families in Europe has probably evolved over time, as have the patterns of international migration among Congolese.

A short migration history. In the first half of the twentieth century, international migration from Congo mainly involved short-distance movements to neighboring countries (Ngoie Tshibambe and Vwakyanakazi 2008). Migration to Europe, especially Belgium (the former colonial power), did not really take off until the 1960s, when Congo became independent. At that time, Congolese migrants did not match the classic profile of labor migrants: most of them were members of the country's elite who went to Europe to study or to take up employment or internships in big firms or administrations, and who returned to Congo after completing their contract (Kagné and Martiniello 2001)[4]. Although we were unable to find information on the propensity to reunify before the 1990s, we hypothesize that family reunification was not very common at that time, even though family reunification was encouraged when labor recruitment was stopped in the mid-1970s.

The deterioration of the economic and political situation in Congo in the 1980s, and even more so in the 1990s, led to a pronounced change in migration patterns. Out-migration progressed sharply, especially towards neighboring countries, that took in the bulk of the refugees (Flahaux, Beauchemin C. et al. 2010; Schoumaker, Vause et al. 2010). In Europe, while Belgium was the main European destination of the Congolese in the 1960s and 1970s, France gradually became the preferred destination, and other countries, notably the United Kingdom and Germany, also attracted growing numbers of Congolese migrants (Ngoie Tshibambe and Vwakyanakazi 2008). At the same time, return migration decreased (Sumata 2002) and Congolese migrants tended to stay for longer periods in Europe. Within 2 years, 18% of the Congolese migrants who entered Belgium in 1993 had out-migrated, compared with just 8% for those who entered 10 years later, in 2003 (Schoonvaere 2010).

[4] In 1992, 37% of all Congolese who had entered within the last13 years had left Belgium, versus only 20% for Moroccan migrants. Note that the proportions include both migrants who declared their departure and migrants who were removed from the municipal registers (Schoonvaere, 2010).

In short, while Congolese migrants were characterized by circulation before the 1990s, they tended to adopt a settlement pattern of migration in the 1990s.

The late twentieth century was also a time of changes in migrant profiles: Congolese migration became less selective and migrants came from less favored socioeconomic categories (Sumata 2002; Schoumaker, Vause et al. 2010). The proportion of women among migrants to Europe also increased: in 1992, entries of women into Belgium outnumbered those of men. (Schoonvaere 2010). Despite a tightening of the rules governing migrant family reunification at that time, this feminization process may signal a higher propensity of couples to reunify than during the previous period. However, a large number of women who entered Europe were, in fact, single upon entry, and the proportion of female migration associated with the partner's migration tended to decrease from the pre-1995 period to the post-1995 period (Vause 2012). As profiles diversified, migrants' itineraries also became more diverse. Firstly, many Congolese migrants started coming to Europe as asylum seekers (Schoonvaere, 2010). Secondly, migration trajectories became more complex and illegal immigration grew in scale (Schoumaker and Flahaux 2013); several authors suggest that it has become a key component of Congolese migration (McGaffey and Bazenguissa 2000; Ngoie Tshibambe 2010), which justifies our interest in *de facto* reunification.

Senegalese families and migration

Multi-residential system as a common family arrangement in Senegal. For various reasons, quite commonly, spouses in Senegal "have marriages where the level of conjugal interaction is quite low" (Findley 1997). In the daily life, husbands and wives take their meals separately, rarely socialize and have separate rooms, if not separate houses, as it is often the case in Dakar among polygamous families (Marie 1997). This "weakness of the conjugal bond" (Findley 1997) be explained by the fact that arranged marriages remain a social norm, even among families with migrants in Europe (Mondain 2009). Polygamy and age difference –10 to 15 years in Dakar in 2001, according to the generation, (Dial 2008)– tend also to impose a certain distance among spouses. This social distance within Senegalese couples certainly eases spatial separation of the spouses. In Sub-Saharan Africa, Senegal is the country with the highest rates (43 to 68%, depending on the region) of couples in which spouses live in separate places (Findley 1997). It is also the country where the proportion of fostered children under 15 is the higher in West Africa, with 28% in rural places, and 35% in urban areas (Locoh and Mouvagha-Sow 2005). In a context where the extended family is the norm, no stigma is attached to fosterage, children "belonging" more to their lineage than to their own biological parents.

A short history of Senegalese migration. Even though migration to Europe, and especially France, started in the early XXth Century in Senegal, it became a significant movement only in the early 1960s. From this time, migration has always been a family matter, but the roles of the various family members evolved over time. Until the mid-1970s, migration was clearly a community matter and were organised as a collective system dominated by the elders, especially in the Senegal River Valley (Quiminal 1991; Timera 1996; Guilmoto 1998). Young bachelor men were sent to France on a temporary basis. They were expected to come back a first time after about 10 years to marry a young woman chosen by the elders. Then they left again for a two or three year period, with visits to the home village in between that allowed them to take (a) new spouse(s) and insure the reproduction of the family. When they finally returned for good, they were polygamous well-to-do and new migrants were sent in France in replacement. During husbands' absences, wives and children were left behind with the migrants' families, which offered several advantages to the elders: it ensured that migrants would send them remittances (all the more since migrants had no family burden at destination); it offered a workforce to the extended family (all the more necessary since young men were absent), and it finally guaranteed that migrants would finally come back to the home village. For all these reasons, the elders were opposed to any form of "family reunification", as conceived in Europe that

is, implying the out-migration of wives and children. In destination regions, migrants' associations helped to maintain this social order.

In the mid 1970s, the economic crisis made a breach in this oiled system (Barou 2001). Circulating between Europe and Africa became much more complicated because of states regulations (the French borders were closed to new international labour migrants in 1974) and also for economic reasons (it was no longer possible to quit a job and find easily a new one when coming back after a sojourn in the home country). Basically, the migrants had to stay for long in France or to go back for good. In 1976, a new legal disposition clarified the possibility for family reunification in France. Despite the opposition of the elders, some migrants took this opportunity to bring their spouse(s) in France, and also –sometimes– their children. Senegalese female immigration started thus in the late 1970s, quite lately compared to other migrants groups (Timera 1996; Barou 2002). Shortly, Senegalese reunified families came up against various difficulties. The polygamous ones in particular encountered integration problems and were especially confronted to housing difficulties. At the same time, the isolation from the extended families disrupted strongly the usual forms of social organisation and control: the dominant role of the father and husband started to be contested and divorces multiplied (Barou 2002). The idea that the French law was too favourable to women spread among the Senegalese community, so that males started to fear family reunification, a feeling fuelled by the elders who remained in the home villages (Azoulay and Quiminal 2002). Finally, a new legal obstacle appeared: in 1993, a law forbade reunification of polygamous families. In this context, family reunification could not become a universal objective of Senegalese migrants.

Spain and Italy became new destinations for Senegalese migrants from the 1980s onwards. For various reasons, the migrants who head towards these countries are not completely similar to those who left to go to France. On one hand, they are enmeshed in the same kind of social constraints, especially regarding generation and gender relationships, most of them being of Wolof origin, a patrilinear group, as the Soninke and Toucouleur of the Senegal River Valley. On the other hand, they differ under several respects. First, they left more recently, at a time of lesser control of the elders. Even though their departure could generally not be decided without their parents' ascent, this new generation of migrants tends to move more frequently without parental permission (Lalou and Ndione 2005; Riccio 2008). Second, a significant number of them originate from urban areas (including Dakar), while the bulk of migrants from the Senegal River Valley were of rural origin. Third, migrants in Italy and Spain are more often than in France involved in the Murid brotherhood, a very structured religious group that encourage strongly international migrants to keep a firm attachment to Senegal (Riccio 2006).

Senegalese migrants in Italy are labelled "transmigrants" in recent socio-anthropological studies (Riccio 2006; Sinatti 2011) that emphasize their attachment to their home country and describe how they organise their work life so that they can come and go between Europe and Senegal. In a context where family reunion is legally possible[5], Riccio evokes their "resistance to family reunification" and interprets it as a product both of an economic choice (relatives are more expensive to maintain in Europe) and of a social option. « For Senegalese, [family reunion] can become a source of stigmatisation expressed through the fear that children may lose their cultural and religious point of reference by living abroad" (Riccio 2008). The matrimonial story of these new migrants is very similar to the model above described: marriages are arranged by the elders, spouses have usually no

[5] Family reunification is regulated by a low voted in 1998 in Italy and a royal decree of 1996 in Spain. Even though reunification rules were defined later in these two new countries of immigration than in France, the criteria used to grant the right of reunification are very similar in the three countries of interest of our study (France, Italy and Spain).

interactions before it, unions are quickly sealed during migrants' visits, and the wives are left to their in-laws afterwards (Mondain 2009).

Family & migration in Ghana

Family systems. Similarly to Congolese and Senegalese families, geographical proximity is not considered a necessity for family life in Ghana. Child fostering is a common practice, and multi-local residence is also prevalent among Ghanaian couples (Caarls et al., 2013; Clark, 1994; Coe, 2011; Fortes, 1950; Manuh, 1999; Oppong, 1970). One of the explanations for the acceptance and practice of multi-local residence lies with the role of the extended family. In Ghana, as elsewhere in Africa, important familial relationships go beyond the nuclear family members, including grandparents, uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews and cousins among others, and these relationships are characterised by strong reciprocal norms (Nukunya, 1992).

In this context, extended families play a large role in marital life. Marriage is considered not as an exclusive bond between two people, but as a union between the two families of the couple involved. The extended family members are responsible for arranging and agreeing on the marriage, and they will also mediate in times of marital problems (Caarls et al., 2013). The lack of strong conjugal bonds and the fact that marriage is considered a bond between two families to a large extent determine the prevalence of multi-local residence among Ghanaian couples.

In Ghana, family descent systems are either patrilineal or matrilineal with members tracing their descent through the father or mother's lineage, respectively. These descent systems also impact marital life, as the type of descent system determines particular obligations and responsibilities. Women from matrilineal descent groups are said to enjoy greater independence and autonomy compared to their patrilineal counterparts (Bleek, 1987; Takyi & Gyimah, 2007). Additionally, men from matrilineal descent groups feel more obligations and responsibility towards their own matrilineage.

Nonetheless, others have pointed to the fact that, in general, women in Ghana, from both descent systems, can be characterised as independent (Oppong, 1970). Most women in Ghana work in addition to managing their households, and they have done so traditionally. This independence in combination with the practice of multi-local residence has led to relationships that are not necessarily egalitarian, but that are characterised by the autonomy of both spouses (ibid.). According to some, this has resulted in a relatively high prevalence of divorce (e.g. estimates of divorce rates in Ghana range between 25 and 35%) (Tabutin & Schoumaker, 2004; Takyi & Gyimah, 2007).

Ghanaian migration, a brief overview. Ghanaian migration can be portrayed as consisting of four distinct phases (Anarfi et al., 2003; Mazzucato, 2007). During the first phase, up until the late 1960's, Ghana was a country attracting migrants from the region due to its economic prosperity. Migration from Ghana was minimal, mainly consisting of students migrating to the UK, which made Ghana a net-immigration country. In the second phase, after the mid-1960's, Ghana's economy began to decline and the country also became unstable politically. This led to a decrease of foreign nationals staying in Ghana, and simultaneously to an increase in nationals leaving the country. Migrants from Ghana during this period were mainly professionals, leaving for other countries in Africa to assist in their development following independence. The third phase, starting in the early 1980's with Ghana's economy further declining, can be characterised by en masse migration and an increasing diversity of destinations, including Europe and North-America. During the fourth phase, after 1990's, migration from Ghana increased steadily, and Ghanaian migrants abroad were said to constitute part of the "new African diaspora" (Koser, 2003).

Ghana's economy began to improve after the mid-1990's, causing many migrants to return, although little data has been collected on international return migration to Ghana (Black et al., 2003). The current situation can be characterised by complex migrant realities that involve back and forth movements between countries (Schans et al., 2013). While migration used to be male dominated, nowadays a feminization of migration can be witnessed. These female migrants are not necessarily wives following their husbands, but these female migrants largely migrate independently (ibid.).

When considering Ghanaian family life in the context of international migration, there is evidence of transnational lifestyles among Ghanaian migrants (Caarls et al., 2013). As said, Ghanaian migrants are quite mobile and as such, they visit Ghana frequently, either for longer stays or for shorter visits. Interestingly, a greater proportion of women circulate between the host and home country than men. These visits, among others, are an important factor for maintaining familial relationships back home. However, not all Ghanaian migrants are able to adapt transnational lifestyles. Opportunities to do so are closely linked to the educational and financial situation of the migrant (Ibid.).

Additionally, migrants' choice to opt for a transnational lifestyle or family reunification is strongly affected by policies in the country of destination. For example, both the UK and the Netherlands have become more and more restrictive concerning family reunifications. Criteria for family reunification relate to the legal status of the migrant and his or her ability to provide with a secure income and a stable housing situation. Resulting from these conditions is the exclusion of more vulnerable migrants from reunifying and as such, making family reunification policies socially selective (Kraler, 2010).

Data & Method

The objective of this article is to study the timing and the determinants of reunification in Europe among Congolese and Senegalese couples that, at some point in their life, lived geographically separated (in different countries) due to the migration of one of the partners to Europe. These "living apart together across borders" couples are physically "separated" but may maintain alive their emotional or legal ties (marriage), economic exchanges, frequent visits, family obligations, common children, etc. In our analyses, "reunification" occurs when partners start living together in the same European country after a period of transnational partnership. Thus, in our analyses, reunification does not restrict to the legal procedure of family reunification, it also includes any other available channel of entry, including irregular migration. A proper analysis of the timing and factors of reunification requires information on individuals who are both at origin (in Africa) and destination (in Europe). In addition, multi-level time-varying information is also needed in order to characterize the couples –and their members– not only at the time of the survey but also at the time of reunification (or just before) and at any time during the period of physical separation.

Data source: the MAFE Project

Few datasets present the features that are needed to study the determinants of family reunification. The MAFE project is, for two reasons, one of the rare quantitative sources that allow such analyses (Beauchemin 2012). First, it consists in a transnational dataset resulting from the collection of individual data both in European and African countries utilizing identical questionnaires (see the full description of the samples in appendix). Senegalese individuals were surveyed in France, Spain and Italy (migrants in Europe) and in Senegal (non-migrants and returnees). Congolese individuals were surveyed in Belgium and UK (migrants in Europe) and in DR Congo (non-migrants and returnees). Second, the data are time-varying by nature since they result from individual life-histories collected in biographical questionnaires. The questionnaire was designed to collect longitudinal retrospective information on a yearly basis from birth until the time of survey (2008), for each sampled individual,

whatever his/her country of residence at the time of the survey. The data collected include a large range of information on migration and occupation histories of the interviewed persons, as well as on their family history (children, partnerships). Interestingly, the questionnaire includes a whole module on the international migrations of the interviewee relatives (including his/her current and past partners), international migration being defined as a stay of at least 12 months outside Senegal. This 12-month threshold also applies to couple's separation and reunification: a separation or a reunion lasting less than 12 month is not considered in our analyses.

The sample of the MAFE survey is made of individuals aged between 25 and 75 at the time of the survey, born in Senegal or Congo and of present or past Senegalese or Congolese nationality. Varied sampling methods were used to select the individuals (see details in appendix). In Africa, stratified probabilistic samples were drawn. In Europe, various sampling methods were used. The municipal register in Spain (padrón) offered a national sampling frame from which documented and undocumented migrants could be randomly sampled. In the other countries, respondents were sampled through varied non-probabilistic methods (e.g. snowballing, intercept points, contacts obtained from migrant associations) in order to fill pre-established quotas by sex and age (Beauchemin and Gonzalez-Ferrer 2011; Schoumaker, Mezger et al. 2013).

Even though the MAFE project offers a unique opportunity to study family reunification, the survey was not specifically designed for this purpose. For this reason, the analyses carried out in this paper rely on sub-samples of individuals who were engaged in a transnational couple for a period of at least one year, being married or not, at some point in time (i.e. at the time of the survey and/or in the past). Furthermore, the subsamples are restricted to interviewees who were left-behind women in Africa and male migrants in Europe. This last restriction unfortunately prevents us from analyzing emerging couple arrangements in which the female is the pioneer partner and the male the one left behind in Africa. But numbers are too small among Senegalese interviewees to allow for specific analyses and priority was given to the constitution of a homogeneous sample, in order to facilitate interpretation of results. For the same reason, cases that involve varied destination countries out of the European countries included in the MAFE project were also eliminated from the analysis sample. For each interviewee, the data contain information on both partners and on the couple characteristics. Finally, we use tree sub-samples of 153 congolese, 268 ghanaian and 543 senegalese couples, for which the data were obtained either from males interviewed in Europe or females surveyed in Africa (bold numbers in Table 1).

Table 1. Number of transnational couples according to the sex and country of residence of the interviewee (non weighted)

	Country of residence of the interviewee when the period of separation started (whatever the place of the survey)					
	MAFE-Senegal		MAFE-Congo		MAFE-Ghana	
	Europe (Fr., It., Sp.)	Senegal	Europe (Bel., UK)	DRCongo	Europe (NL, UK)	Ghana
Male	**350**	16	**109**	14	**183**	36
Female	39	**193**	66	**44**	60	**85**

Notes: **Bold numbers** signal the couples kept in our analysis sample. A same individual can appear in several transnational couples. Couples may be married or not.

To take into account the changing characteristics of the couples (and of the partners themselves), the data was arranged as a couple-year dataset in which each couple appears when it becomes transnational for the first time (i.e. when the male migrates out of Senegal, Ghana or Congo, leaving behind his wife, or when the partners start their relationship while living in separate countries) and disappears when it stops to be transnational. Each year of life of a transnational couple is thus a line

in the dataset and is considered as an observation in the analyses. The end of a transnational couple may be due to couple reunification in Europe (the event of interest in our analyses), reunification at origin (in Congo, Ghana or Senegal, when a migrant returns), or breaking off (separation, divorce, widowhood). **Error! Reference source not found.** gives a detailed account of these outcomes.

Table 2. Outputs of the 1st LATAB (Living apart together across borders) period for Sub-saharan couples

	Senegalese		Congolose		Ghana	
	Weighted %	Non-weighted N	Weighted %	Non-weighted N	Weighted %	Non-weighted N
End of partnership	14.43	60	12	20	21.85	73
Reunification in Europe	17.60	139	24	79	33.49	103
Reunify in Origin	14.90	58	39	20	21.65	34
Still transnational at the time of the survey	53.08	286	25	34	23.01	58
Total	100%	543	100%	153	100%	268

Thanks to the longitudinal nature of the MAFE data, the variables describing the partners in the dataset can change every year. However, a major constraint of our analysis sample is that it contains asymmetrical information on the partners: the dataset contains a wealth of variables describing the interviewee at any point in time (his/her whole history in matter of family formation, education and occupation, migration experience, etc.), but much less information describing his/her partner (only six variables: age, country of birth, nationality, couple status, education level and socio-economic status; and only at the time when the couple started). Additional variables are available to describe the couple itself: whether it started as a transnational partnership (i.e. the partners started their relationship while living in different countries); whether the couple is part of a polygamous family at any moment (i.e. whether the male has several partners or whether the female has co-wives); and the number and location of children at each point in time.

Methods

Kaplan-Meier estimates are used to compute the propensity of couple reunification over time. Discrete-time logit event history models are used to estimate the probability of reunifying in Europe (Allison 1982). The statistical model is specified as follows:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{ti}}{1-p_{ti}}\right) = \alpha_t + \beta'.\mathbf{X}_{ti}$$

where p_{ti} is the conditional probability that couple *i* experiences the event (reunification in Europe) at duration *t*, given that the event has not already occurred. α_t represents the baseline hazard function, which is the duration of the LATAB period (when the respondent is in Europe, while his/her partner is in Congo or Senegal). This clock is reset to zero each time an individual starts a new period of transnational partnership. $\boldsymbol{X_{ti}}$ is a vector of individual (related to the pioneer migrant or to his/her left-behind partner), couple and contextual covariates, most of which are time-varying. Independent variables are classified in three categories:

(1) *Socio-demographic characteristics*. The effect of education and socio-economic status are considered for both male migrants in Europe and female left-behinds in Africa. Since these two variables are correlated, two models were run separately to test for the complementarity of the

partners' situations. Model 1 controls simultaneously for the women education and the men socio-economic status, while model 2 conversely controls simultaneously for the men education and the women socio-economic status. These variables can be interpreted as indicators of their respective prospects of socioeconomic integration in Europe, and of their bargaining power within the couple.

(2) *Couple situation and history*. Since we are interested in overall reunification (rather than only legal reunification), we considered that all LATAB couples were at risk of reunification, regardless of their marital status. We also considered the couples formed while both partners were already living in different countries. These unions are neither rare (13% of our Congolese sample and about 50% of the Senegalese sample), nor a new phenomenon (Kraler, Kofman et al. 2011). Sometimes referred to as (male or female) "spouse importation" in the literature (Lievens 1999), they reflect the strong attachment of some migrants to the social networks in their home country. We expect these unions to be associated with a quick reunification process (Lututala 2009). Another variable (duration since LATAB) refers to the duration since the couples were separated because of migration. Finally, two other variables were introduced in the models to control for the location of the children: one indicates whether at least one child is already in Europe, while the other indicates whether the couple has a least one child left behind in Congo or Senegal. Finally, a variable indicates whether the couple is polygamous.

(3) *Conditions of migration and stay in Europe*. One of the two variables is an indicator of the links that migrants maintain with their home country. Short stays in Congo or Senegal (i.e. visits) are expected to delay reunification, as they are a way of "oiling" the functioning of families living across borders (Grillo and Mazzucato 2008). The other variable controls for the period of departure.

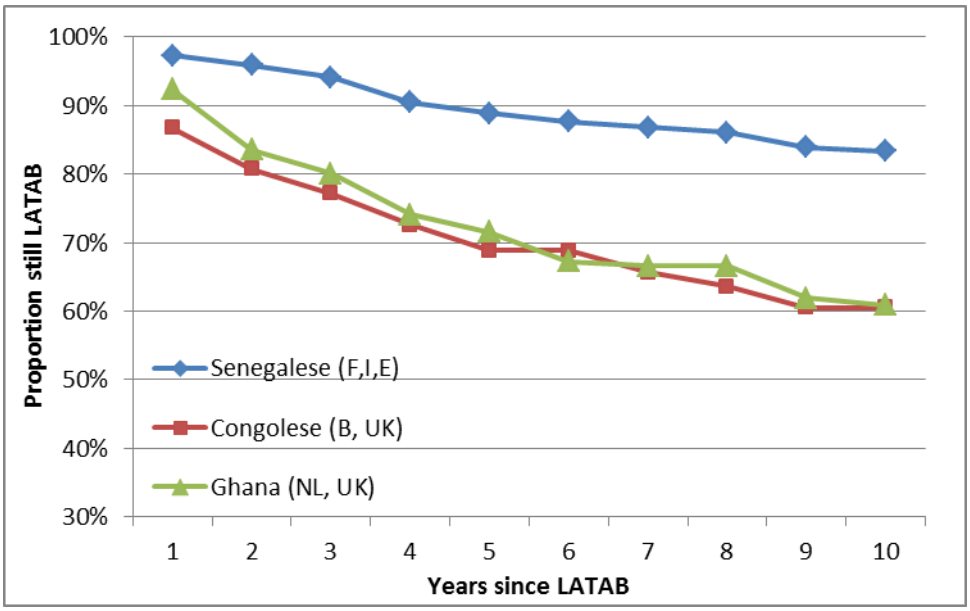
Results

The first important result is that couple reunification in Europe is not a very common outcome. Ten years after a separation due to migration to Europe of the male partner, 61% of the Congolese and Ghanaian and 83% of the Senegalese LATAB couples are still separated, which means that reunification occurred for one to two fifths of the couples (Figure 1). Senegalese couples are clearly less likely to reunify, which echoes the literature that shows that multi-sited families are more common in this country than in others (Findley, 1997). Regarding the reunification timing, the models complement these results by showing that reunion in Europe is more likely to occur in the first three years after separation than later, both for Congolese and Senegalese couples (Table 3).

This result is not the only strong commonality between the three groups. The other very consistent result regards the migration and location of children: when at least one child is already in Europe with his or her father, the odds for the left behind mother are much higher to migrate and regroup than when she has no child or only children left behind with her in Africa. Reversely, women who have at least one child left behind in Africa are less likely to out-migrate, but this result is not significant for Congolese. This may suggest that mothers from DRC move at the same time than their children or leave them behind. More analyses on the migration sequencing of family members would be needed to better explain this specificity. Other couple characteristics have similar effects on the odds of reunifying, at least in bivariate analyses (gross effects). On one hand, polygamy has a deterrent effect on reunification, which is line with legal restrictions in Europe (however, this result is not significant among Congolese couples in the multivariate analyses). On the other hand, couples who started at a distance (when the man had already migrated to Europe) are more likely to regroup than those who met before migration (but this result remains significant in multivariate analyses only among Congolese). Finally, the hypothesis of a substitution effect of reunification by short visits (shorts stays in the home country would serve to "oil" family relationships and delay reunification) is

not fully supported by our results. The net effect of short visits is negative for all three groups, but the results are hardly significant.

Figure 1. Time to reunification in Europe for Congolese and Senegalese LATAB couples



Regarding socio-economic variables, the results show that reunification is a selective process that rests on several mechanisms. First, there is a positive selection on the characteristics of the male migrants who are already at destination. Senegalese male migrants in Europe are more likely to be joined by their partner when they have received a tertiary education (even though there is only a gross effect). Furthermore, Ghanaian and Congolese migrants who have the highest socio-economic status (skilled workers and professionals) are also more likely than the non-skilled workers to regroup. All in all, this positive selection among the potential reunifiers appears to be especially among Ghanaian migrants. This may reflect policy orientations in the destination countries (a hypothesis that will be tested in a further version of the paper). Second, there is also a selection on the characteristics of the left behind women. On the one hand, those with the highest socio-economic status are less likely to migrate, at least among Congolese and Senegalese. On the other hand, self-employed females are also less likely to migrate and reunify than the non-skilled (even though the result is not significant for Senegalese). Altogether, these results regarding women suggest that they may fear to be deskilled on the European labor market. And they may exert their bargaining power within their couple to resist to a potential wish of their partner to reunify. In short, having a professional situation in Congo and Ghana seems to prevent women from couple reunification. On the contrary, those who are not employed are more likely to migrate (gross effect for Senegal).

Conclusion

Commonalities. Despite strong contextual differences (migration history, gender relationships…), the process of reunification presents significant commonalities between Congolese, Ghanaian and Senegalese couples. First, reunification is a minority phenomenon, with less than two fifths of all transnational couples who are reunified after 10 years of physical separation. Some factors play a significant role in both contexts. Duration is important: couples freshly separated are more likely to

reunify than those who remain separated for a longer term. Family situation is also essential: left behind women are much more likely to move to Europe when at least one of their children is already living there. This result calls for further analyses on the timing of migration of the different family members. Last clear common feature: highly skilled left behind women are more likely to remain in Africa than regrouping in Europe. This result tend to confirm that reunification is a **triple selection process**, in which the left behinds play a role, along with the migrants already at destination (who are those who have the power to apply for family reunification) and the destination states (that set the rules for family reunification). Our results show that the left behinds, at least some of them, have the power to "resist" to family reunification. Whether this is the product of a fierce bargain within the couple or a consensual family economic strategy is beyond the scope of our analyses and would call for qualitative investigation. In any case, this result confirms that reunion in Europe is not a universal goal, especially among highly skilled left behinds who are (nevertheless and paradoxically) the more desired ones in destination countries.

The integration hypothesis. The idea that the more adapted/integrated pioneer migrants and the more adaptable left-behinds are the more likely to reunify is not fully confirmed in this paper. First, as reminded before, the more highly skilled left behinds regroup less than the others. Second, a positive selection appears constantly in the Senegalese bivariate analyses, but the effects do not resist to a multivariate approach. Further analyses are needed to better take into account correlations between education, socio-economic status and other variables (exploratory analyses show for instance a correlation between females' education and children location). Additional variables should also be taken into account to reflect the migrant's legal integration (e.g. the fact that they are married or not, or the fact that they have a legal migrant status or not). In any case, the comparison shows that the relation between the partners socio-economic characteristics and reunification certainly depends on the context: the absence of gross effects in the Congolese case is probably due to the fact that Congolese migration in the last decades was largely driven by the political crisis, a type of migration which led to a less selective migration (Schoumaker and Flahaux 2013). The influence of the crisis is also perceptible in the effect of the departure period: reunification from Congo became much more common after the 1990s than before. However this variable also reflects other contextual aspects, e.g. the political orientations of host countries in matter of migration and reunification. Again, further analyses are needed to disentangle the effects of the contexts, separating destination and origin situations and the political and economic contexts.

Table 3. Models results

		Senegalese			Congolese			Ghanaian		
Variables	**categories**	**Gross effects**	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Gross effects**	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Gross effects**	**Model 1**	**Model 2**
Duration since LATAB	<=3 years	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	>3 years	0.121***	0.340***	0.341***	0.110***	0.135***	0.115***	0.199***	0.153***	0.128***
Socio-demographic characteristics										
Migrant' level of education (men at destination)	Less than tertiary	1.000		1.000	1.000		1.000	1.000		1.000
	Tertiary education	1.922**		0.787	1.014		1.037	0.772		1.098
Partner's level of education (women at origin)	Less than tertiary	1.000	1.000		1.000	1.000		1.000	1.000	
	Tertiary education	3.159***	1.758		1.260	0.714		1.892**	1.863+	
Migrant' economic status (men at destination)	*No Skilled*	1.000	1.000		1.000	1.000		1.000	1.000	
	Self-employed	0.615*	1.272		0.846	1.647		3.115***	7.593***	
	Skilled & Professionals	1.604**	1.219		2.119*	1.626		1.477+	2.388+	
	Not employed	1.162	0.670		1.593	1.775		0.667	2.459	
Partner's' economic status (women at origin)	*No Skilled*	1.000		1.000	1.000		1.000	1.000		1.000
	Self-employed	0.799		0.584	0.373		0.208*	0.140**		0.068***
	Skilled & prof'	0.831		0.397*	0.669		0.130**	0.670		0.972
	Not employed	0.463***		0.640	1.181		0.813	0.662		0.542
Couple situation										
union started separated (ref: no)		1.283+	0.897	0.833	1.609+	2.942*	2.593+	1.631**	1.05	0.867
At least 1 Child in Europe (ref: no)		12.163***	12.260***	12.883***	4.251***	13.618***	15.806***	2.619***	4.261**	4.820***
At least 1 Child in Africa (ref: no)		0.283***	0.387***	0.346***	0.785	1.047	1.321	0.455***	0.551*	0.538*
Polygamous couple (ref: no)		0.510***	0.498**	0.519**	0.496*	0.493	0.557	0.755	0.429*	0.615
Conditions of migration										
visited partner	no	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	yes	0.414***	0.967	0.884	1.385	0.239+	0.576	0.822	0.721	0.777
year of departure	Before 1990	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
	1990-1999	1.182	0.846	0.908	1.178*	3.167**	3.407**	1.024	0.489+	0.843
	2000-2008 (2009)	0.437***	1.130	1.068	0.556*	3.483***	2.939**	0.262***	0.310**	0.301**
constant			0.036***	0.073***		0.005***	0.009***		0.069***	0.249**
*p< 0.10 ; **p< 0.05 ; ***p< 0.01 ;+p<0.15		n=543 couples ; person-years= 4307			n=153 couples ; person-years= 678			n=268 couples ; person-years= 1215		

Appendix – MAFE Project Sampling

Table 4. Sampling characteristics in African countries

	Senegal	Congo
Target areas	Dakar Region (26% of the population of the country)	Kinshasa (17% of the population of the country)
Stratification	First stage: 10 strata based on the proportion of international migrants.	First stage : 3 strata based on prevalence of migration
	Second stage: 2 strata households with and without migrants	Second stage: 3 strata: households with migrants abroad, with return migrants, without migrants
	Third stage: 3 strata: returnees, partners left behind and other non-migrants	Third stage: 3 strata: returnees, partners left behind and other non-migrants
1st stage: selection of primary sampling units	Selection of 60 census enumeration areas. Sampling frame: 2002 Population and Housing Census	Selection of 29 neighbourhoods and 3 streets per neighbourhood (87 sampling units) Sampling frame: Sampling frame of the 2007 DHS
2nd stage: selection of households	Random selection of 22 households per enumeration area. 11households selected in each of the two strata. If less than 11 households available in one or several strata, the remaining households are selected in the other stratum.	Random selection of 21 households per enumeration area. 87households selected in each of the 3 strata. If less than 7 households available in one or several strata, the remaining households are selected in the other stratum. In a few streets, there were less than 21 households; all of them were selected.
3rd stage: selection of individuals	People aged 25-75, born in Senegal and who have/had Senegalese citizenship. Up to two return migrants and partners of migrants, and one randomly selected other eligible person.	People aged 25-75, born in Congo. All the return migrants and partners of migrants, and one randomly selected other eligible person.
Sample size (selected households)	1320 households	1773 households
Completed household questionnaires*	1141 households, including: Non-migrant HH: 458 HH with at least 1 returnee: 205 HH with at least 1 current migrant: 617 Household with returnee(s) and current migrant(s): 139	1576 households, including Non-migrant HH: 470 HH at least 1 returnee: 351 HH at least 1 current migrant:1027 Household with returnee(s) and current migrant(s): 272
Sample size (selected individuals)	1387	1946
Completed life event history questionnaires	1062 individuals, including: Returnees: 193 Partners left behind: 101 Other non-migrants: 768	1638 individuals, including: Returnees:322 Partners left behind: 77 Other non-migrants: 1239
Individual response rate	76.6 %	84.2 %
Overall response rate	66.1%	74.9 %

Source: This table is based on Schoumaker & Diagne (2010). Numbers are smaller than in the data collection report because some individuals were dropped to comply more strictly with the selection criteria.

* The addition of non-migrant households with the households comprising returnees and partners left behind may be higher than the total number of surveyed households because a same household can belong to more than one category (e.g. a same household can contain both returnees and partners left behind).

Table 5. Sampling characteristics in European countries

MAFE-Senegal				
Country	**Target areas**	**Sample size**	**Quotas**	**Recruitment methods**
France	3 selected regions: Ile de France, around Paris; Rhône-Alpes, around Lyon; Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, around Marseille.	201 (46% of females), including undocumented migrants - at the time of the survey: 12%[(1)] - in the past[(2)]: 29% 80 % have lived at least one year in the region of Dakar	By age, gender and socio-economic status	Selection from contacts obtained in Senegal, Public spaces, migrant associations, snowballing, interviewers' contacts
Italy	4 selected regions: Lombardia, Emilia Romagna, Toscana, Campania.	205 (39% of females), including undocumented migrants - at the time of the survey: 17% - in the past: 46% 54% have lived at least one year in the region of Dakar	By age and gender	Selection from contacts obtained in Senegal, Public spaces, migrant associations, snowballing, interviewers' contacts
Spain	12 provinces: Almería (Andalucía); Alicante & Valencia (Comunidad Valenciana); Barcelona, Lérida, Tarragona & Gerona (Cataluña) ; Madrid (Comunidad de Madrid); Zaragoza (Aragón); Las Palmas (Islas Canarias); Murcia (Comunidad Autónoma de Murcia) ; Baleares (Islas Baleares)	200 (51% of females), including undocumented migrants - at the time of the survey: 18% - in the past: 57% 61 % have lived at least one year in the region of Dakar. NB: an additional sample of around 400 people will be added, thanks to a new survey round carried out in 2010.	Random sample from Padron	Population register (Padron) & contacts obtained in Senegal
MAFE-Congo				
Belgium	Whole country	279 (45% of females), including undocumented migrants - at the time of the survey: 10% - in the past: 33% 87.5 % have lived at least one year in Kinshasa	By age, gender and place of residence	Public spaces, migrant associations, churches, snowballing, phonebook, centers for asylum seekers, interviewers' contacts
United Kingdom	Whole country	149 (50% of females), including undocumented migrants - at the time of the survey: 12% - in the past: 52% 93.3 % have lived at least one year in Kinshasa	By age, gender and place of residence	Public spaces, churches, snowballing, interviewers' contacts

Source: This table is based on Schoumaker & Diagne (2010). Numbers are smaller than in the data collection report because some individuals were dropped to comply more strictly with the selection criteria.

[1] Non-weighted percentage of interviewees having declared that they did not hold a residence permit at the time of the survey.

[2] Non-weighted percentage of interviewees having declared that they did not hold a residence permit at some point in their migrant life for a period of at least one year (i.e. at the time of the survey or sometime in the past when they were living out of their origin country).

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