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Measuring Migration Costs of West African migrants to Italy

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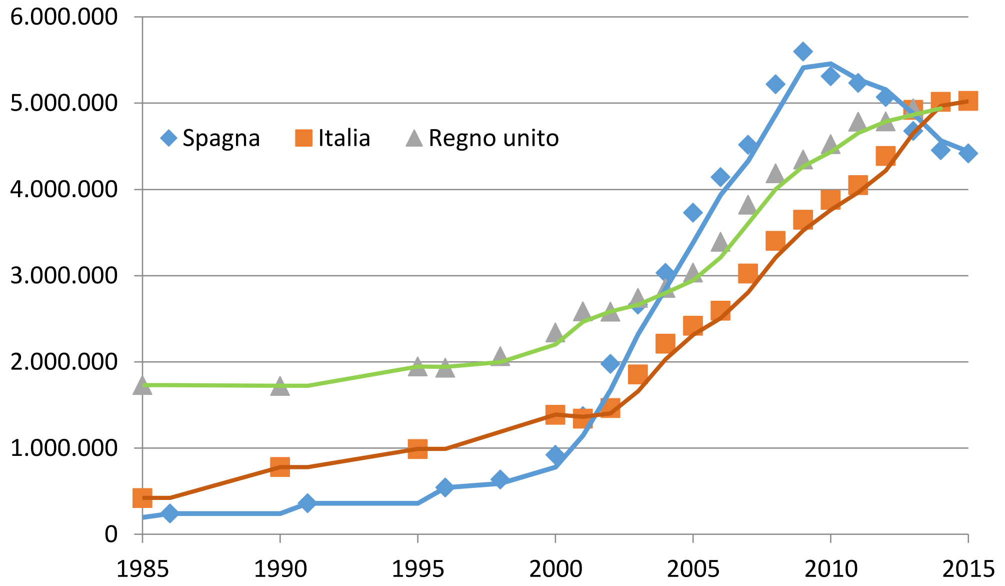
1. Background on the Italian case study

1.1 Labour immigration in an ageing country with a highly segmented labour market

Similarly to other southern European neighbours, but earlier than Spain, Portugal and Greece, Italy experienced a relatively recent transition from being one of the largest sending countries in contemporary Europe to becoming one of the continent's biggest importers of foreign manpower. While Italy's net migration turned positive sometime in the late 1970s, it wasn't until the 1990s that migrant stocks grew quantitatively significant. The process culminated in the first half of the 2000s, when Spain and Italy, together with the United Kingdom, emerged as the largest destinations for labour migration in the European Union (EU). The extent and speed in this surge is illustrated by the figure below:

Fig. 1: Stocks of legal foreign residents (Italy Spain UK, 1985-2015) Source: Einaudi 2017, based on OECD and national statistical institutes



Although the geographical position of Italy - projected as it is in the Central Mediterranean - certainly had a role in facilitating, since the late 1980s, irregular maritime migration from the Western Balkans and North Africa (Monzini, Pastore and Sciortino, 2006), there is a general agreement among scholars that pull factors of both economic and demographic nature were key in driving the rapid and substantial growth of foreign immigration to Italy (Colombo and Sciortino, 2004; Bonifazi, 2013).

From an economic point of view, the highly segmented structure of the Italian labour market and the high (in comparison with other large European economies) share of irregular employment played a crucial role in determining a strong and persistent concentration of migrant workers in low-skilled and low-wage occupations (Reyneri and Fullin, 2011). This was traditionally accompanied by remarkably high levels of complementarity (and consequently, low levels of competition) with natives in the labour market (Venturini and Villosio, forthcoming).

These tendencies were reinforced by a national demographic outlook marked by acute ageing and declining fertility, that has been causing a marked and protracted decrease in domestic labour supply (especially for “bad jobs”) accompanied by a growing demand for low-paid and low-skilled occupations in the migrant-intensive care and (to a lesser extent) health sectors (Colombo and Catanzaro, 2009).

All these features contributed in generating typical patterns of “subordinate integration”, marked by heavy occupational segregation and low occupational and social mobility (Ambrosini, 2001), shaping what has been stylized as a “low cost” (but also “low return”) immigration model (Pastore, Salis and Villosio, 2013).[1]

1.2 Mechanisms of supply-demand matching and the role of policies

In Italy’s dual labour market, employment in the public sector and in the relatively few large enterprises tends to be more guaranteed and coveted, and thus more difficult to access for immigrants who, on the contrary, tend to be disproportionally employed by small and micro-level private employers (often co-ethnic entrepreneurs) and households (in the case of care workers). This has very important consequences concerning the recruitment channels for migrant workers and the design and implementation of policies in the field of labour migration. In order to better grasp this point, which had also deep implications for the design and implementation of our survey, a brief conceptual premise is useful.

The encounter of labour supply and demand across international borders is an intrinsically complex process that requires the existence of some kind of matching mechanism allowing the establishment of an international recruitment channel. A fundamental distinction can be made between two ideal types of transnational supply-demand matching mechanisms: on the one hand, situations in which an employer from a given receiving country operates (directly or indirectly, through intermediaries) in order to identify a prospective foreign employee, still in the country of origin. In the figure below, we define such ideal-type situation as *employer-driven (or demand-driven) labour migration model*. In the alternative type of mechanism, on the contrary, it is the worker who activates him/herself by

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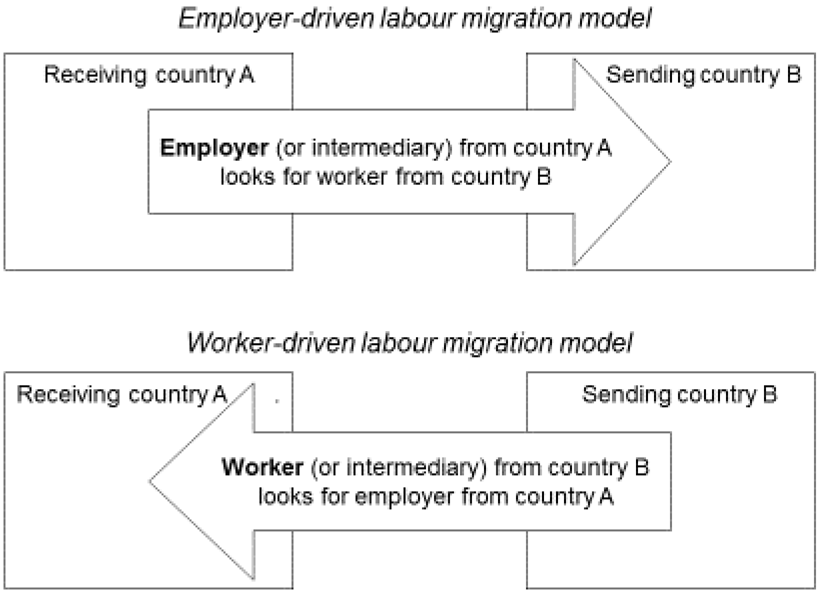
[1] In this context, the phrase “low cost immigration” is not referred to the cost of the migration and incorporation process for individual migrants (which, as we will see, can be very high), but to the overall systemic cost of the international migration as an aggregated phenomenon for the national community.

migrating and directly look for a potential employer while already abroad. This is usually called worker-driven (or supply-driven) labour migration model.[2]

Fig. 2: A basic tipology of mechanisms of
labour supply-demand matching at international level



From a policy point of view, employer-driven models offer the intrinsic advantage that, at least initially, there is an embedded guarantee that the newly admitted immigrant (if no fraud or unforeseen accident takes place) is immediately employed, thereby reducing the risks that he/she becomes a burden for the destination country's public welfare system. This is why, as noted by Jonathan Chaloff, all OECD countries have shown a strong preference for employer-driven migration models, which becomes unanimous in the case of low.skilled migrant workers:

"Notwithstanding the concerns over low-skilled workers, a number of OECD countries have introduced low-skilled managed migration programmes over the past decade. All of these programmes are employer driven, with entry contingent on a job offer. While some countries admit high-skilled labour migrants without an employment offer (notably, the point systems used in Canada, Australia and being introduced in the United Kingdom), no OECD country admits low-skilled economic migrants without such an offer. The required employment offer is generally subject to limits on the duration of stay or on portability (the ability to change employers once in the country), and the employer may need to satisfy certain criteria in order to be able to recruit foreign labour. Most such offers grant only temporary stay." (OECD, 2008, p. 133.134).

The problem is that employer-driven recruitment of low-skilled migrant workers meet structural practical problems that become almost unsurpassable in the case of low-scale employers (such as SMEs and households). Quoting OECD again:

[2] An essential reading about the structure of imigrants' recruitment channels and its relations with different types of labour migration policies is OECD 2008, see in particular, Part II, *Management of Low-Skilled Labour Migration*, by J. Chaloff.

“One significant complication in the recruitment of foreign workers, especially at the lower end of the skill spectrum, lies in the difficulty of international mediation. Employer-driven migration is usually nominative, with the employer specifying the name of the foreign worker to whom the job is offered. For higher-skilled positions, where candidates have more resources, matching is facilitated by international professional networks, headhunters and recruitment agencies, internet job listings and international job fairs. These channels are less relevant when looking for lower skilled workers for generic or unskilled positions.” (OECD, 2008, p. 143).

Due to the general features sketched in Section 1.1, the Italian situation is particularly ill-suited for employer-driven admission mechanisms. This is the reason why official Italian immigration policies – fundamentally demand-driven as they have always have been - met systematic effectiveness problems giving way to large-scale elusive and fradulous behaviours that obliged public institutions to the periodical adoption of large-scale regularisation schemes (Barbagli, Colombo and Sciortino, 2004). What typically happened in practice is that job-seeking migrants, often well informed about employment opportunities through co-ethnic networks, entered the country clandestinely (or, even more often, they overstayed short-term visas), then found an informal occupation in loco, only to be regularised much later, at the distance of months or years (Doomernik and Jandl, 2008; Einaudi, 2007; Finotelli and Sciortino, 2009).

This pattern has deep implications for the cost structure of migration processes, as well as for the design and implementation of our survey. While in other KNOMAD Migration Costs surveys, a large or even prevalent component of migration costs turned out to be associated with intermediation services aimed at making demand-driven systems function efficiently, in our case - as we will see in greater details below (Section 3) – the bulk of the costs is represented by transportation and other services (often illegal ones, at least under the legislation of the destination country) associated with border crossings. Furthermore, the typically irregular nature of employment, especially in an early phase upon entry, has generated specific practical challenges during our fieldwork, such as the difficulty of singling out interviewees with the needed characteristics and of overcoming their mistrust and unwillingness to answer questions, particularly about organisational and economic aspects of their migration process, as well as about current working conditions.

1.3 The context of the survey: economic and geopolitical crises heavily affecting migration systems

The KNOMAD survey on “Migration Costs of West African migrants to Italy” has been carried out from July 2016 to February 2017, in a migration context heavily affected by the complex and intertwined effects of two overlapping crises.

In the first place, the structural conditions that had determined the massive labour migration inflows of the early 2000s have been deeply transformed by the longstanding effects of the economic downturn originally triggered by the global financial crisis of 2007-2008. In a context marked by a massive overall contraction of the demand for low-skilled labour, migrants suffered a disproportionally heavy effect (Ministero del lavoro e delle politiche sociali, 2016 and previous years).

The shock-absorbing role played by foreign workers in a suffering labour market appears evident if one looks at unemployment trends. Whereas in 2007, before the outburst of the crisis, the spread between the unemployment rate of nationals and foreigners was of slightly more than two points (6.2% vs. 8.3%), it peaked at almost 6% in 2013 (12% for nationals, 17.9% for foreigners) to narrow again to 3.5% in 2016 (11.5% vs. 15%). The catch-up continued in the first quarter of 2017, when the unemployment rate of foreign workers kept decreasing (-0.7%) while it grew again slightly for Italians (+0.1%) (Istat, 2017a).

The disproportionally heavy impact of the economic crisis on migrant workers and their families is confirmed by other indicators, such as salaries, rates of under-employment and under-skilling (Pastore and Villosio, 2012; Pastore, Villosio and Salis, 2013), poverty and exclusion rates (Istat, 2017b). Another dimension where the severe impact of the crisis on migrant workers clearly appears is in the relations with sending countries, and in particular in the declining volume and frequency of remittances. For some national groups, Moroccans in particular, cases of “reverse remittances” (i.e. money sent from the home country to migrant families, aimed at mitigating the effects of a sudden decrease in earnings) are also documented (FIERI and LABOR, 2014).

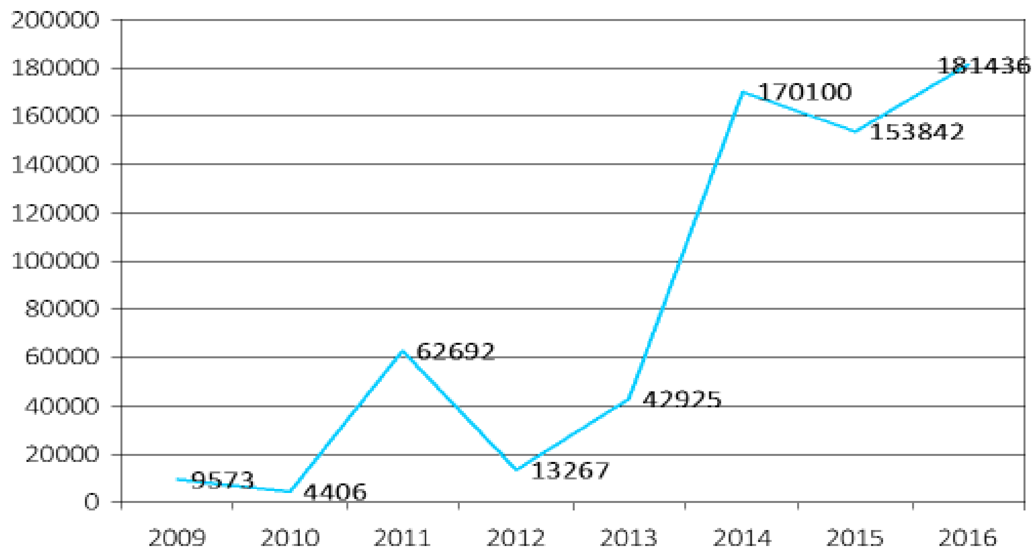
The declining return to labour migration in a country hit by such a protracted economic and occupational crisis has unsurprisingly affected both inflows, with official work-motivated flows declining, and related policies, with shrinking legal migration channels (Pastore, 2014). Even though the total foreign immigrant population has kept growing in absolute terms, the Italian migration system as a whole has been losing steam. While in the pre-crisis decade it had been one of Europe’s most dynamic migration systems, it is now stagnating.

The decrease in arrivals and the slowing down of the migration system as a whole is witnessed also by the comparatively low share of recently arrived immigrants in the total immigrant stock. As shown by Frattini et al. (2017), based on European Labour Force Survey (EULFS) data, the share of recently arrived immigrants in Italy (defined as foreign-born having arrived in the country since less than five years) is of just 10% of the total immigrant population in Italy, as opposed with an EU average of 18%. Among large and medium-size immigration countries, Italy stands thus out as a relatively stabilized immigrant destination together with France and Spain (both at 11%), while in other countries the percentage of recent arrivals is double or more: Sweden 19%, Austria 21%, Belgium 22%, Germany 24%, UK 26%.

These figures had specific implications for the implementation of the KNOMAD Migration Costs survey in Italy: given the focus of the survey on recently arrived immigrant workers, the relative scarcity of this category in the Italian case made the sampling particularly demanding (for more details, see Section 2).

But, as anticipated at the beginning of this section, the migration context where the survey was carried out has been deeply shaped also by another overlapping crisis, this time of a geopolitical nature. As shown by Figure 3, over recent years Italy has experienced a major surge in irregular and mixed migration flows by sea, mainly arriving from the coasts of Libya. A first peak was experienced in 2011, in correspondence with the fall of the Ben Ali regime in Tunisia and the Gaddafi regime in Libya. But a much higher level in arrivals (a growing part of which is in fact represented by persons rescued at high sea by Italian and international forces engaged in Search and Rescue missions) has been reached since 2014, with the escalation of the civil war in Libya. Figures for 2017 so far confirm this upwards trend, with over 65,000 migrants arrived in Italy at mid-June (Ministero dell'Interno, 2017).

Fig. 3: Migrants arrived (apprehended/rescued) in Italy (2009-2016)
(Source: Italian Ministry of Interior)



In terms of nationalities, the majority of these new arrivals are from a wide range of West African countries. As shown in the table below, West African migrants are also those who more frequently make an asylum application in Italy and may therefore be assumed to intend to stay in the country, rather than attempting to continue the trip towards more northern EU countries.

Table 1: Irregular arrivals by sea and asylum applications by nationality (2014-2016) (Source: Eurostat)

	Sea Arrivals (No. of persons)	Asylum applications	Ratio applications/ arrivals (%)
2014			
Syria	42.323	502	1,2%
Eritrea	34.329	474	1,4%
Mali	9.908	9.692	97,8%
Nigeria	9.000	10.040	111,6%
Gambia	8.691	8.477	97,5%
Palestine	6.082	195	3,2%
Somalia	5.756	797	13,8%
Senegal	4.933	4.615	93,6%
Bangladesh	4.386	4.511	102,8%
Egypt	4.095	659	16,1%
Others	38.583	23.494	60,9%
Total	170.100	63.456	37,3%
2015			
	Sea Arrivals (No. of persons)	**Asylum applications**	**Ratio applications/ arrivals (%)**
Eritrea	38.612	729	1,9%
Nigeria	21.886	18.174	83,0%
Somalia	12.176	747	6,1%
Sudan	8.909	145	1,6%
Gambia	8.123	8.022	98,8%
Syria	7.444	497	6,7%
Mali	5.752	5.455	94,8%
Senegal	5.751	6.386	111,0%
Bangladesh	5.039	6.056	120,2%
Morocco	4.486	604	13,5%
Others	35.664	37.300	104,6%
Total	153.842	83.970	54,6%
2016			
	Sea Arrivals (No. of persons)	**Asylum applications**	**Ratio applications/ arrivals (%)**
Nigeria	37.551	27.289	72,7%
Eritrea	20.718	7.472	36,1%
Guinea	13.342	6.057	45,4%
Cote d'Ivoire	12.396	7.459	60,2%
Gambia	11.929	9.040	75,8%
Senegal	10.327	7.723	74,8%
Mali	10.010	6.438	64,3%
Sudan	9.327	503	5,4%
Bangladesh	8.131	6.818	83,9%
Somalia	7.281	2.404	33,0%
Others	40.424	42.397	141,8%
Total	181.436	123.600	68,1%

The prevalence of western Africans among recent immigration in Italy does not concern only arrivals by sea but more generally recent immigration as a whole. As a matter of fact, of the almost 240,000 applications for a residence permit filed in Italy in 2015 (down by over 9,000 units in comparison with

2014), 52,032 (21.8% of the total) came from West African migrants, followed by South Asians (19.6%) and Europeans (19.2%) (ISTAT, 2016, p. 80).

Whatever their channel of arrival (be it regular or irregular) and their status upon admission (be it humanitarian, family-related or other), a vast majority of these West African migrants aim at working in Italy. And indeed both family and humanitarian migrants are entitled to access the labour market after a few months at the latest (6 months in the case of asylum-seekers, even if their application is still pending). As we will see in greater details in the next section, all these arguments have been decisive in orienting our decisions about the sample composition and survey strategy.

2. Survey methodology used and challenges encountered

2.1 Sample composition: rationale for focusing on West African migrants

The Italian Migration Costs survey has required important adjustments, relative to other national surveys, to adapt it to the specific features of current migratory situation in Italy, as described in the previous section. Such adjustments concerned both the research tools, with significant adjustments made to the original questionnaire, and the sampling strategy. In particular, there are two important aspects in the sampling strategy that differ significantly from other national surveys carried out in the KNOMAD project.

First, we had to enlarge the scope of the sample both in terms of immigration category and in terms of origin. In fact, other KNOMAD cost surveys targeted explicitly labour migrants, i.e. those who officially migrated for employment purposes. Given the context of recent migration situation in Italy, we had to adapt the focus by broadening the scope of the sample to include also migrants arrived in Italy for different reasons, provided that they have access to the domestic labour market. This implied surveying also migrants who initially arrived to Italy for family or study reasons, or in search of protection from violence and persecution. Indeed, this choice was also motivated by the assumption that, regardless of the primary motivation of departures from origin countries, recent immigrants usually need to access the labour market and actually do it, although the specific inclusion patterns may differ from those observed among labour immigrants. Furthermore, another key assumption behind the choice to survey both official labour and de facto migrants, in the context of irregular mixed flows to Italy, is that what is viewed by the public administration as the specific driver of migration (i.e. whether an individual has officially left for employment reasons or primarily in search for protection) does not have a substantial impact on cost structures.

Secondly, we had to adapt our sampling strategy giving up the idea of identifying a single nationality or migration corridor and broadening the sample to adopt a regional corridor perspective. Indeed, as shown by the data presented above, recent migration flows to Italy are highly diverse in terms of origin country and there is no single nationality prevailing. The bulk of irregular mixed flows to Italy is indeed represented by west-African migrants coming from a variety of individual countries. Although nationals of some East-African countries (particularly Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan) represented a substantial share of irregular sea arrivals in the past years there is large evidence that few of them opted to stay in Italy and actually moved forward to other northern EU countries in search of international protection. Besides, there are also more substantive considerations that lead us to opt for a multi-national sample. Indeed, given the predominance of irregular channels, a key assumption was that the cost structure was not influenced by specific policies at national level (at both origin and destination).

Therefore, the final sampling strategy was to interviews West-African migrants, arrived in Italy after January 2012, be it for economic, family or asylum reasons, who were employed at the time of interview (or had some working experience in Italy since their arrival).

Initially, we envisaged to compare such regional sample with a group of Egyptian migrants who display rather different features in terms of migration and inclusion patterns (Cingolani and Ricucci 2014): while a significant number of recently arrived Egyptians in Italy have used irregular channels through boat journeys via Libya or Egypt, a large share of them arrived via regular channels, either through work, student or family visas. Hence, we did expect to find significant differences between the two sub-samples in terms of migration cost structures. We then planned to interview 300 Egyptians along with the West-African sample. However, the task proved to be even more challenging than expected and after a mid-term review with the KNOMAD team in December 2016 we jointly decided to drop the Egyptian sub-sample. Our difficulties with the Egyptians can be explained considering the climate of fear and suspicion that immigrants have shown towards the interviewers, mainly because of the political situation in the country of origin: the regime of Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Sīsī exercises strong control over the internal opposition forces and this is felt in Italy too, especially among newcomers.[3]

2.2 Territorial focus

The Italian Migration Cost Survey has been carried out in two regions of the North-West of Italy, Piedmont and Lombardy hosting a large share of total migrant stocks. Furthermore, both regions have been major destination of recent migration inflows, namely of asylum-seekers hosted in the national reception system. Overall, 31% of the total immigrant population in Italy lives in these two regions and they currently host nearly 20% of total asylum-seekers and refugees currently living in Italy. Within these two regional areas, fieldwork has been concentrated in two urban areas, namely in the two regional capitals Milan and Turin, and in one rural area in the Piedmont region (the agricultural distritc around Saluzzo, in south-western Piedmont).

The Lombardy region, and particularly the city of Milan, is traditionally one of the main areas of settlement of the immigrant population in Italy. Migrant workers and their families are attracted there by good economic and employment opportunities offered by the dynamic industrial and service sectors: Lombardy is actually the main engine of the national economy and therefore an important magnet for migrant workers. For its part, the Piedmont region is also one of the main destinations of immigration flows to Italy, that largely concentrate in the regional capital Turin, a medium-size former industrial town and main centre of the Italian automotive industry. Based on latest data available, as

[3] Several episodes have shown this climate: an interviewer was photographed and recorded with a mobile phone during a conversation; another interviewer was asked for very specific details about his academic affiliation and the interviewee expressed doubts about the research goals.

of 1st January 2016, the resident foreign population in Lombardy counted around 1,150,000 people (nearly 23% of the total migrant population in Italy), more than a third of which in the Milan metropolitan area; at the same date, in Piedmont, around 422,000 foreign residents were registered (8.4% of the total), half of which in the Turin metropolitan area (Source : ISTAT National Demographic Survey, Year 2015).

However, in both areas, the outburst of the repeated economic and financial crisis since 2008 and the surge in mixed migration flows since 2011 have had a significant impact on the local economy as well as on the characteristics and composition of the local migrant population and their patterns of inclusion.

In particular, the decreasing labour demand over the past years has resulted in a substantial fall in new work permits issued to non-EU migrants in both geographical areas: between 2015 and 2016 the number of new work permits issued in Milan and Turin has decreased respectively by 20.5% and 23%. At the same time, the number of stay permits for family or humanitarian reasons has considerably increased: respectively by 21.7% and 27, 5% in Milan and by 23.2% and 35.6% in Turin.

From the occupational point of view, the city of Turin was greatly affected by the economic crisis with an unemployment rate of 12.3% in 2016, one of the highest among large Italian cities. The unemployment rate reaches 27% among non-EU foreigners. Foreigners are concentrated in low skilled professions: 23% do unqualified manual work and 50% of them are employed in personal care.

The number of newly released work permits decreased in Milan too (-20.5% compared to 2015), while those for family reasons increased (+ 21.7%) and those for asylum and humanitarian protection also increased (+ 27, 5%). In the Italian context, the city of Milan still shows good economic performances, as it is the Italian city with the highest employment rate among the non-EU population (67.8% compared to the national average of 56.8%). Also in Milan, though, the majority of foreigners (52.7%) perform a low skilled manual job.

In addition to these two urban contexts, the small town of Saluzzo in the rural area nearby Turin was identified as a relevant site for conducting fieldwork. The rationale for selecting this locality was the presence of a sizeable population of foreign seasonal workers from West-African countries who move there during summer months to work in agricultural firms for the harvest period. The growing presence of foreign labour in the Italian agricultural sector is now a well-documented phenomenon (Barbieri *et al* 2015; Corrado *et al* 2017; Flai-Cgil 2016). In fact, agriculture is one of the economic sectors less affected by the economic crisis in the past years and where the presence of migrant labour has kept increasing. However, it is also affected by a high proportion of undeclared work, higher risks of severe labour exploitation and occupational injuries. In 2015 there were 494,485 immigrant employed in agriculture in Italy (Dossier Caritas 2016). In 2015 there was an increase in the number of temporary contracts (+41,269 compared to 2014) and in the number of working days reported by companies (+2,747,304 compared to 2014). The agricultural sector is predominantly male (with 74% of men). While the large majority of migrant agricultural workers in Italy are from

Eastern Europe (Romania, Poland, Albania etc.) and North Africa (Egypt and Morocco), there is a growing presence of West African workers. Among the latter, a large share is represented by asylum seekers and refugees recently arrived through irregular sea crossings. Given the temporary nature of agricultural work, many of them are highly mobile workers who move across regions following temporary labour opportunities and the seasonal demand associated with different crops. A typical paths is to spend Winter and Spring in the fields of southern regions, where they pick oranges (December-April) and tomatoes (May-July) and then move north where the fruit harvest season arrive in late Summer (August-October).

2.3 Access strategies and selection of entry points

Given the lack of one single entry point where large numbers of potential respondents could be found, different strategies have been followed in order to get in contact with interviewees. As a first step, both for the Milan and Turin areas, interviewers proceeded with mapping all relevant entry points, mainly represented by different sorts of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) amongst which ethnic associations, non-profit agencies that provide services to migrants, language schools for foreigners, unions etc. A key criterion for selecting such entry points was the potential for recruiting an adequate number of potential participants with the required characteristics.

Interviewers first contacted these associations by mail and by phone; they presented the survey's goals, the sampling criteria and the main topics explored in the questionnaire. A presentation letter – containing all these details – was also used. An introductory meeting with the contact person of these associations was arranged in order to provide a more detailed explanation of the research and to dispel all doubts.

The presentation of the survey was then followed by the selection of the interviewees. In some cases, the contact person personally managed this step, identifying people fulfilling the selection criteria who were willing to participate. Afterwards a meeting with the respondents was arranged to conduct the interview, usually at the association's premises or at respondents' workplaces. In other instances, interviewees were approached directly by the interviewers without the intermediation of the contact person.

This first phase proved to be extremely challenging and time-consuming, since contact persons usually did not have a full list of potential respondents, were often not aware of their origin, time of arrival or employment situation or did not have the contact details to get in direct touch with the respondents.

In fact, better results, in terms of number of participants recruited for the interviews, were achieved in two specific settings. One was that of the several language schools in the Turin area: here interviewers had the chance to meet with large numbers of recently arrived migrants, many of whom had already a job or some prior working experience in Italy. Besides, a large share of students were asylum-seekers from Western-African countries. Teachers and the other educational staff were in most cases highly collaborative in identifying and selecting survey participants, helping the interviewers in coping with the reticence and mistrust showed by many participants. This particular sampling strategy, however, had different levels of effectiveness: while it proved very productive in Torino, it did not work in Milan, where language schools did not authorize to let KNOMAD interviewers conduct interviews at the schools premises due to privacy concerns.

The second setting was a large campsite for seasonal agricultural workers in the Saluzzo area. As mentioned above, large numbers of African migrant workers reach the rural area nearby the small town of Saluzzo for the fruit harvesting season, from around mid-July till October each year. Given the lack of decent housing for these temporary residents, in the last years the local Caritas (a catholic organization), in partnership with local authorities and other charities, has set up a project to provide shelter to these workers. Several hundreds of African laborers concentrate in this site, located in a peripheral area of Saluzzo, finding accommodation in tents equipped with a camp kitchen and toilets. Interviewers did several visits to the Saluzzo camp during Sundays and Saturdays, when workers were resting during their days off the fields and conducted around 100 interviews with them.

2.4 Main challenges encountered and possible impact on data quality

The Italian KNOMAD Cost Survey has faced several challenges during the fieldwork phase. Some of these challenges were related to the peculiarities of the target population; some others to the general national and local context or to the specific research tools.

a) Language obstacles

The first challenge was language-related. A very significant share of migrants have a low level of education or they are illiterate. Several sub-Saharan migrants have attended coranic school only in the country of origin. Many of them spoke Italian with difficulties and could speak only rudimentary French or English as vehicular languages of their countries of origin. When Italian was used in the interview, it was paid attention to use simple words that could be easily understood by interviewees. Also English or French were used and in some cases the help of linguistic mediators was necessary to translate questions in other languages and local dialects (particularly Wolof and Bambarà).

b) Traumatic memories

The second challenge was related to the travel experience that migrants had. Most of the respondents in the West-African sample arrived in Italy through long and perilous journeys, often after spending several months in transit countries where they have suffered severe psychological and physical violence. As confirmed by other recent studies (Abdel Aziz *et al.* 2015, Crawley *et al.* 2016, Achilli *et al.* 2016, UNHCR 2017), these people often suffer from trauma and are in a very fragile state of mind that makes them unable to recall the details of their journeys. Hence, it was very complicated to collect reliable data on the mechanisms and on the costs borne during their travel to

Italy. When interviewers were faced with cases of this kind they did not insist on the details of the journey but rather focused the interview on the work experience in Italy.

c) Legal status uncertainties

The third challenge was related to the uncertain legal status that respondents had at the moment of the interview. Virtually all West-African migrants who arrived in Italy via the Libyan corridor applied for international protection in Italy. Given the high pressure on the Italian asylum system, waiting times for final decisions on asylum applications have boomed and many among the survey respondents were still waiting for a first appointment with the asylum adjudication authorities. It is important to highlight that this does not prevent access to the labour market: as in most European countries there is a trend to facilitate access to work for asylum-seekers who, in the current Italian legislation, are entitled to work after six months since the start of the adjudication procedure, even if this is still pending. But the legal status uncertainty affected the data collection. Several migrants were waiting for the interview with the Territorial Commission for the recognition of political asylum status; other respondents had already been interviewed but they had received a negative response, they appealed and at the moment of the survey were waiting for the next step in the procedure. This group of people was probably afraid that any information they provided could be used against them.Therefore they were very careful about what information they disclosed. This happened although the interviewers were obviously instructed to reassure them by presenting the research's goals and highlighting its anonymous nature. The presence of mediators and associations' contact people helped very often in overcoming these problems.

For example, in the Italian language classes, teachers played a pivotal role because they introduced the researchers as trustworthy persons. Teachers included the interview within normal class activities and their explanations reassured the students. In other circumstances, a further intervention of mediators was needed during the interviews to increase the trust towards the interviewer. In some other cases, despite the explanations given, interviewees continued to refuse to answer specific questions, leaving them unanswered.

d) Memory gaps

The fourth challenge concerned the existence of a memory bias. In fact, some questions concerned costs that interviewees had faced four or five years before the interview and therefore it was not always easy for them to recall these costs in detail. Migrants' trajectories across Africa are usually very long and stepwise (Schapendonk, 2010, 2012; Toma and Castagnone, 2015). This implies that often there are costs that migrants are not able to quantify in monetary terms. A recurring example is the work that many migrants have done in African transit countries or in Libya before leaving for Italy. In several cases, migrants have been working for some time without being paid by their employers, and in return the employers have financed and/or organised the travel by sea. People knew about this exchange but did not know how to translate it into monetary costs. Such a problem concerned also the estimation of the job earnings in the countries of origin, since the interviewees have mainly been employed in informal jobs (e.g. agricultural labor in family-owned fields, selling jobs in markets, and so on); this is the reason why it resulted very difficult for them to estimate a daily, weekly or monthly wage.

e) Gender issues in relations with interviewers

The fifth challenge was related to the gender. The majority of interviewees were men and in some case this raised issues when facing female researchers. Interviewees were not willing to provide information that was perceived as very personal. This happened especially in Milan, where researchers tried to get in touch with people meeting them close to religious places, in particular Islamic place of worship. In these sensitive situations we decided to replace female interviewers with male interviewers to facilitate communication.

f) Issues associated with informal nature of employment

A last challenge was related to the kind of job that many people do: precarious, on temporary basis, frequently irregular and atypical (voluntary work, internship…). For example, the peculiarities of agricultural seasonal work have heavily conditioned the fieldwork for this particular sub-sample: these workers are temporary; they have very informal living arrangements and have very intense and lengthy working times. For these reasons it has been time-consuming and demanding to make interviews. In the tent city built for seasonal migrants in Saluzzo, researchers had the opportunity to meet, in one single meeting space, many workers with the required characteristics. However, after hours of long and tiring work, these young men had little interest and indeed availability in answering to questions and preferred to spend time to rest, get together, wash their clothes, or cook. As a consequence researchers had to invest a lot of time building relationships before interviewing migrants (e.g.: taking part in recreational activities, lunches, and so on). Sometimes, despite this long negotiation, migrants didn't come at the arranged meeting because they had lost their job or had moved elsewhere to look for another one. This happened because many migrant’s jobs are very unstable and their routine is very uncertain.

3. Overview and preliminary discussion of survey results

3.1 Structure of the sample

The individual characteristics of the participants to the survey reflect, by and large, those observed among recently arrived West-African migrants in Italy. The majority of the respondents are Senegalese (83 out of 305, or 27%), followed by Nigerians (49, or 16%), Malians (47, or 15%), Gambians (33, or 11%) and other nationalities (93, or 30%).

Table 2: Country of origin

Senegal	83
Nigeria	49
Mali	47
Gambia	33
Cote d'Ivoire	22
Ghana	17
Burkina Faso	15
Guinea-Bissau	15
Guinea	14
Sierra Leone	3
Niger	2
Togo	2
Benin	1
Cape Verde	1
Liberia	1
Total	305

The majority of interviewees spent a period in Libya or in other African countries before arriving in Italy. This period could vary from a few months to several years. In these countries migrants have often worked, but usually in extremely exploitative conditions and frequently without receiving a proper remuneration. When asking "In what country did you live before arriving in Italy?" we decided to indicate a country other than the country of origin only when the interviewee stated that he/she had lived for more than 12 months in that country. Based on this criterion, about 75% of the sample lived in their home country (228 out of 305), while about 20% of the sample lived in Libya before arriving in Italy. There are also differences based on national origin. Senegalese migrants, for example, spent in average less time in Libya than Nigerians. Only 7 Senegalese migrants over 83 (8%) spent more than a year in Libya, while 8 Nigerian migrants over 49 (16%) spent more than a year in Libya. This difference can be explained by the stronger social networks built by the Senegalese that allowed them to pass through Libya faster than other migrants. These networks lowered also the total migration costs, as illustrated in the next section.

Table 3: Country before migration

Country of origin	Country before migration			
	Country of origin	Libya	Other country	Total
Senegal	75	7	1	83
Nigeria	40	8	1	49
Mali	33	10	4	47
Gambia	29	2	2	33
Others	51	34	8	93
Total	**228**	**61**	**16**	**305**

Taking into consideration the educational level, 20% of respondents are illiterate or have no schooling. The higher share of illiteracy is found among Malians and Gambians, while it is lower among Nigerians and Senegalese. 23% of respondents have completed secondary education and only 4% have tertiary education. These data are important because they definitely affect the employability in Italy. As many recent studies show, for illiterate migrants it is very difficult to find a stable job in Italy, even if low skilled. Learning Italian is considered one of the priority objectives in many labour market inclusion projects for asylum seekers because good language skills are one of the first skills that Italian employers ask to employees.

Table 4: Level of education

Level of Education	Country of origin					
	Senegal	Nigeria	Mali	Gambia	Other Countries	Total
None[1]	13	2	14	9	21	59
Primary School (not completed)	7	10	3	6	16	42
Primary School (completed)	14	11	10	5	16	56
Secondary School (not completed)	13	9	12	6	12	52
Secondary School (completed)	27	12	5	6	20	70
Technical school (not completed)	5	3	2	1	1	12
University or master	4	2			7	13
Total	83	49	47	33	93	305

[1] It includes those attending Coranic Schools

Concerning the reasons of migration overall, one third (29%) of the sample has declared economic reasons one third (35%) has declared political or security reasons, and another third (35%) family-related or other reasons. The relative weight of each migration driver varies by national group.

Malians have the highest share of political or security reason (60%); Senegalese migrants have the highest share of family and other reasons (43%); economic motivations are more frequent among Nigerians (43%). As we will demonstrate later there is a correlation between the reasons of migration and migration costs; these costs are higher for economic migrants.

Table 5. Reason of Migration

Reason of Migration [1]	**Country of origin**					
	Senegal	**Nigeria**	**Mali**	**Gambia**	**Other Countries**	**Total**
Economic Reasons	35%	43%	15%	30%	24%	29%
Political or security reasons	22%	33%	60%	27%	40%	35%
Family or other reasons	43%	24%	26%	42%	37%	35%
Total	83	49	47	33	93	305

[1] These categories results from a re-labeling of the variable reason; Economic reasons includes "to earn higher income", "because of no job opportunities in home country", "because of unexpected medical or other bills"; Political or security reasons include "because of conflicts/political instability in home country" and "because of drought and other natural disasters"; Family or other reasons include: "because of family problems" and "others".

Most respondents were employed in low-skilled or elementary occupations in their country of origin (31% and 34% respectively), while only 15% were employed in medium and high skilled occupations. 19% of respondents didn't work before departure. There are some differences at national level: Senegal has the highest percentage of people who did not work (33%), while this value is much lower in Nigeria (only 10%). Regardless of previous occupations, in Italy 70% of migrants are employed in unskilled jobs (215 out of 305) and 27% in low-skilled jobs (83 out of 305).

Table 6. Occupational Status before migration

Occupational status before departure	**Country of origin**					
	Senegal	**Nigeria**	**Mali**	**Gambia**	**Other Countries**	**Total**
No occupation	33%	10%	17%	15%	14%	19%
Medium and High Skilled Occupations	17%	16%	15%	9%	14%	15%
Low-skilled Occupations	19%	43%	23%	42%	37%	31%
Elementary occupations	31%	31%	43%	33%	35%	34%
Total	**83**	**49**	**47**	**33**	**93**	**305**

Table 7. Occupational status in Italy

Occupation in Italy	Country of origin					
	Senegal	**Nigeria**	**Mali**	**Gambia**	**Other Countries**	**Total**
Unskilled	49	31	38	27	70	215
Low skilled	31	17	8	6	21	83
Other/Unspecified	3	1	1		2	7
Total	83	49	47	33	93	305

With regard to status upon entry, 82% of migrants (252 out of 305) did not have a visa and 9% (27 out of 305) had a visa for family reunification, most of them women. There are also some people who entered with touristic visa, 4% of migrants (13 out of 305), but some of these visas appear to have been counterfeit or obtained by fraudulent means.

Table 8. Status Upon Entry

Status Upon Entry (Visa category)	Country of origin					
	Senegal	**Nigeria**	**Mali**	**Gambia**	**Other Countries**	**Total**
Didn't have a visa	54	40	46	31	81	252
Family Reunification	23				4	27
Study	1	1	1	1	1	5
Work Visa		3			5	8
Touristic Visa	5	5		1	2	13
Total	83	49	47	33	93	305

3.2 Migration costs

Response rate to questions on migration costs were not very high: among the 305 total respondents, only 236[4] (77% of the sample) could provide clear and detailed information about their travel costs. Several explanations can be proposed to interpret such relatively low response rate. As anticipated above (Section 2.4), some are related to memory gaps, especially in those cases (numerous in our sample) where the migration process has developed over long periods of time before the arrival in Italy. As a result, many respondents were unable to recall the exact amount and to provide a detailed account of individual cost items. In some other cases, migration costs were actually very low or negligible, at least in monetary terms. Some declared to have travelled for free or at a very low price: typically by working with the bus companies providing travel services across several West African

[4] The actual number of observations on total migration costs is 251. Out of these, 11 stated they spent 0 $ to migrate from origin to Italy. However, we decided to drop from this variable sample 3 problematic cases which represented serious outliers: in one case there had been probably a transcription problem either with the total amount declared or with the currency (Man from Ghana, declaring a total cost of 1,000,000 Ghana Cedi, corresponding to 247,879 USD2014); in the other two cases the declared amounts were realistic given specific individual profiles, but exceedingly higher than all others, thus creating problems with the distribution of cases (both Nigerian victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, having declared a total migration cost of, respectively, 50,000 and 35,000 EUR).

countries or by paying their boat trip across the Mediterranean after a period of forced labour in Libya. In these cases answer to the question on total costs was 0 (12 observations). Besides, it is worth noting that individuals migrating to Italy via family migration channels were also those less likely to provide information on their migration costs: in most cases such costs were borne by their sponsor (partner or parent) and they appeared unwilling to disclose details about these personal relations.

As expected, the large majority of migration costs are referred to travel (both domestic and international) or are related to irregular migration processes such as payments to smugglers, border guards or other brokers.

International transportation represents 59% of the total migration costs. 222 migrants, more than 94% of respondents, incurred in international transportation costs with a median value of 790 USD with a standard deviation of 756 USD. Irregular border crossing represented 69% of the other costs: 83 migrants, more than 35% of respondents, reported costs of 536 USD with a standard deviation of 966 USD. 12 migrants, 5% of respondents, declared to have other informal payments to officials to get the process done, a median of 663 USD with a standard deviation of 719 USD.

Cost items more related to regular, managed labour migration channels (e.g. placement fees, skills certificate, recruiting agencies etc.) have a negligible weight on the total costs borne by the interviewees in our sample.

Table 9. Detailed Migration Costs Structure (values expressed in USD2014)

	Cost item	N	Total	Cost share	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
1	Passport	31	8,409.9	2.4%	311.5	1.0	1,009.8	265.3	228.0
2	Visa	32	29,401.4	8.4%	1,130.8	0.4	16,367.3	264.0	3,218.0
3	Work Permit	12	3,317.2	1.0%	276.4	106	539.7	234.3	172.3
4	Placement fees	0							
5	Fees for brokers	0							
6	Fees for relatives/friends who help find a job	2	908.3	0.3%					
7	Fees for recruitment agencies	0							
8	Language training	0							
9	Skills certificates/testing	1	265.3	0.1%					
10	Medical exam	1	66.2	0.0%					
11	Police/security clearance	0							
12	Exit clearance from the home government	0							
13	Contract approval from the home government	0							
14	Pre-departure training/briefing	0							
15	Health/ life insurance/social security	2	1,289.7	0.4%	644.8	529.9	759.8	644.8	162.5
16	Overseas migrant welfare fund	0							
17	Domestic transportation	29	11,232.3	3.2%	468.0	6.1	1,274.2	418.4	378.3
18	International transportation	222	205,281.2	59.0%	950.4	0.3	4,593.3	790.4	755.6
88	Others	103	87,989.5	25.3%	879.9	0.2	8,823.3	536.5	1,188.6
			348,161.0	100%					

	Of which:	N	Total	Cost share	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
1	Expedite passport process	2	1,440.9	2%	720.4	646.0	794.9		105.3
2	Expedite local government clearance process	1	202.3	0%					
3	Expedite visa/work Permit process	0							
4	Other informal payments to officials to get the process done	12	8,559.4	10%	778.1	11.0	1,937.9	663.4	719.2
5	Forged official documents	5	5,404.6	6%	1,351.2	1,038.0	2,649.6	1,214.3	414.8
6	Fake job contract	0							
7	Other informal payments to brokers or recruitment agents	9	3,904.0	4%	488.0	8.0	1,326.7	401.3	394.6
8	Irregular border crossings	83	60,129.1	69%	751.6	0.2	7,266.2	536.5	966.1
88	Others	7	5,788.0	7%	1,157.6	225.2	1,987.2	1,091.2	666.1
99	Don’t know	1	1,349.3	2%	1,349.3				

If we consider total migration costs by main national group, Nigerians reported the highest costs, with an average value of 1,979 USD; Malians have the highest median value, 1,327 USD. All other nationalities (Ghana, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Guinea Bissau) had lower migration costs.

If we consider migration costs by migration reason, we see that economic migrants spent more, the average value being 1,684 USD, and migrants for political or security reasons spent less, with an average value of 1,328 USD.

Migration costs decreased in time; people arrived in 2012 incurred in average migration costs of 1.918 USD while migrants arrived in 2016 spent on average 1.255 USD. It can be inferred that this reduction of costs is related to the fact that irregular networks expanded and strengthened over the years; as a matter of fact, growing competition among smugglers has probably caused a reduction in travel and border crossing costs.

Those who migrated with a touristic visa incurred into the highest costs (on average USD 4,187). Moreover people who traveled with family reunification visa spent on average USD 1,371, with study purposes visa 1,833 USD and with work visa 1,617 USD, more than people without a visa who spent on average 1,295 USD. As underlined in the first part of this report, although irregular migration is much more risky than migration by regular channels, it is also the cheapest way and very often the only way to enter Europe.

Table 10. Total migration costs, by main sample category

BY MAIN NATIONAL GROUP	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
1. Senegal	68	1,486	0	9,287	1,036	1,720
2. Nigeria	40	1,979	0	9,342	1,312	1,943
3. Mali	41	1,259	0	3,323	1,327	933
4. Gambia	31	1,392	0	9,820	1,108	1,755
5. Other nationalities	68	1,288	0	5,299	880	1,265
Total	248	1,462	0	9,820	1,091	1,552
BY MIGRATION REASON	**N**	**Average**	**MIN**	**MAX**	**Median**	**SD**
Economic Reasons	74	1,684	10	9,342	1,151	1,787
Political or Security Reasons	90	1,328	-	9,820	1,061	1,439
Family or other reasons	84	1,410	-	9,287	1,096	1,438
Total	248	1,462	-	9,820	1,091	1,552
BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL	**N**	**Average**	**MIN**	**MAX**	**Median**	**SD**
2012	47	1,918	-	9,274	1,237	1,854
2013	18	2,033	165	6,460	1,484	1,680
2014	63	1,458	-	9,287	1,327	1,370
2015	73	1,165	-	9,342	775	1,363
2016	47	1,255	-	9,820	873	1,575
Total	248	1,462	-	9,820	1,091	1,552
BY ENTRY VISA	**N**	**Average**	**MIN**	**MAX**	**Median**	**SD**
Didn't have a visa	205	1,295	-	9,342	1,011.3	1,352
Family reunification	18	1,371	218.2	3,180	1,246.4	867
Study	5	1,833	964.3	3,154	1,326.7	1,000
Work visa	8	1,617	157.1	5,049	1,113.3	1,544
Touristic visa	12	4,187	1,112.4	9,820	3,625.1	2,897
Total	248	1,462	-	9,820	1,091	1,552

3.3 Earnings in Italy

In this last section we analyze in detail earnings in Italy, by year of arrival, by type of occupation and form of employment, by reason of migration, by level of education and by main nationalities.Entry salary (i.e. the salary that a migrant gets in his/her first year in Italy) dropped in recent times. In 2012, the average monthly salary was 751.5 USD, while in 2016 it amounted to 479.1 USD. This decline is a clear effect of the protracted economic and occupational crisis (see Section 1.3). At the same time, migrants who have been in Italy for many years earn more than those recently arrived. This means that migrants accumulate work experience staying in Italy and increase their capacity to be competitive in the labour market.

If we look at earnings by type of employment, self-employed migrants are the ones who earned more in the first year upon arrival, with an average of 1,382 USD, even though this data is based on only two observations. Day workers in the first year upon arrival earn on average 605.3 USD and they are mainly seasonal workers in agriculture. People employed by a company earn a little more than day workers, with an average salary of 646.6 USD, and they are in a much safer position. If we look at earnings in Italy by type of employment, at the interview time there is not much difference between low skilled and unskilled.

There are instead big differences in earnings between those who came for prevalent economic reasons and those driven by political motivations. Those who came for political reasons earn on average 539.9 USD while those who came for economic reasons earn on average 772.4 USD. Over time this difference decreases and the average value become similar (896.6 USD for economic migrants and 848.2 USD for political migrants).

In the first year after arrival we didn’t find significant differences in earnings based on nationality. At the time of the interview these differences are much more significant (Gambians have an average value of 1,016.5 USD and Nigerians have an average value of 699.9 USD).

The level of education has an impact on earnings in Italy in the first year upon arrival. Migrants with university education and literacy programs earn on average 1,118.3 USD, while non-educated migrants earn on average 619.5 USD. .

If we make a comparison between pre- and post-migration earnings we also discover large differences. Senegalese migrants pass from an average monthly salary of 250.7 USD in their home country to an average salary of 861 USD in Italy; Nigerians from 611.2 USD to 689 USD; Malians from 342.3 to 967.9; Gambians from 212.6 to 1,016.5.

Considering these values in relation to total migration costs, for Nigerians it will take 2.9 months to earn back what they spent for migrating to Italy, while this ‘payback period’ will be of 1,7 months for Senegalese, 1.4 months for Gambians and 1.3 months for Malians.

Table 11: Earnings in Italy, by year of arrival (USD2014)

BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL	Earnings upon arrival (US$ - 2014)						Earnings at interview time (US$ - 2014)					
	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
2012	55	751,5	0	2,384.7	688.9	611.2	52	1,019.2	209.50	2,269.6	1,042.04	438.2
2013	19	763,4	0	2,428.6	674.6	628.6	18	1,063.3	491.02	1,964.1	982.0	456.3
2014	74	540,7	0	2,340.0	305.1	616.5	71	1,015.1	43.65	2,308.2	1,134.8	405.9
2015	85	510,6	0	1,584.1	332.3	540.1	78	803.6	-	1,745.8	750.2	407
2016	52	479,1	0	1,985.9	425.5	476.1	41	607.5	65.47	1,702.2	491.0	366.8
Total	285	575,6	0	2,428.6	442.2	575.6	260	891.4	-	2,308.2	872.9	435.8

Table 12: Earnings in Italy, by type of occupation (USD2014)

BY TYPE OF OCCUPATION(a)	**Earnings upon arrival (US$ - 2014)**						**Earnings at interview time (US$ - 2014)**					
	N	**Average**	**MIN**	**MAX**	**Median**	**SD**	**N**	**Average**	**MIN**	**MAX**	**Median**	**SD**
Unskilled	199	590.4	0	2,000.7	516.7	566.3	175	906.4	0	1,702.2	992.9	407.7
Low skilled	79	519	0	2,428.6	425.5	581.8	78	828.2	163.7	2,269.6	667.8	461.6
Other/Unspecified	7	811.6	0	2,340.0	529.9	795.7	7	1,224.6	130.9	2,308.2	1,309.4	697.2
Total	285	575.6	0	2,428.6	442.2	575.6	260	891.4	0	2,308.2	872.9	435.8

(a) These categories result from a re-labelling of the variable *isco_class1*. “Unskilled”**:** includes Elementary occupations; "Low Skilled": includes craft and related trade workers + plant and machine operators + service and sales workers + skilled agricultural; "Other/unspecified": includes professionals + technicians and associate professionals + missing.

Table 13: Earnings in Italy, by form of employment (USD2014)

BY FORM OF EMPLOYMENT	Earnings upon arrival (US$ - 2014)						Earnings at interview time (US$ - 2014)					
	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
Employed by a firm	146	646.6	0	2,428.6	530.3	605.4	145	979.9	163.7	2,182.3	1,003.8	408.6
Day laborer	96	605.3	0	1,985.9	530.3	528.3	82	856.5	0	2,269.6	840.2	446.5
Employed by a household	11	410.6	0	1,653.4	0	548.4	11	714.6	327.3	1,134.8	680.9	224.7
Self-employed	2	1,382.8	425.5	2,340.0	1,382.8	1,353.8	2	1,366.9	425.5	2,308.2	1,366.9	1,331.2
Other	30	145.7	0	1,221.9	0	258	20	443.6	43.6	1,004.9	436.5	212.83
Total	285	575.6	0	2,428.6	442.2	575.6	260	891.4	0	2,308.2	872.9	435.8

Table 14: Earnings in Italy, by reason of migration (USD2014)

BY REASON OF MIGRATION (b)	Earnings upon arrival (US$ - 2014)						Earnings at interview time (US$ - 2014)					
	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
Economic Reasons	81	772.4	0	2,428.6	794.9	581	73	869.6	198.6	1,964.1	872.9	375.7
Political or Security Reasons	100	539.9	0	1,985.9	493.8	562.4	91	848.2	-	1,855	763.8	416.8
Family or other reasons	104	457.8	0	2,384.7	308	551.8	96	949.2	65.5	2,308.2	992.9	492.6
Total	285	575.6	0	2,428.6	442.2	575.6	260	891.4	-	2,308.2	872.9	435.8

(b) These categories results from a re-labelling of the variable reason; Economic reasons includes "to earn higher income", "because of no job opportunities in home country", "because of unexpected medical or other bills"; Political or security reasons include "because of conflicts/political instability in home country" and "because of drought and other natural disasters"; Family or other reasons include: "because of family problems" and "others"

Table 15: Earnings in Italy, by main nationalities (USD2014)

BY MAIN NATIONALITIES	Earnings upon arrival (US$ - 2014)						Earnings at interview time (US$ - 2014)					
	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
Senegal	78	510.4	0	1,724.7	425.5	489.8	71	861	218.2	1,745.8	851.1	408.5
Nigeria	46	567.5	0	2,340	428.8	554.1	41	699.9	163.7	2,308.2	567.4	401.6
Mali	42	541.2	0	1,702.2	480.1	565.5	38	967.8	130.9	1,855	1,091.1	410.5
Gambia	31	595.6	0	2,000.7	443.1	586.3	31	1,016.5	209.5	2,269.6	1,134.8	478.1
Other nationalities	88	648.3	0	2,428.6	529.9	659.3	79	932.6	-	2,182.3	992.95	449.2
Total	285	576	0	2,428.6	442.2	576.5	260	891.5	-	2,308.2	872.92	436.6

Table 16: Earnings in Italy, by level of education (USD2014)

BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Earnings upon arrival (US$ - 2014)						Earnings at interview time (US$ - 2014)					
	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD	N	Average	MIN	MAX	Median	SD
Other	28	619.5	0	1,724.7	471.5	608.3	28	1,084.4	43.6	2,269.6	1,134.8	423.1
None	28	579.9	0	1,588.7	456.2	579.3	27	1,032.8	283.7	1,588.7	1,134.8	385.6
Missing	1	-	0	-		-	1	545.6	545.6	545.6		-
Primary complete	50	581.2	0	1,698.2	443.1	533.1	44	887.2	163.7	1,560.3	872.92	380.1
Primary incomplete	40	516.2	0	1,985.9	308	589	36	694.6	65.5	1,418.5	611.04	384.4
Secondary complete	65	595	0	2,428.6	469.2	550	61	834.7	130.9	1,964.1	763.8	440.9
Secondary incomplete	49	467.1	0	2,000.7	398.8	535.1	39	818.9	-	1,702.2	709.24	416.3
Post secondary technical incomplete	11	434.5	0	1,036.8	516.7	389.4	11	832.2	436.5	1,418.5	654.69	383.3
University and adult education or literacy program	13	1,118.3	0	2,384.7	1258.6	821	13	1,303.2	567.4	2,308.2	1309.4	565.1
Total	285	576	0	2,428.6	442.2	576.5	260	891.5	-	2,308.2	872.9	436.6

Table 17. General Comparison between prior and current earnings and migration costs.

	Monthly earnings before migration		Monthly earnings upon arrival		Monthly earnings at interview time		Total migration Cost	
	N	**Average**	**N**	**Average**	**N**	**Average**	**N**	**Average**
1. Senegal	45	250.7	75	523.8	71	861.0	68	1,486.4
2. Nigeria	38	611.2	44	593.3	40	689.0	40	1,979.4
3. Mali	33	342.3	42	541.2	38	967.9	41	1,258.8
4. Gambia	21	212.6	30	615.4	31	1,016.5	31	1,391.7
5. Other nationalities	61	463.2	84	636.5	75	944.0	67	1,299.0
total	198	396.6	275	582.0	255	893.3	247	1,465.7
	N	**Average**	**N**	**Average**	**N**	**Average**	**N**	**Average**
1. Economic Reasons	62	280.0	83	759.9	74	875.5	76	1,690.5
2. Political or security reasons	71	539.4	93	561.5	87	855.4	88	1,314.6
3. Family or other reasons	65	351.7	99	452.2	94	942.2	83	1,420.2
Total	198	396.6	275	582.0	255	893.3	247	1,465.7

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