

Vanessa Prinz

Imagine Migration

**The Migration Process and its
Destination Europe in the Eyes
of Tanzanian Students**

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28

Vanessa Prinz

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IMAGINE MIGRATION

**THE MIGRATION PROCESS AND ITS DESTINATION EUROPE
IN THE EYES OF TANZANIAN STUDENTS**

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	6
ABBREVIATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS	6
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	7
I. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	9
1. INTRODUCTION.....	10
2. DEFINITIONS	16
3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	20
3.1. Why Migration Theories?.....	20
3.2. Selected Migration Theories	23
3.2.1. <i>Ravenstein and the Gravitation Models</i>	23
3.2.2. <i>Economic Theories</i>	24
3.2.3. <i>Sociological Theories</i>	30
3.3. Hoffmann-Nowotny:	
Migration Within a 'Global Society'	33
3.4. Theoretical Orientation	35
II. MIGRATION FROM TANZANIA TO EUROPE.....	37
4. EXTENT OF THE MIGRATION OUT OF TANZANIA.....	38
4.1. Preliminary Remarks	
About Data Acquisition and Statistics.....	38
4.2. Migration out of Tanzania	43
4.2.1. <i>National Migration Statistics</i>	43
4.2.2. <i>Net Migration Rate</i>	46
4.3. Tanzanian Migration to European Countries	49
5. STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS OF THE TANZANIAN EMIGRATION TO EUROPE.....	54
6. BRAIN DRAIN OUT OF EAST AFRICA.....	63
6.1. Emigration of Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers.....	63
6.2. Student Emigration	68

III. IMAGES OF EUROPE AND THE MIGRATION PROCESS	
AMONG POTENTIAL MIGRANTS	73
7. RESEARCH INTERESTS AND EPISTEMOLOGY	74
7.1. Research Interests.....	74
7.2. Epistemology	77
7.3. Design and Conduct of the Interviews.....	78
7.4. Analysis According to Mayring.....	82
8. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE	84
8.1. Socio-Demographic Features.....	84
8.2. Typology	86
9. IMAGES ARTICULATED BY POTENTIAL MIGRANTS	89
9.1. The Image of Europe	89
9.1.1. <i>Understanding of the Term 'Europe'</i>	89
9.1.2. <i>Economic Features and 'Development'</i>	92
9.1.3. <i>Working Conditions</i>	96
9.1.4. <i>Social Situation</i>	99
9.1.5. <i>Education</i>	104
9.1.6. <i>Political Situation</i>	107
9.1.7. <i>Development Aid and International Relations</i>	110
9.1.8. <i>Other Associations</i>	112
9.1.9. <i>Differences Between Europe</i> <i>and Other Developed Regions</i>	112
9.2. Integration into the Society of the Region of Destination	114
9.2.1. <i>Reasons for Migration</i>	114
9.2.2. <i>European Countries of Destination</i>	117
9.2.3. <i>Non-European Countries of Destination</i>	120
9.2.4. <i>Unattractive Countries</i>	120
9.2.5. <i>Intended Occupations of the Potential Migrants</i>	122
9.2.6. <i>Anticipation of the Interviewees' Situation</i> <i>in the Country of Destination</i>	125
9.2.7. <i>The Situation of Migrants in the Countries of Destination</i>	126

9.3. Ideas About the Migration Process.....	131
9.3.1. Time of Departure and Duration of Stay.....	131
9.3.2. Organization of the Migration.....	132
9.3.3. Costs and Financing	135
9.3.4. Networks.....	138
9.3.5. Language Knowledge.....	141
10. INFORMATION SOURCES	144
10.1. The Potential Migrants' Perception.....	147
10.2. The Image of 'Europe' as Presented by the Tanzanian Daily Newspaper 'The Guardian'	153
10.3. Other Determinants of the Conception of Europe: Socialization and Collective Knowledge	159
11. RESUMÉ	163
11.1. Outcomes of the Research	163
11.2. Conclusions	169
IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY & APPENDICES	173
12. BIBLIOGRAPHY	174
APPENDIX I. QUESTIONNAIRES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS	183
App.I.1. Self-Completion Questionnaire in English	183
App.I.2. Self-Completion Questionnaire in Kiswahili.....	184
APPENDIX II. QUESTIONNAIRES FOR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.....	185
App.II.1. Structured Questionnaire of the Interviews	185
App.II.2. Maps of Europe	188
App.II.3. Self-Completion Questionnaire	189
APPENDIX III. LIST OF THE SAMPLE	192
App.III.1. Secondary School Students	192
App.III.2. University Students	193
APPENDIX IV. MEDIA ANALYSIS.....	194

ABBREVIATIONS

--	No data available
---	No answers on the respective task; zero percent
a.o.	Among others
App.	Appendix
cit. in	Cited in
cp.	Compare (referring to a literature source)
ed.; eds.	Editor, editors
et al.	et alii (full list of authors in the bibliography)
f.; ff.	Including the following page(s)
n.d.	Non-defined (variable in tables etc.)
n.s.	Not stated (by the respective source)
v.	Vide/see (referring to another part of the text)

ABBREVIATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS

ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LDC	Least Developed Country
MPEA	Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs of Tanzania
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PTK	Professional, technical and kindred workers
UCLAS	University College of Lands and Architectural Studies
UDSM	University of Dar-es-Salaam
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

- Tab. 4.1.** Number of permanent and temporary emigrants (1980), respectively departing residents and labor migrants (1981) by year and European country of (intended) destination (cp. NBS, MPEA (eds.) 1982: 79 and NBS, MPEA (ed.) 1985: 79).
- Tab. 4.2.** Number of returning citizens from Europe by year and European country of departure (cp. NBS, MPEA (eds.) 1982: 48 and NBS, MPEA (ed.) 1985: 44).
- Tab. 4.3.** Tanzanian net migration, 1999 – 2010, inflow of refugees and minimum emigration, 2000 – 2003.
- Tab. 4.4.** “Long-term immigrants (...) by country (...) of intended permanent residence: latest available year” (UN 1991: 576 – 594), respectively “population by [Tanzanian] citizenship [and] sex” (UN 1991: 844 – 854).
- Tab. 4.5.** Stock of Tanzania-born population, respectively inflow of Tanzanian nationals or residents to selected European countries, 1990 – 2003. (cp. MPI. In: www.migrationinformation.org; 04/06/27).
- Fig. 5.1.** “Conceptualizing emigration dynamics” (Stahl. In: Appleyard (ed.) 1999: 236).
- Tab. 6.1.** Immigrants to the U.S. admitted by ‘occupational preferences’ (class of admission) and country of birth (cp. U.S. Department of Justice; various years; 04/07/15; U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2003; 04/07/15).
- Tab. 6.2.** African foreign students in higher education in selected countries (cp. UNESCO 1999. In: IOM (ed.) 2004; 04/07/15).
- Tab. 6.3.** Number of African foreign students in tertiary education by country of origin and country of destination (2001) (cp. OECD 2003; 2004/07/16).
- Fig. 8.1.** Typology of the students.
- Tab. 9.1.** ‘European’ countries listed by the students (first ten mentioned).
- Tab. 9.2.** Reasons for migration.
- Tab. 9.3.** Favored countries of destination and unattractive countries.
- Tab. 10.1.** Rating of information sources (university students).
- Tab. 10.2.** Main contents of the articles the named countries are associated with.
- Tab. III.1.** List of the sample: Secondary school students.
- Tab. III.2.** List of the sample: University students.
- Tab. IV.1.** Media Analysis by reported region, date, section, type of article, topic (headline), location, context and other regions mentioned.

I. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. INTRODUCTION

“Ulaya, watu wote wana kazi rahisi – in Europe, everybody has got easy work”, the street kid in Dar-es-Salaam tells me as he hands me over the package of peanuts I have just bought from his stall. The teenagers’ face brightens up as he continues, “There, they don’t have to work as hard as we have to. They live easy lives. And some of them don’t have to work at all, because if you don’t have a job, the government will give you money. You know, the people in Europe are incredibly rich. I will be lucky if one day I find a way to go there.”

This glowing praise of Europe was not the first I had heard in the streets of Tanzania’s biggest city during my visit to East Africa from July to August 2002. Like most other statements which usually involve the desire to emigrate to Europe it rather added to my curiosity than giving me any answers. Why were so many people in Tanzania eager to leave their families behind, the country they were born in, whose rules and regulations, structures and main languages they knew, in order to move to a completely alien region? How had this region, Europe, to be like? Why was it so attractive? During a two-month trip it was obviously not possible to find satisfying answers to these questions I had been asking myself, first out of personal interest and later because of my focus on migration during my studies.

Surprisingly, even the voluminous literature on migration theories was not able to answer these questions satisfyingly. Although the various theories provide numerous explanations, describing both the causes and the process of mi-

gration itself, which starts as soon as the potential migrants decide to move, they mostly do not cover the subject why people *opt* to move to a particular region and how they perceive this area (v. chapter 3)¹. Therefore, this paper makes a contribution to this 'subjective factor' of migration: The potential migrants' perception of Europe as a region of destination (which can be seen as decisive in an early stage of the migration process) will be investigated. In addition to the potential migrants' image of Europe, I will examine their anticipation of the migration process, especially their expectations about their integration into the society of the region of destination.

Another issue of interest is how the ideas and images of Europe develop. Which media in a broader sense, i.e. the mass media, different organizations and individuals etc., are used by potential migrants to gain information about their desired destination? In this context not only the potential migrants' statements will be analyzed, but also the image of Europe in the Tanzanian mass media in general. It can be supposed that the mass media play an important role in the process of gathering information and the formation of mental pictures about the region of destination, especially for migrants with higher education who have better access to them.

The research of this study was conducted between August 2003 and January 2004 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania (v. chapter 7). The subjects of this investigation were young, well-educated persons with a certain potential for future highly skilled positions. Originally, I planned to interview exclusively students from the University of Dar-es-Salaam and the University College of Lands and Architectural Studies, but by chance I was offered access to students of a public and a private secondary school as well. Therefore, I decided to enlarge the sample in order to also examine the views of these students who may not start

¹ It should be noted, however, that the intended region and the eventual region of destination may actually differ.

studying at UDSM or UCLAS, but either gain higher education directly at a foreign university or at another tertiary institution in Tanzania², or altogether quit the education system after secondary school (which applies to about 50 percent of all secondary school students; cp. NBS (ed.) 2003: 23). All in all, 23 students from the university of Dar-es-Salaam and 97 pupils from two secondary schools in Dar-es-Salaam were interviewed employing either self-completion questionnaires or personal interviews with structured questionnaires according to the following four questions:

1. How do well-educated young people imagine Europe to be like?
2. How do they anticipate their own integration into the society of the region of destination?
3. What are the sources of these assumptions?
4. Which role do the media play in the formation of certain expectations about the region of destination?

I examined these questions by using the following procedure: After analyzing the pre-tests I had made with university students, I designed two sets of questionnaires. The first one, which I used to interview the university students, consisted of both a structured questionnaire for personal interviews and a self-completion questionnaire. The second set was designed for the secondary school students and consisted of a self-completion questionnaire only, in which, among other tasks, I asked the pupils to write a short essay regarding their perception of 'good things' and 'bad things' of Europe. Two different questionnaires were necessary as both the pre-tests with university students and unstructured interviews with secondary school students revealed that young educated persons' intentions to migrate become more detailed and

² Tanzania has six public universities, ten private universities, two university colleges, 41 teacher training colleges, three technical colleges and 15 other institutions of tertiary education (cp. NBS (ed.) 2003: 22).

pointed with increasing age and level of education. Thus, university students are able to answer more detailed questions than pupils.

The role of the media in the formation of images about Europe was investigated by analyzing a sample of the media which the (university) students stated to consume most often, i.e. the Tanzanian daily newspaper 'The Guardian' (v. chapter 10.2.).

The detailed design, conduct and outcomes of the research are depicted in the third part of the text (v. part III.). A summary of the demographic and social features of the potential migrants and the used typology will be shown in chapter eight. The outcomes of the research will be presented in chapters nine and ten. Chapter nine will deal with the interviewed persons' expectations and their image of Europe, as well as their anticipated integration into the society of the region of destination and their ideas about the migration process itself. In order to structure the interviewees' images I used categories which were introduced by the students themselves, either during the pre-tests which laid the basis for the questionnaire, or during the main interviews. In the last chapter the potential migrants' information sources will be evaluated.

This work is based primarily on the theory of 'global migration' by Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny which will be discussed after a short definition of some important terms (v. chapter 2.) in chapter three, together with a review of selected migration theories. Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory is important in this context insofar as it introduces the concept of the migration *potential*, which explains the extent of people who *would* migrate, provided that certain preconditions enabled them to do so. According to his theory, 'global migration' depends on the interaction between two factors, namely the structural factor, i.e. the development differentials between nations, and the cultural factor which measures the influence of 'Western' values. If both factors range on a high

level, individuals conclude that migration is a favorable strategy of social upward mobility.

Preconditions which are responsible for the extent, composition and direction of actual migration *flows* will be presented in detail in chapter five, both from a general perspective and applied to the African development during the last two decades. One of these factors, which seems to be especially crucial for Africa in general and especially for East Africa, is the brain drain of students and of professional, technical and kindred workers. Chapter six deals with this substantial part of the Tanzanian migration to Europe.

Figures about the general extent of migration from Tanzania to Europe will be analyzed in chapter four, although the lack of migration-relevant data about the region makes statements about the actual extent of migration flows difficult. According to the CIA World Factbook, the UN, and the UNHCR (v. Tab. 4.3.), the annual migration out of Tanzania in the years from 2000 to 2003 varied from at least 50,000 to 250,000 emigrants. The influx of Tanzanians to European countries constitutes, however, only a small part of the country's emigrants. The Migration Policy Institute states that at least 818 Tanzanian citizens (0.8 percent of the total outflow) moved to Europe in the year 2000, and 1.3 percent in 2001. Although the MPI takes only nine European countries into account, and relies heavily on estimates and immigration statistics which do not include clandestine migrants, it can be assumed that the immigration of Tanzanians to Europe is only of minor importance.

However, the extent of *potential* migrants who would migrate if the current preconditions of migration changed can be supposed to be comparably bigger. According to Hoffmann-Nowotny, the amount of people willing to move is determined by the growth of the world population, and the structural and cultural distance between the world regions (cp. Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Robertson-Wensauer (ed.) 2000). Currently it seems to be rather improbable that ei-

ther the growth rate of the world population or the development differentials may decline, or that the cultural distance between the regions will rise. Therefore, it is highly plausible that the migration potential and likewise the number of potential migrants may well increase. Among these the highly educated, economically powerful young people will be the first to move. This paper mainly deals with this group of potential migrants; with their ideas about the migration process, as well as the information sources they use, and – most important – the expectations they have about their region of destination, which often (as I will explain in chapter eleven) mainly mirror their hopes and dreams about their future.

2. DEFINITIONS

The term 'migration' itself refers to the process of changing location, both in common and in sociological definitions. But this 'change of location' does not only mean traveling, the term 'social migration' for example relates to the change of the status of a person, no matter if he or she is migrating physically as well.

Apart from the kind of migration the geographical distance which is covered or was covered is crucial for the definition of the term. Lee (1972. Cit. in: Treibel 2003: 19) for instance defines migration as a "permanent or semi-permanent change of residence" – which is a rather broad definition, for it also includes the move from one part of a town to another, or even to the neighboring house.

Castle's definition (1993. Cit. in: Treibel 2003: 19), however, incorporates a political aspect besides the formerly mentioned geographical and sociological ones: For him, migrants are "persons who are staying permanently or for a longer period of time outside their country of origin." This definition, however, does not include individuals who are moving within a given country, e.g. rural-urban migrants or internally displaced people. The idea behind this definition is to consider only those people as migrants whose political status changes because of their migration (which does not apply to internal migration). However, from a sociological point of view this definition would be insufficient, since (almost) every migration over a longer distance, also within national borders, involves a social migration.

The way in which the term migration will be used in this text is, however, confined to the passage of national borders. Migration will mean first of all physical movement from a non-European country to Europe (respectively the countries which are defined as European countries in chapter 9.1.) – from Tanzania to Europe. Secondly, migration involves a change in the social status and – similar to Elias/Scotson (1990. Cit. in: Treibel 2003: 19) – in the sense of belonging to certain social groups. Furthermore, migration also relates to a change of the place of permanent residence which would include a one-semester student exchange but not a two-week holiday-trip. Indicators for this change of residence will be on the one hand the duration of stay (at least half a year), and on the other hand the intentions of the potential migrants which exclude, for example, holiday trips or (short) visits of relatives living in European countries.

Since the paper furthermore focuses on the anticipation of the region of destination before the start of the physical migration, this term will only cover voluntary migration. Involuntary migration, displacement or forced migration are excluded because in these cases the country of destination is often not chosen by the migrants themselves. A differentiation between temporary and permanent migration will not be undertaken because a lot of migrants might have the intention to return to their country of origin but may eventually not stand the chance to do so. In these cases the migration is both (intentionally) temporary and (de facto) permanent.

The term ‘image of Europe’ refers to the migrants’ expectations how this region of destination would be like. It is based on a set of characteristics which the students emphasized during the interview to be ‘typically European’, e.g. various social, political, economic, geographical, and educational features. It is furthermore of note that the potential migrants perceive Europe as a more or less homogeneous region. The term Europe, however, as it is perceived by the

interviewees, relates even to non-European nations as well, among them mainly highly developed Western countries.

The students divide the image of Europe into three different spheres of everyday life. First, there is the Europe of the stereotyped (white) citizens, the way in which they act, work, or study. Second, this region is perceived in connection with the clichés of migrants, i.e. their life and the problems they face in this alien environment. The third sphere becomes visible during the students' anticipation of their own situation, which is paradoxically utterly different from that of the 'typical' migrant.

Terms also used in this context, apart from image, include conception, perception, anticipation, assumption, and expectation (and the respective verbs). Despite their differences in meaning, they are used more or less synonymously and refer to the cognitive processes by which individuals collect information and explain their environment and their own situation within it. These processes depend on the individuals' belonging to a social stratum and on their education, their social roles, respective interests and perspectives. Other determinants of these cognitive processes are their position within communication networks, access to information, and furthermore the way in which they process and interpret the gathered information. Language and other cultural factors like traditions, ideologies, collective and personal stereotypes and prejudices are important in the perception of this image as well (cp. Fuchs-Heinritz et al. (eds.) 1995: 731).

The term 'potential migrants' includes all those people who express their wish or plan to migrate³ to Europe for a period longer than half a year and for another purpose than visiting a European country as a tourist. I created it in reference to Hoffmann-Nowotny's term of the migration potential (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin/Moser 1989: 29). But in contrast to his inclusion of huge

³ A detailed description of the use of the term migration and its definition in the interviews with the students will be given in chapter 9.

numbers of persons who might potentially migrate as soon as the chance arises to do so, even if they do not intend to move at the moment, I will use the term only to cover those people who *want* to migrate, which does not necessarily involve that they actually will. This of course does not say anything about their probability to actually migrate. By creating a typology which draws distinctions between two types of potentially migrating students according to their own assessments, I made an attempt to distinguish different stages of the potential migrants' preparations to move (v. chapter 8.2.).

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Why Migration Theories?

Why do individuals or groups migrate? The answers to this question seem to be obvious: poverty, political persecution or, even simpler, just 'wanderlust' are often stated in this context. However, this seemingly banal question has kept the social sciences busy for the last 120 years. The difficulty of the subject is rather revealed by a more detailed question: Why do some persons migrate and *others do not*? Poverty, political persecution or desire for change are obviously insufficient to answer this issue.

Parnreiter (In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 25) mentions some examples which make the insufficiency of an easy explanation more apparent:

"If it was mainly poverty that causes migrations, why do hundreds of millions of completely impoverished persons *not* emigrate out of the countries of the Third World? Why is the Turkish emigration rate twice as high as that of Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries in the world? Why did Germany have an emigration thirteen times higher than France between 1850 and 1900? Was it thirteen times poorer? (...) Why do the U.S.-immigrants mainly come from twelve countries and not from all 137 states which are cited as developing countries by the OECD?"

Many similar arguments can be retorted to other mono-causal explanations like political instable situations, social tensions etc. They are obviously of little help to elucidate why some people migrate while others do not.

Therefore, theories which elaborate explanatory patterns are necessary to describe the internal complexity of a phenomenon comprehensively. These explanatory systems may diverge because of the different scientific backgrounds, also reflecting the political-ideological attitude of their creator(s) and their empirical scope; they can complement or contradict each other. Still, these theories – even if they are not explicitly mentioned – are crucial for every scientific work on migration as they influence the search for and the selection of data and therefore lay the basis for the quality and the precision of the research. It is important to point out that *one* theory might be insufficient to understand the phenomenon of migration. Yet different theories or a combination of them can be helpful to enlighten various aspects of migration.

In the next chapter some selected theories from different disciplines and ideological schools will be analyzed, especially focusing on their consideration why people decide to migrate and what information sources they use.

It is necessary to draw a distinction between the different theories regarding their level of explanation. Woods (In: Humpl 1996: 83) indicates three levels:

- “1. *Grand Theories*: are comprehensive theories which deal with fundamental changes in the social, economic and demographic sphere. (...)
2. *Middle Range Theories*: are theories with a focus on population groups and their division in single categories. (...)
3. *Micro theories*: The subject of micro theories are individuals, families or households (...).”

Bähr (1983: 293f) only differentiates between a macro and a micro level referring to “(...) the first as a system category and the second as an individual category”. In analogy to this differentiation Philipper (1997: 17) states social-structural-holistic aggregate studies and actiontheoretical-individualistic individual studies, but adds that “both approaches looked at separately do not give a satisfying explanation for migration, because either the subjective reasons

and interests of the migrants are neglected, or a comprehensive basis for a quantitative survey of migration is missing." Therefore, he pleads for a synthesis of the two types of theories. According to Müller-Schneider (2000: 58), Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory of 'global migration' is an example for such a synthesis (v. chapter 3.3.): "[It] considers both the change of macro structures, i.e. the ongoing development towards 'one world' [i.e. a global society], and the subjects who want to improve their global situations within the global system of inequality because of their new orientation towards Western values."

Apart from the separation of the different levels, the early migration theories were often criticized because of their a-historical and particularistic view. As a result, Parnreiter (In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 26) is able to observe a "shift in the paradigms of migration studies" during the 1980s. Zolberg (In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 26) summarizes the features of these new theories as following:

- „(1) they are generally historical (...) in [a sense of] paying appropriate attention to the changing specificities of time and space;
- (2) they are generally structural rather than individualistic, focusing on the social forces that constrain individual action (...);
- (3) they are generally globalist;
- (4) they are generally critical, sharing to some degree a commitment to social science as a process of demystification and rectification, and in particular are concerned with the consequences of international migrations for the countries of origin and destination, as well as the migrants themselves."

3.2. Selected Migration Theories

In this chapter, some migration theories, both 'classical' and 'new' approaches, will be explained and evaluated according to their consideration of the individuals' decision to migrate.

These theories will be analyzed with regard to the following questions:

- How does the respective theory explain the migrants' choice of the country/ region of destination?
- Which role does information about the country of destination, circumstances of migration etc. play in the decision to migrate?
- Which influence do the mass media – an important information source – have on the decision to migrate?
- Which other institutions (e.g. state, education system, migration networks, etc.) provide information about the migration process and the country of destination?

3.2.1. Ravenstein and the Gravitation Models

In the year 1885, the British sociologist Ernest George Ravenstein published an essay called the 'Laws of Migration', which he had written for the Royal Statistical Society. The text is based on data from the censuses of 1871 and 1881. It was formulated in the context of an increasing internal migration of rural labor force towards urban areas during the second half of the 19th century and can be seen as one of the first scientific attempts to explain migration. His work is still important as it constitutes the basis of many modern theories, especially the so-called Gravitation Models.

Ravenstein's eleven 'Laws of Migration' mainly describe the route of the migration, its distance, the regions of origin and destination (i.e. the rural areas versus the urban centers), the migrants' demographic features and the extent of the migration. Ravenstein also classifies migrants, considering both the dura-

tion and the distance of their migration (cp. Hollerwöger 1988: 2000). The reasons for migration are stated in the last hypothesis, where he emphasizes that “the major causes of migration are economic ones” (Ravenstein 1885. Cit. in: Humpl 2000: 86). The meaning of information flows is not examined specifically but he mentions that the increasing extent of migration is related to industrial development and the improvement of transportation systems, which inevitably improves information flows over longer distances (cp. Hollerwöger 1988: 201).

Ravenstein’s distance criterion is one of the key factors of the Gravitation Models. These models correspondingly state that the extent of migration decreases with increasing distance from the place of origin. According to them, the selection of the region of destination mainly depends on two factors, the first one being the region’s geographical accessibility and the familiarity with social and psychological patterns of the area compared to the region of origin. The second factor is the availability of information on the country of destination. It is assumed that the last factor loses importance with increasing distance (cp. e.g. Humpl 2000:88, Hollerwöger 1988: 202), which seems, however, to be inappropriate considering that due to modern mass communication, geographical distance is easily covered nowadays⁴.

3.2.2. *Economic Theories*

The **neoclassic theories** consider migration to be the “result of the disequilibrium of supply and demand” (Parnreiter. In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 27). According to these models, the migrant acts as an individual, decides rationally and tries to maximize his or her economic profit. Sjaastad (1962) describes mi-

⁴ Factors which are responsible for the selection of information in mass media are mentioned by the theory of news value by Lutz Erbring. Besides geographical and cultural distance, they include the topicality and familiarity of the theme, conflict or abnormality, and influence and importance of the actors. Therefore, these factors also have influence in the availability of information for the recipients. (cp. Erbring 1994: 76ff).

gration as a flow of people between areas with earnings differentials, leading to a wage equalization and the optimal allocation of resources, i.e. the labor force. Todaro (1980) extended this model by stressing that the migrant does not actually decide because of the *real* earnings differentials but because of the *expected* (higher) income in the country of destination compared to his/her income in case he or she did not move (cp. Parnreiter. In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 27).

The neoclassic migration theories were often criticized as being a-historical, mechanistic, and unable to explain the actions of migrants “in connection to the concrete historic actors’ migration pattern but try to do so through mathematically expressed axioms of their (inner) behavior” (Müller-Schneider 2000: 58). They can, however, neither explain why rather the middle than the lower classes of poorer countries tend to migrate, nor why past migrations happened, or predict future ones.

According to the neoclassic migration theories, the selection of the region of destination and the role of information flows in the decision process is explained as follows:

Borjas, besides Todaro one of the most prominent representatives of the neoclassic theories, states that information about the country of destination is one factor for the decision to migrate, especially for the selection of a certain country of destination:

“[T]he pool of immigrants in the host country is composed of persons who found it profitable to leave the country of origin *and* who did not find it profitable to migrate anywhere else.” (Borjas 1988. In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 28)

However, he does not clarify on which information the migrants’ decision is based or what information sources they use.

Furthermore, this economic model is not able to explain different migration patterns to countries of nearly equal expected incomes and unemployment

rates, as well as highly similar immigration policies; the latter are cited by Borjas as another crucial factor determining migration flows.

Generally, the neoclassic theories suppose that the migrants are able to inform themselves fully, without any restrictions, about their countries of destination. But this assumption is rarely realistic, as Humpl (1996: 93) mentions:

“[There is] always a lack of information concerning employment and income prospects in the country of destination. Nonetheless this deficiency can actually (...) prevent labor force from moving which would have otherwise intended to migrate.”

From what has been said it can be concluded that the neoclassic theories seriously underestimate the importance of the acquisition of (accurate or inaccurate) data about the country of destination: information is assumed to be ‘objective’ and fully accessible for the potential migrants. Thus, the selection of the country respectively the region of destination is mainly the result of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors that, according to these theories, ‘objectively’ exist in the countries of origin and the region of destination. Still, the possibility that potential migrants may be oblivious to these factors due to wrong or incomplete information is not taken into account.

The often expressed criticism of the neoclassic theories that the migrants’ level of information was not considered led to an extension of the ‘Push-Pull Model’ by introducing a new, sociological factor: the **Migrant-Stock-Variable**. Treibel (2003: 40) describes the Migrant-Stock-Variable (or information hypothesis) as the ‘first addition’ to the ‘Push-Pull Models’. It qualifies the impact of “personal relations and information flows between those who have already migrated and those who possibly might migrate, [which] enormously contributes to the decision to migrate.” (Treibel 2003: 40)

So contrary to the original ‘Push-Pull Model’ that regards the migrants’ decision to be ‘objective’, rational and independent from information flows, the

focus of the Migrant-Stock-model is on the individuals' perception and ability to gain information. The starting point for the decision to migrate (as well as for the anticipation of the region of destination, which can trigger the wish to do so) is the possibly incorrect information the migrants have access to.

But still, the model does not explain the quality of and the sources of information. The importance of migration networks for the provision of information is taken into account but this can only explain chain migration but not the migration of the first generation.

Oded Stark's '**New Economics of Migration**' has a different focus than the neoclassic theories: According to the former, it is not only the migrants themselves who decide whether they want to go abroad, but also their families⁵. Therefore, not the profit maximization of the individual is the center attention of the theory (as it is the case in the neoclassic model), but the migrants' remittances to their families in the country of origin. The families in turn act as an insurance for the migrants as they can support them during the early stages of their migration.

According to Stark, migration is caused by two main phenomena: First of all by "insufficiently or not working markets [in the region of emigration, V.P.], especially concerning capital and insurances". This structural insufficiency makes it more rewarding for the family to "invest [the surplus from work in rural areas] in a son or daughter in order to gain higher and/or more stable profits from urban sources" (Parnreiter. In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 32). A second possible cause of migration is a family's or an individual's *relative* pauperization, which refers to their social and economic position in comparison with a reference group. Thus, the highest rate of emigration does not necessarily occur

⁵ Here, the term family refers to patriarchal, extended families "which include three or more [consanguine] generations" (Koschnick 1992: 272) and "provide the cooperative socio-economic setting needed for the procreation, care and socialization of children" (Koschnick 1992: 308).

in the poorest areas but in areas with a highly unequal distribution of income. Other factors which have to be taken into account in order to analyze the given extent of migration flows are, according to Stark, the individuals' feelings of insecurity, their strategies of reduction of (financial) risks and forms of income pooling which function as insurances.

The reference group mentioned by Stark by which the individuals measure their own (economic) status is the rural society where information (and therefore the knowledge or feeling of pauperization) can be exchanged face-to-face. In the following it will be analyzed how this group is composed in the case of international migration: The economic hypothesis of the 'International Demonstration Effect' points out that the middle and upper classes in 'developing countries' perceive the living style of people in 'developed countries' and wish to copy it. Thus, the reference group 'rural society' becomes the much-cited 'global society', as Müller-Schneider (2000: 100) emphasizes, "The globalized mass media visualize the Western life style across the whole world and therefore contribute crucially to the diffusion of Western values." According to this modification of Stark's model, the accessibility of information (via the mass media) has a decisive influence on the migrants' anticipation of their integration into the society of the region of destination. Therefore, it has a considerable effect on the decision to migrate as well. However, the migration process – including the selection of the country/region of destination, the role of the mass media and other social institutions and the conditions under which migration happens – are not explained by this model.

According to the models in the tradition of the **World-System-theory and Neomarxism**⁶, migration (both voluntary and compulsory) is a subsystem of the capitalist world market which has been important since the beginning of

⁶ As Parnreiter (2000: 32) emphasizes this synopsis of different theories is quite problematic because most of the authors do not explicitly refer to these schools. However, since this classification is used in the literature frequently (cp. e.g. Müller-Schneider 2000; Parnreiter 2000) it will be retained in this text.

the 18th century. They emphasize that migration did not simply develop but had to be actively initiated (by the countries of origin and destination, which both gain advantages through this migration) because certain links between the centers and the peripheries were still missing:

“Absolute gaps of economic advantage meant nothing to the population of outlying areas, for it neither could grasp their significance nor find the means of transportation to take advantage of them.” (Portes/Walton 1981. In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 33)

Migration is initially enabled and consequently accelerated by the processes of globalization, i.e. increasing trade, cheaper means of transport, and the new media, which provide access to information and communication (cp. Parnreiter. In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 34). Barriers to mobility are reduced or removed by the formation of transnational space. “Objective and ideological linkages” (Sassen 1988. In: Husa et al. (eds.) 2000: 35) between certain countries of origin and destination further contribute to the extent of migration.

According to these models, the selection of the region of destination is determined – among other factors – by those ‘linkages’. They can be material, ideological or cultural, and contribute to the improvement in communication channels and transport systems and therefore support migration.

The world-system and neomarxist models were especially criticized for their lopsided orientation towards economic factors only and the neglect of cultural aspects and the “precise causal actions which contribute to an extended immigration in this context” (Müller-Schneider 2000: 63).

3.2.3. Sociological Theories

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt's theory of the '**Three Stages of Migration**' analyzes problems within social systems which are closely linked to migration. It is influenced by the works of Talcott Parsons who investigated the evolutionary processes of structural changes (cp. Han 2000: 46).

According to Eisenstadt the process of migration consists of three stages: the development of the decision to move, the actual traveling and the migrants' integration into the society of immigration. In the following, only the first stage will be considered as it is of interest with regards to the question of how the potential migrants gain information.

During the formation of migration motives the potential migrants are generally led by feelings of insecurity and inadequacy concerning their living conditions in their place of origin (cp. Albrecht 1972. In: Schultz 2000: 15f). The process itself, according to Han (2000: 46), is not a "single ad-hoc-decision" but a "gradually deepening disposition". He continues that

"during this process both a material and a socio-cultural improvement of the living conditions by moving to the place of destination is imagined and anticipated" (Eisenstadt 1952. In: Han 2000: 46).

Nevertheless, he does not consider how information is gathered and structured by the potential migrants. Thus, his hypotheses neither clarify whether the migrants actively choose a certain country of destination, nor from where they receive the information about the respective country. However, Eisenstadt emphasizes that the migrants *have* images about the "material and socio-cultural improvement of the living conditions they would experience if they moved to the place of destination" (Eisenstadt 1952. In: Han 2000: 46). Thus, he implicitly concedes that information flows bear relevance to the formation of migration motives. The question about the specific content of these ideas and motives, however, remains unanswered.

In contrast, the **Migration Network Theories** and those of the **Transnational Social Space**, which restrict themselves to the topics of continuity and self-reproduction of migration, mainly deal with the issue of the selection of information. According to the Migration Network Theories “increasing information about the region of destination, reduced costs of migration and declining risks” contribute to the original motives of migration and “send, at a certain point of the [chain] migration, an independent stimulus that is responsible for the continuation of the migration” (Parnreiter. In: Husa et al. 2000: 36). Thus, the choice of a certain region of destination depends mainly on the availability of (possibly biased) information passed on by networks in the potential countries of destination.

The Theories of Transnational Social Space underline the importance of networks by emphasizing the disconnection of social space to geographical/political space (and therefore also to national borders) nowadays. Because of the existence of networks, the potential migrants lose their social ties to a certain place and establish them instead to different locations (cp. Parnreiter. In: Husa et al. 2000: 39).

The crucial factor initiating chain migration is thus the (inevitably selective) information provided by networks in the countries of destination. However, networks are regarded as the *only* important information source, thereby neglecting the impact of other information sources as, for example, the mass media or other institutions which (implicitly) contribute to ideas concerning the potential countries of destination. Furthermore, these theories do not clarify which conditions in the country of destination have to be fulfilled to be selected by the potential migrants (especially if they have nearly equally strong social ties to various communities in different countries of destination).

Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory of **Structural and Anomic Tensions** refers mainly to the reasons of emigration, which he assumes to be founded on anomic tensions that result from structural tensions within the so-

cieties of origin. Its central dimensions are power and prestige, the former being defined as “the degree to which an actor can enforce his claim for participation in central social values” while the latter represents “the degree to which an actor’s claim for participation in central social values is regarded as legitimate” (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970. Cit. In: Han 2000: 55).

Structural tensions are described as factors which initiate social change and occur as a consequence of inequalities between power and prestige. Anomic tensions on the other hand are “a consequence of structural tensions intending to reduce respectively to balance out the latter” (Han 2000: 56, cp. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970). The individual members of a social system can choose between different anomic actions to even out the differences they perceive between their power and prestige.

One of the possible reactions to structural tensions is ‘mobility’, i.e. the “change of one’s position along the defined power- and prestige-lines” (Han 2000: 56). Therefore, immigration into another social system whose structural tensions appear to be less than the one of the region of origin is one of the possibilities for a member of a certain society to balance out perceived tensions. According to Hoffmann-Nowotny, the aim of the migration is “a positive change of the [migrant’s] position along the status lines” (Han 2000: 56): the migrants quit their affiliation to a system with many tensions and instead strive for a membership in a social system with less structural tensions.

According to this theory, factors which are present in the country of origin play a decisive role in (an early stage of) the migration process. The society of destination, however, has to display “fewer social tensions than the system left behind” (cp. Han 2000: 56, cp. Hoffmann-Nowotny 1970). The decision whether and where to migrate relies – among other factors – on the accessibility of information about the structural tensions in the regions/countries of destination. Which institutions provide this information and what its quality is like remains, however, unsolved by the theory.

3.3. Hoffmann-Nowotny: Migration Within a 'Global Society'

Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory concerning 'global migration' is characterized by Müller-Schneider as a "further development of the theory of structural and anomic tensions". According to the theory, global migration is one of the effects of "the emergence of a global society [that results] from the diffusion of the Western 'structure and culture model' which occurred in the course of the penetration of the world by the high-developed nations" (Müller-Schneider 2000: 56).

The migration potential, i.e. the amount of persons who *would* migrate provided that certain preconditions enabled them to do so (v. chapter 5.), is determined by two factors, as there are

- the *cultural factor*, i.e. the integration of values and
- the *structural factor*, i.e. the development differentials between national unities of the global society, which can cause the individuals to regard immigration as "specific strategy for social upward mobility" (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin 1989: 30).

However, the plausibility of migration as a strategy for social upward mobility is, according to Hoffmann-Nowotny, only explicable by the cultural factor, i.e. the homogenization of values. The therefore emerging "*joint visions* of prosperity, welfare, social justice, human rights etc. (...) are the only reason why the international system's structure, i.e. the therein existing inequality of living standards and chances, is perceived by the individual consciousness" (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1991. Cit. in: Müller-Schneider 2000: 57; Italics by Hoffmann-Nowotny).

This particularly applies to "the urban class, which has access to the various stages of the education system (which to a large extent imitates those of developed nations, with analogous consequences for the process of socialization) but who must regard themselves as unemployed or underemployed or at least as

underpaid if they compare their situation to that of the corresponding class in the developed countries" (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin 1989: 33). Emigration from LDCs therefore often constitutes a kind of brain drain, especially since the higher educated strata are usually the ones being economically privileged, and thus the costs of migration aren't insuperable hurdles for them.

Although the realization of the wish to migrate depends on other factors, e.g. the colonial past of the country of origin, the existence of networks in the country of destination, the geographical and cultural distance between the regions of emigration and immigration, and the emigration and immigration policies of the countries of origin and destination, the migration potential is determined by the potential migrants' individual decisions, which are formed by (the interplay of) the two variables 'development differences' and 'integration of values'.

Consequently it can be concluded that the migrants do have (more or less concrete) images about the region of destination, for it is chosen consciously to improve their social status (within the world society). According to Hoffmann-Nowotny the migrants do not restrict their selection to *one* country but choose a region of destination which they assume to hold a higher position in the 'global scale' of development.

The mass media play a central role in this decision process: First of all, they provide the migrants with relevant information which enables them to assess whether the achievement of their desire to migrate is possible. Secondly, the mass media provide (again among other sources, e.g. networks) information that leads persons in the regions of emigration to the conclusion that economic differences do exist between the different regions of the world society, and that their country of origin is economically, politically, legally, socially etc. less developed than the region of destination. They are responsible that the 'development gradient' between the world regions is perceived by the individual consciousnesses. Third, the mass media are responsible for the establishment of

Hoffmann-Nowotny's second key variable: the 'integration of values'. They are the ones that contribute (together with other institutions, e.g. the education system) to the global homogenization of values and the therefore emerging "*joint visions* of prosperity, welfare, social justice, human rights etc." (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1991. Cit. in: Müller-Schneider 2000: 57).

3.4. Theoretical Orientation

This paper is influenced by the following of the previously mentioned theories and models: the concept of the brain drain (v. chapter 6.) and network theories (v. chapter 9.3.4.) will be used to analyze the migrants' wish to study or work abroad. Models explaining the transnationality of social structures (v. chapter 9.3.) will be employed to evaluate the role networks play in the potential migrants' selection of the countries of destination.

The interaction and the relative importance of Hoffmann-Nowotny's two variables, introduced in his theory of 'global migration', which determine the migration potential, i.e. the integration of values (or *cultural factor*) and the global development differentials (or *structural factor*) will be examined in the empirical part of the paper (v. part III.). Therein, I will discuss if and how these structural differentials are formulated by a chosen sample (v. chapter 8) which was interviewed about their assumptions about certain functional systems of society, e.g. economic and political features, working and social conditions, and education. The integration of values can be re-constructed out of some of the students' statements as well, but will not be analyzed separately.

Besides the students' ideas of development differentials between Tanzania and Europe, their presumptions of both their own and other migrants' chances "of social upward mobility" (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin 1989: 30) through migration will be investigated. Therefore, chapter nine will also deal with the migrants' expectations about their own integration into the society of destina-

tion. The students will be interviewed about their preparatory measures for and ideas about the process of migration as well.

However, it has to be emphasized once more that potential migrants are defined as those persons who express their *intention* to migrate and not the ones who actually *will* migrate (v. chapter 2), which is slightly different to the way in which Hoffmann-Nowotny uses the term. Still, the *potential* migrants, whether they migrate or not, will be subject to the conclusions drawn in the following text.

As the manifestation of the two variables mentioned above can be excellently examined in the mass media, one medium will be evaluated according to Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory as an example. It was chosen after an assessment of the importance of various information sources during the interviews with university students.

The sample – or rather the two samples, as explained in chapter 7.3. – was selected in agreement with Hoffmann-Nowotny's hypothesis that his theory particularly applies to the “urban class, who have access to the various stages of the education system”, namely secondary school and university students. This, however, leads to various consequences for the design and systematic restrictions on the outcomes of the research as shown in chapter 8.1.

II. MIGRATION FROM TANZANIA TO EUROPE

4. EXTENT OF THE MIGRATION OUT OF TANZANIA

4.1. Preliminary Remarks About Data Acquisition and Statistics

“Ricca (1989) observed that ‘Africa is often described as a continent perpetually on the move. It would be more accurate to say that the people of Africa are perpetually on the move, for there are few other regions in the world where the population is so mobile.’” (Adepoju 1991: 205).

Although most experts dealing with migration in Africa agree on the above statement, they rarely present figures to substantiate it, or if they do, they generalize from statistics and data on a few African countries about the whole continent. A closer look at the data available from African nations justifies this method, as Gould (1985: 5), who compiled a bibliography of international migration of skilled manpower within Africa, emphasizes, “Studies of international migration were, and still are, hampered by a much less adequate data base”. Furthermore, he adds, his bibliography “is short (only about 100 items) and highly variable in depth and value of each item for the study concerned, but taken as a whole it is disappointingly lacking in direct information and insights into the phenomenon”.

Afolayan (1999: 527f) mentions some reasons for the lack of data, which is usually obtained from “census returns, registration of entries and exits at border posts [sic] and agencies handling refugee matters or recruitment of contract labour”. Censuses are stated as an inadequate means of compiling data about migration insofar as they are first of all an instrument which is rather slow to assess changes of the population size. Secondly, they often lack “core variables that are needed in measuring migration”. Thirdly, they are only able to meas-

ure immigration, but cannot evaluate emigration. Concerning the use of border controls as a data source, Afolayan emphasizes the “mostly (...) inadequate coverage of the events”, especially on land or water borders (in contrast to the relatively reliable data produced by border controls at airports). As with all other types of migrants, official statistics on refugees may vary significantly according to the definitions applied; therefore, they may be distorted by “tendencies by some of the agencies in inflating or under-reporting the figures”. The usually “large scale and sudden nature of refugee occurrences” further complicates the data acquisition. Afolayan concludes that the most accurate data on official migration is produced by labor recruitment agencies, which of course only applies to countries that are used as a base for labor recruitment.

In Tanzania, official data on migration is generally collected by censuses, checkpoints and UN-organizations, mainly by the UNHCR. Data on migration out of Tanzania, however, shows severe limitations:

Neither censuses nor surveys are capable of directly producing information about emigration. However, an approximate figure can be estimated by the difference between the net migration⁷ of a certain period and the number of foreigners moving to the country during that period. Unfortunately, recent Tanzanian surveys (e.g. the Household Budget Survey 2000/01) did not cover citizenship as a core variable. Explicit migration data, on the other hand, rather refers to internal movements, e.g. between districts, regions or rural and urban areas. Extensive data from the census 2002 is not accessible yet and the general report of the former census from 1988 does not include comprehensive tables of the population composition. Like most of the other sources, it suffers from severe limitations when trying to explicate illegal residence, since even the cen-

⁷ For a definition v. chapter 4.2.2.

sus (which is conceived as an inquiry of the whole population or at least every household) is not able to record unregistered or hidden individuals.

Tanzanian checkpoints are responsible for the transmission of immigration and emigration forms, which have to be filled out by each migrant when passing the border, to the Department for Migration Services at the Ministry of Inner Affairs (Wizara ya Mambo ya Ndani). The variables of the 'Declaration of Arrival' and 'Declaration of Departure' cards that have to be filled out are fixed in 'The Immigration Act No. 7 of 1995' (United Rep. of Tanzania (ed.) 2001) and in Regulation 22 and 24 of 'The Immigration Regulations 1972' (United Rep. of Tanzania (ed.) 1972. In: NBS 1982: 10) and include:

1. Names, sex and passport number, date and place of birth, occupation, and number of dependants traveling on the respective passport;
2. Country of residence and nationality;
3. Country of entry (Kenya/Uganda/other) [for arrivals only];
country of destination [for departures only];
4. Method of travel into/from Tanzania (by air/road/sea/rail/lake);
5. Purpose of journey (holiday/business trip/transit/residence or work) [for arrivals only];
Is the planned duration of stay abroad exceeding one year? (yes/no) [for departing residents only];
6. Expected length of stay [for arrivals only];
7. First visit to Tanzania this year (yes/no) [for arrivals only];
8. Address in Tanzania [for arrivals only].

Until the year 1985 the cards of departure and arrival were evaluated and published by the NBS. Since 1985 the Statistics Section of the Migration Department has been responsible for the revising of the data. They were published the last time in 1985 for the year 1981. According to the spokesman of the Department, more recent data can be inquired at the Director of Immigra-

tion Services. However, a formal inquiry about recent statistics remained fruitless, therefore the most recent primary data available to me turned out to be the Migration Statistics 1980 and the 1981 Migration Statistics Report.

International multilateral organizations (among them especially the World-bank and the UN-organizations) which compile and publish data on migration in secondary analysis are a precious information source. As they usually produce comprehensive statistics of different variables for more than one country, this data allows the comparison of certain features between countries. Unfortunately, they also depend on the availability of data from the responsible national agencies. Therefore, neither the United Nations Demographic Yearbooks (especially the 41st issue from 1989 with a special topic on international migration statistics), nor the annual ECOSOC publications on 'World Population Prospects' or 'World Population Monitoring' (and here especially the issue from 1997 on 'International Migration and Development') showed much data about the migration out of Tanzania, except prospects and estimates on the migration rate. However, the yearbooks provide data on immigration to (selected) European countries, sometimes even further detailed by the nationalities of the immigrants and/or their countries of former residence. However, the different instruments used to collect data and the varying definitions applied by the data-compiling institutions produce figures which are not comparable straight away.

Directly collected data about migration by multilateral and non-governmental organizations has to be handled with care, since, first of all, their definitions might vary as well, and, secondly, they often focus on certain phenomena which are associated with migration (e.g. asylum applications and refugees), but do not provide comprehensive immigration and emigration statistics. Concerning the migration from Tanzania to Europe, they are still useful

as they make a contribution to the data available about Tanzanian immigration to Europe.

Generally, most of the sources either provide information about legal migration only, or do not further specify whether they cover the clandestine part as well⁸. Since Tanzania is a sending country with rather low immigration to Europe, there are neither estimates about the rate of clandestine migration from Tanzania nor about the demographic features of Tanzanian migrants. However, demographic analyses of Ugandan migrants – it can be estimated that they show parallels to Tanzanian migrants – reveal that a great percentage of the migrants are highly educated or highly skilled persons who intend to (and indeed do) study abroad or work in academic positions and who therefore have to enter the country legally. This fact allows to conclude, however with caution, that only a small part of the Ugandan immigrants to European countries access this region illegally (cp. Logan 1992: 294). But since demographic analyses of Tanzanian migration are not obtainable, similar conclusions for Tanzania can only be based on the similar structural conditions of these two countries.

⁸ Definitions of migrant stocks or net migration rates often do not explicate their sources and thus do not specify whether they are based on estimates including clandestine migration figures, or on official data from sources which only treat legal immigration and emigration.

4.2. Migration out of Tanzania

As explained above, the figures for the Tanzanian emigration are either based on estimates and vague calculations, or are almost 25 years old. Therefore, a description of the migration out of Tanzania can only be a careful assessment of the annual population movement, but cannot provide concrete figures on the phenomenon.

4.2.1. National Migration Statistics

The emigration statistics from the NBS and the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs for 1980 include “permanent emigrants, temporary emigrants, visitors on holiday, visitors on business and persons in transit⁹” (the source defines visitors as “people who leave Tanzania after a holiday, [respectively] a business trip”) (NBS, MPEA (eds.) 1982: 2). The statistics for 1981 include “[persons departing in order to] work, departing residents, visitors on holiday, visitors on business, persons in transit, and [persons departing for] other purpose” (NBS, MPEA (eds.) 1985: 54). Both of them provide analyses by “country of nationality, country of residence, country of final destination, port of exit, method of travel, purpose of journey and month of emigration” (NBS, MPEA (eds.) 1982: 2).

The reports state 37,408 permanent or temporary (former resident) emigrants for the year 1979 and 41,449 permanent or temporary emigrants for 1980. Out of the latter, 27,843 are Tanzanian citizens, and 25,509 persons emigrating to work or for ‘other purposes’. For 1981 the report counts 25,483 departing residents, out of whom 21,858 are indicated to be Tanzanian citizens. However, these figures include people leaving to all parts of the world, with most of them staying in Africa. It is furthermore not indicated whether persons

⁹ Since all of the forms are filled out before the departure, they only indicate the migrants’ intention to migrate permanently or temporarily.

who frequently have to cross the borders to the neighboring countries, especially Kenya and Uganda, (e.g. fishermen on Lake Victoria, cattle farmers or petty traders) are registered each time they cross the borders. However, the Collection of Official Statistics in Tanzania (NBS et.al. 1994: 8) states that

“data is collected from all persons who enter or leave the country. In practice however the movements around the borders for persons who live near these borders are not recorded.”

As shown in table 4.1., the absolute figures of migration to Europe in 1980 and 1981 are relatively low but still comprise about a third of all registered emigrants during these two years:

Country of Destination (Europe)	1980	1981	Country of Destination (Europe)	1980	1981
Australia [sic!]	75	n.s.	Ireland	48	n.s.
Austria	111	n.s.	Italy	747	632
Belgium	274	72	Netherlands	617	873
Britain	5,766	2,472	New Zealand [sic!]	54	n.s.
Denmark	371	556	Norway	199	n.s.
F.R.G. (West Germany)	1,091	829	Sweden	626	640
France	264	351	Switzerland	445	592
G.D.R.	92	n.s.	U.S.S.R	561	859
Greece	330	n.s.	Other European countries	582	1,349
Europe Total	12,253	9,225	% of emigrating residents	29.6%	36.2%

Tab. 4.1. Number of permanent and temporary emigrants (1980), respectively departing residents and labor migrants (1981) by year and European country of (intended) destination (cp. NBS, MPEA (eds.) 1982: 79 and NBS, MPEA (ed.) 1985: 79).

The numbers of returning residents furthermore reveal that in 1980 only about half as many people returned from Europe as departed to it, while in the following year the situation was almost vice versa with twice as many returns than departures. However, the volatility of the figures rather hints at the unreliability of the data than indicating specific migration trends, for whose analysis, anyway, the documentation of longer periods would be necessary.

Country of Destination (Europe)	1980	1981	Country of Destination (Europe)	1980	1981
Australia [sic!]	17	n.s.	Ireland	24	n.s.
Austria	37	n.s.	Italy	332	782
Belgium	85	241	Netherlands	380	n.s.
Britain	2,574	5,349	New Zealand [sic!]	15	n.s.
Denmark	449	758	Norway	99	n.s.
F.R.G. (West Germany)	522	1,509	Sweden	283	803
France	189	770	Switzerland	217	1,393
G.D.R.	7	n.s.	U.S.S.R	151	700
Greece	168	n.s.	Other European countries	253	3,564
Europe Total	5802	15,869	% of emigrating residents	47.6%	172.5%

Tab. 4.2. Number of returning citizens from Europe by year and European country of departure. (cp. NBS, MPEA (eds.) 1982: 48 and NBS, MPEA (ed.) 1985: 44)

Surprisingly, more recently compiled figures for the two years (cp. NBS et.al. 1990: 39) reveal distinctly higher numbers of people leaving the country, i.e. 104,457 emigrants in total (including tourists) for 1980, with 42,836 emigrants being Tanzanian residents¹⁰ and 30,955 of them departing by plane¹¹. For 1981, the respective figures are 140,957 emigrants in total, with 64,542 emigrating Tanzanian residents and 34,403 of them traveling abroad from an airport. The respective table for the period from 1980 to 1983 (NBS et al. 1990: 39) shows a clear increase in the emigration of Tanzanians for all three means of transport (by air, road/rail and other).

Unfortunately, it is not possible to estimate whether and how these variables have developed during the last twenty years. Net migration rates indicate, however, much higher rates of migration out of Tanzania, although being on the whole rather inconsistent.

¹⁰ The comparison of the figures for the two terms "Tanzanian citizens" and "Tanzanian residents" in the two different sources is, however, highly problematic, since the latter includes non-citizens who successfully applied for a Tanzanian residence permit, e.g. foreign students, researchers, foreign employees of international enterprises, people working in development co-operation, etc.

¹¹ The category "departure by plane" does not only indicate that the emigrants obviously plan to travel longer distances, but also shows the lack of data from land and water borders, since the emigration by "road/rail" can be estimated to be higher than the 9,191 emigrating Tanzanian residents (i.e. not even nine percent of all emigrants in total) which are stated under this item.

4.2.2. Net Migration Rate

The net migration rate is defined as “the figure for the difference between the number of persons entering and leaving a country during the year per 1,000 persons (based on midyear population). An excess of persons entering the country is referred to as net immigration (e.g. 3.56 migrants/1,000 population); an excess of persons leaving the country as net emigration (e.g. -9.26 migrants/1,000 population). The net migration rate indicates the contribution of migration to the overall level of population change” (CIA World Factbook 2004. In: www.cia.gov; 04/07/02). Absolute figures indicate the difference between the number of immigrating and the number of emigrating persons.

Since all of the figures for the migration in and out of Tanzania presented below are based on estimates, and until 2003 also on rough calculations of the country's population size – for the last census was conducted in 1988 – they can vary enormously, depending on the source and the time of the data compilation. The main sources from which the following data derive are different UN Yearbooks, the CIA World Factbook and various internet sites, which are mostly referring to the above mentioned data collections. Again, the comparison of various statistics is quite problematic and it is rather useful to show trends than to make exact statements about certain parameters.

In East Africa the net migration rate is negative, which means that emigration exceeds immigration. Although the figure is rather small compared to other less developed regions, especially the Asian LDCs, it was the biggest net outflow on the whole continent (in 1996). During the period from 1990 to 1995, there was a net outflow of 258.000 migrants, compared to a population size of over 227 millions. The net migration rate for the region is thus -1.2 migrants per 1,000 population (cp. UN 1998: 167).

The net migration rate of Tanzania seems to be even higher than that of the whole region (v. Tab. 4.4.). In relation to the absolute population size, the net

migration amounts to a number between about 3,000 and 176,000 emigrants per year. According to population statistics by the UN-Department for Economic and Social Affairs (2002. In: www.un.org/esa; 04/05/14), the average annual net migration between 1995 and 2000 was -47,000 persons or -1.4 per mille. These figures indicate the *minimum* number of emigrants, since they were calculated as the difference between departures and entries. The amount of immigrants to Tanzania is unfortunately as uncertain as the number of individuals leaving the country, but according to data by the UNHCR (www.unhcr.ch; 04/07/03), the annual inflows of refugees and asylum seekers (who supposedly constitute a great part of the Tanzanian immigrants, provided that they are included in the net-migration) are between 30,000 and 100,000 per year. Thus, since the migration out of Tanzania consists of the negative net migration plus immigration to the country, the estimated minimum emigration of Tanzania varies between about 54,000 and 240,000 persons per year for the period from 2000 to 2003.

4. Extent of the Migration out of Tanzania

	Net Migration Rate (estimates)	Population Size (in thousands)	Net Migration	Inflow of Refugees (Minimum Immigration) ¹²	Minimum Emigration
1999	-2.24 ^a	34,179 ^e	-76,561	--	--
2000	-1.59 ^b	35,119 ^e	-55,840	99,525 ^g	155,365
2001	-0.64 ^b	33,857 ^f	-21,669	32,740 ^h	54,409
2002	-0.08 ^b	34,569 ^f	-2,766	99,727 ⁱ	102,493
2003	-4.91 ^b	35,922 ^b	-176,378	64,510 ^j	240,888
2004	-2.06 ^c	36,588 ^c	-75,372	7,336 ^k	--
2000-2005 (prospect)	-1.7 ^d	35,119 – 39,435 ^d	-67,040	--	--
2005-2010 (prospect)	-1.4 ^d	39,435 – 44,062 ^d	-61,687	--	--

Tab. 4.3. Tanzanian net migration, 1999 – 2010, inflow of refugees and minimum emigration, 2000 – 2003.

^a CIA World Factbook. In: www.photius.com; 04/07/02.

^b CIA World Factbook. In: www.indexmundi.com; 04/07/02.

^c CIA World Factbook. In: www.cia.gov; 04/07/02.

^d Medium variants. UN 2001: 454.

^e The prognoses are based on the Tanzanian census of 1988 and, according to the census 2002, overestimate the population size by about one and a half millions. UN 2002; 04/07/02.

^f NBS 2003: 12.

^g UNHCR (ed.) 2002².

^h UNHCR (ed.) 2002¹.

ⁱ UNHCR (ed.) 2003.

^j UNHCR (ed.) 2004¹.

^k Data only for the period of January 1st to March 31st 2004. UNHCR (ed.) 2004². In: www.unhcr.ch; 04/07/03.

However, these figures have to be treated with care, since they are almost entirely based on estimates and, in case of the net migration rate, none of the secondary sources from where these data was extracted indicate their primary sources. Furthermore, the figures of the population size for the years 1999 and 2000 are approximate calculations drawn from the census in 1988, i.e. they are based on data which is more than twenty years old (which also explains the sudden 1.3 million decrease of the population between 2000 and 2001 – the

¹² Compared to the total immigration (including tourists) during the beginning of the 1980s (cp. NBS et al. 1990: 34), these figures seem to be quite accurate (considering that Tanzania is one of the countries with the highest reception of refugees worldwide), since the total immigration between 1980 and 1983 is about 131,000 people per year, with about 36,000 European and American immigrants who are very likely tourists. Thus, about 95,000 persons were immigrating for other purposes than holiday-visits. Between 2000 and 2003, an annual average of 74,000 refugees were immigrating, which would be slightly more than three quarters of the yearly immigration of 1980 to 1983.

later figures are simply assessments based on more recent data). The UNHCR refugee statistics – probably the most reliable data – can, again, only state numbers of refugees who were registered somewhere and may therefore be incomplete as well.

4.3. Tanzanian Migration to European Countries

Compared to data about the Tanzanian emigration, figures about the immigration of Tanzanian citizens to European countries or about persons in Europe who named Tanzania as their last country of residence are more certain. However, inhomogeneous national statistics and incomplete (or region-, but not country-specific) records of the immigrants' nationalities complicate the data-compilation about Tanzanians in Europe and certainly leave gaps in the recording of Tanzanians who stay legally in a European country¹³.

The two main sources of this chapter are, firstly, the 'special topic'-section of the UN Demographic Yearbook from 1989 (since this is the most recent year the topic of international migration was completely covered) (cp. UN 1991: 517 – 871), and secondly, the data-compilation of the Migration Policy Institute (In: www.migrationinformation.org; 04/06/27), which bases its figures on data from selected national statistics agencies, the responsible ministries and departments, national censuses and the UNHCR. A formal request for statistics at the EU statistics agency EUROSTAT proved fruitless, since "the migration-data had been removed from the data bank because of inconsistencies. The data will be available after several months at the earliest" (Marita Köhn, Eurostat Data Shop Berlin; e-mail dated July 8th, 2004).

Unfortunately, the most important table of the UN Yearbooks in this context, the compilation of data about 'long-term immigrants' does not state whether it refers to the annual inflows of Tanzanians to the respective countries or to the

¹³ Concerning considerations about undocumented residents, v. end of chapter 4.1.

migrant stock. However, regarding the sources of the UN-table (which are generally the respective censuses) and comparing it to the figures published by the MPI, it is highly probable that the figures in the table below exclusively show the Tanzanian migrant stock for the eleven stated countries (although the term 'long-term immigrants' is not defined by the source).

In the censuses between 1985 and 1988 the Tanzanian migrant stock in Europe was between two and 285 (legal) long-term immigrants per country. However, besides the Federal Republic of Germany, none of the major European countries, which seem likely to have residents from Tanzania, i.e. United Kingdom, Italy and France, mentioned Tanzanian long-term immigrants. The number of Tanzanian citizens in the four countries which had reported to host them, was between 17 and 172, with a slight majority of men (in total 53 percent). Concerning their age, a table including data from Belgium (UN 1991: 781ff), Denmark (UN 1991: 788ff), Finland (UN 1991: 797ff) and Sweden (UN 1991: 812ff) indicated that the greater part of these countries' Tanzanian migrant stock ranges between 35 and 54 years in age.

Country*	Long-term Immigrants		Sex			
	Census Year	Inflow	Census Year	Female	Male	Total
Belgium	1985	n.s.	1981	27	20	47
Czechoslovakia	1987	2	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Denmark	1986	45	1981	34	51	85
Finland	1987	34	1985	5	12	17
Germany D.R.	1988	58	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Germany F.R.	1988	285	1987	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Iceland	1985	6	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Netherlands	1988	202	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Norway	1988	188	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Sweden	1987	65	1985	85	87	172
Switzerland	1988	60	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Tab. 4.4. "Long-term immigrants (...) by country (...) of intended permanent residence: latest available year" (UN 1991: 576 – 594), respectively "population by [Tanzanian] citizenship [and] sex" (UN 1991: 844 – 854).

* Only European countries which had reported Tanzanian citizens or people who had stated Tanzania as their last residence were compiled in this table.

A comparison of the respective figures about the Tanzanian migrant stock and the annual inflow of Tanzanians for the last two decades (v. Tab. 4.4. and 4.5.) reveals that these two parameters have increased by about 6.5 times since the 1980s (compared to the latest available year). Table 4.4. indicates an annual inflow of Tanzanians to the stated European countries of 10 to 415 persons during the period from 1985 to 1988. The highest inflow of Tanzanians between 1991 and 2001 was to the United Kingdom with an average of 240 persons per year.

4. Extent of the Migration out of Tanzania

Variable	Year	Country*								
		Austria	Denmark	Finland	Germany	Greece	Netherld.	Norway	Sweden	K
Stock of foreign population born in Tanzania	1990	n.s.	274	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	559	n.s.
	1991	n.s.	301	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1992	n.s.	326	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1993	n.s.	370	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1994	n.s.	383	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1995	n.s.	435	n.s.	921	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1996	n.s.	439	n.s.	915	n.s.	565	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1997	n.s.	467	n.s.	945	n.s.	584	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1998	n.s.	487	n.s.	967	n.s.	642	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1999	n.s.	515	n.s.	1,015	n.s.	669	n.s.	815	n.s.
	2000	n.s.	535	n.s.	1,031	n.s.	669	n.s.	846	n.s.
	2001	n.s.	558	n.s.	1,049	172	740	n.s.	908	n.s.
	2002	n.s.	592	206	1,110	n.s.	759	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	2003	n.s.	600	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	1,261	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Inflow of foreign population who were Tanzanian citizens or stated Tanzania as country of previous (permanent) residence	1990	n.s.	56	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	1991	n.s.	54	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	260
	1992	n.s.	69	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	200
	1993	n.s.	57	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	210
	1994	n.s.	99	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	200
	1995	n.s.	74	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	61	n.s.	n.s.	250
	1996	17	75	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	69	n.s.	n.s.	220
	1997	13	71	16	n.s.	n.s.	80	n.s.	n.s.	155
	1998	18	69	11	n.s.	n.s.	104	n.s.	n.s.	220
	1999	14	72	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	89	80	n.s.	235
	2000	10	60	13	161	n.s.	76	83	n.s.	415
	2001	16	64	26	152	n.s.	116	69	n.s.	280
	2002	n.s.	38	n.s.	198	n.s.	123	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	2003	n.s.	56	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Tab. 4.5. Stock of Tanzania-born population, respectively inflow of Tanzanian nationals or residents to selected European countries, 1990 – 2003 (cp. MPI. In: www.migrationinformation.org; 04/06/27).

* Only European countries which had reported Tanzanian citizens or people who had stated Tanzania as their last residence were compiled in this table.

Comparing the migration from Tanzania to Europe with the total emigration from Tanzania and the interviewees' statements, two things can be concluded:

First of all, out of the 50,000 to 250,000 annual Tanzanian emigrants (2000 – 2003; v. Tab. 4.3.), only a small fraction actually migrates to a European country. Out of the about 102,500 emigrants in the year 2000 (v. Tab. 4.3.), only 818 Tanzanians, i.e. about 0.8 percent, migrated to the European countries stated

by the MPI (v. Tab. 4.5.). In 2001 about 1.3 percent of the estimated total number of Tanzanian emigrants reached the countries listed above. Although the MPI does not compile data for all European countries, these figures can be assumed to be more or less appropriate, since the presumably most important European country of Tanzanian emigration, the UK, is included in the data-compilation.

Secondly, these findings are in a sharp contrast to the popularity of the wish to migrate to Europe (a wish that is prevalent at least among the interviewed students, which might in turn reflect its popularity among the general population; v. chapter 9). Although the intention to live in Europe at least for a certain period of time is very common, it is obviously only a very small part of the high number of potential migrants who actually get the opportunity to migrate. This fact is important in this context insofar, as according to Hoffmann-Nowotny (In: Kälin (ed.) 1989: 35) “the direction, extent and composition” of actual contemporary ‘migration *flows*’ might be influenced by certain determinants (v. chapter 5.). Only the ‘migration *potential*’ which he postulated as a “consequence of the emergence of a world with one global society – and its structural and cultural penetration by the Western model –” remains more or less unchanged. Thus, the actual migration will increase if the determinants of migration flows are modified in a certain way, as long as the structural conditions which create the migration potential, i.e. development differentials, remain the same or increase.

5. STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS OF THE TANZANIAN EMIGRATION TO EUROPE

At the end of the last chapter, I emphasized the difference underlined by Hoffmann-Nowotny (In: Kälin (ed.) 1989) between the *potential* migration, or the extent of individuals who wish to emigrate, and the migration *flows*, i.e. the extent of actual emigrants. While the number of potential migrants is determined by the two macrosociological factors development differentials and homogenization of values – or the structural distance between nations and the worldwide integration of Western culture (v. chapter 3.3.) –, the extent, composition and direction of migration flows depends on “specific preconditions of international migration” (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin (ed.) 1989: 32). Thus, as stated in chapter 4., the hypothesis can be suggested that the low immigration rates from Tanzania to Europe rather depend on those preconditions than on the extent of the migration potential.

Therefore, the following chapter is devoted to the conditions which enable, direct and decide the composition of migration flows. Additionally, they also influence the migration potential, e.g. by providing the structural determinants for the integration of values, like historical ties between Africa and Europe, the improvement of transport and communication, the existence of networks, etc. Unfortunately, “data on the magnitude of migration [in Africa], like other areas of population, are scarce” (Adepoju 1991: 205), as well as empirical studies about the structural conditions of African, and specifically Tanzanian, emigration. Thus, I will have to restrict myself to some observations on the South-North-migration in general and African emigration towards Europe in detail.

Hoffmann-Nowotny (In: Kälin (ed.) 1989: 32ff) identifies six major structural conditions for migration, the most of which Adepoju (1991) also states in the context of African emigration.

1. The rapid urbanization in LDCs does not only indicate a high mobility of (parts of) the population of rural regions. It is also an important condition for the integration of Western cultural values, since

“in the cities, ‘our’ structures become physically comprehensible and visible, occurs a continuation of the adoption of ‘our’ values, but simultaneously the endless distance which separates the immigrant from the situation he or she strives for is experienced” (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin (ed.) 1989: 33).

Furthermore, the cities offer the necessary infrastructure for emigration and for education, which is crucial especially for ‘pioneer emigration’ since “the migration from the Third World (...) is at least in its beginning a sort of ‘brain drain’” (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin (ed.) 1989: 33).

2. Another major structural condition for geographical mobility is the weakening of family ties and other social commitments and the decrease of the social control over the individual, which can be seen as one of the results of development or modernization in LDCs, as Hoffmann-Nowotny states in reference to Ferdinand Tönnies and Emile Durkheim.
3. Historical ties, like the colonial past of most African nations, direct the migration flows to certain (European) nations. The common use of the former colonial powers’ language or education system in the countries of departure may be only two of the many cultural and structural connections between the potential migrants’ countries of origin and destination.
4. Migration networks are responsible for the perpetuation of migration flows to certain regions as well, e.g. by providing information about the modali-

ties of transport and the chosen country in general. In addition, they can give material support to new arrivals.

5. The geographical distances between the countries of origin and destination might also influence the direction of migration flows.
6. Important factors for the extent and the composition of the actual migration are the immigration policies of the (potential) countries of destination, and, to a smaller extent, the emigration policies of the countries of departure. Referring to the immigration policies, Hoffmann-Nowotny states, "The fact that the contemporary immigration policies are without exception very restrictive, strongly suggests that the emigration potential exceeds by many times the amount of immigrants which the countries of destination are willing to accept" (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin (ed.) 1989: 34).

Stahl and Bradford (In: Appleyard (ed.) 1999: 235ff) conceptualize migration flows in a similar way by emphasizing macroeconomic, demographic and political forces both in the countries of emigration and immigration (v. Fig. 5.1.) which decide the extent and characteristics of migration flows. These three main factors – individually or in conjunction – create emigration pressures. The actual migration is then augmented by 'facilitating and channeling factors' and – at the moment – decreased or sorted out by immigration policies, which in turn are determined by macroeconomic, demographic and political factors in the countries of destination. The authors add that "however, in the case of immigration countries, the political force is expanded to include a social and cultural dimension" (Stahl. In: Appleyard (ed.) 1999: 245).

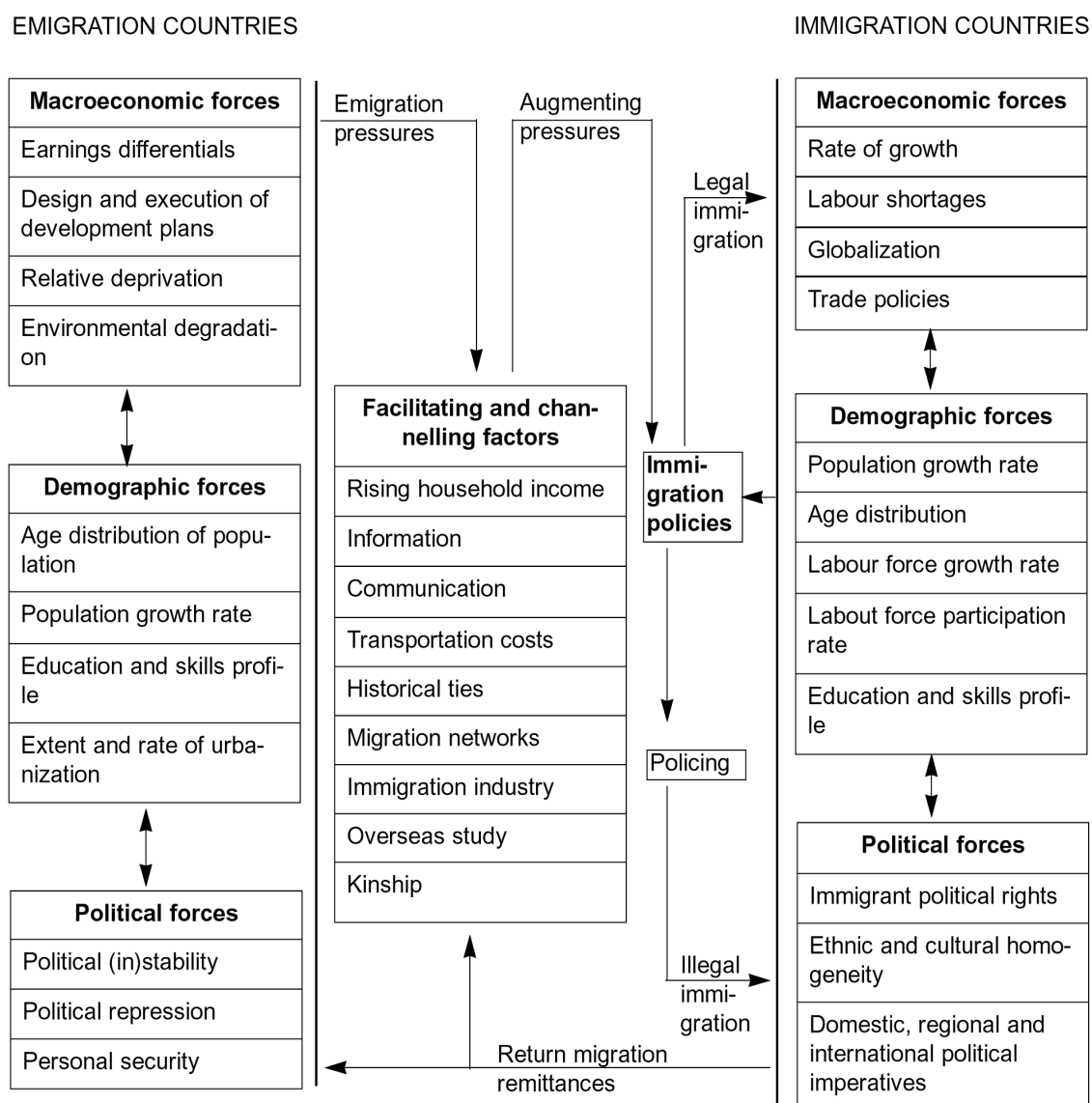


Fig. 5.1. "Conceptualizing emigration dynamics" (Stahl. In: Appleyard (ed.) 1999: 236).

However, the model remains rather abstract and certain factors or their attribution to one of the three stages, i.e. 'macro-sociological reasons for emigration', 'facilitating and channeling factors', and 'factors influencing the filter of immigration policies', are questionable. Thus, it is, for example, unclear why 'overseas study' should be a facilitating factor instead of a part of 'education and skills profile', or why, on the other hand, 'migration of professional, technical and kindred workers' is not stated as a facilitating factor like 'overseas

study'. Additionally, it is doubtful whether the demographic forces of the country of destination really influence its immigration policies, if for example the ageing of the European population and the region's population decrease is seen in connection with the rather restrictive, contemporary immigration laws. Generally, the model, which is intended to comprehensively explain migration dynamics, does not reflect large-scale structures – except for 'globalization' which is named as one of the forces influencing immigration policies – and correlations between the countries of departure and destination comparable to Hoffmann-Nowotny's model. However, this schema by Stahl and Bradford depicts the 'preconditions' stated by Hoffmann-Nowotny in great detail, and could therefore be helpful to describe and specify migration flows, provided that data about the migration potential was available (cp. Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin 1989: 35).

Adepoju (1991) specifies factors of emigration for Africa (during the 1980s), emphasizing the vicious circle between the economic decline and the outflow of graduates and skilled labor. Even though the figures stated in Adepoju's article are derived from surveys, analyses and censuses from the eighties and nineties of the last century, he describes some important trends which might still be relevant: He states that economic deterioration leads to curtailment of the budgetary allocations for the public and the education sector by governments, a labor market situation which is unable to provide jobs for the rapidly growing population, and a disproportionally increasing unemployment rate among professional, technical and kindred workers. These factors have great effects on the composition of migration flows, especially to countries of the North.

During the 1980s, the general unemployment rates sometimes exceeded 20 percent in some African countries or urban African regions, e.g. in Botswana (31 percent in 1984/85), Ethiopia (22 percent in 1988), or Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire (22.7 percent in 1986). For the whole of Africa the annual growth rates

of unemployment reached about 10 percent (cp. ECA 1989. In: Adepoju 1991: 206). Correspondingly, the unemployment rates of qualified university graduates even rose to 37.5 percent in Abidjan in 1985 and “50 percent or more in other cities” (Adepoju 1991: 208). One of the reasons for this dramatic development was the budgetary curtailment of the public and the education sector to fulfill the requirements of structural adjustment programs. While the public sector during the 1980s “normally account[ed] for 50 percent of the total wage employment”, and in some countries, e.g. Tanzania, Ghana, Zambia and Benin, even for three quarters or more, the number of people working in the public sector had to be drastically reduced during the examined period, which mainly affected graduates:

“In Somalia, the output of graduates is estimated as being more than five times the demand. (...) For example, in Mali, the public sector (the country’s main employer of labour) is expected to absorb less than 15 percent of graduates from tertiary institutions” (Adepoju 1991: 208).

The cuts in budgetary funding of education institutions had an aggravating effect on this development, because thus few countries were and still are able to employ graduates in the education sector or to keep them in the education system for a longer period by financing post graduate programs. “As a result, thousands of African students annually pursue post graduate studies in developed countries” (Adepoju 1991: 208). Therefore, the emigration of highly skilled persons, a phenomenon better known as brain drain or skill drain (which will be subject of the following chapter), is increasing, also among women and men whose professions would be of great importance for the country of emigration, one example being the active recruitment of 1,200 nurses, midwives and doctors from Nigeria to the U.S. in 1990 (Daily Times, June 9, 1989. Cit. in: Adepoju 1991: 213).

Additionally, “very few countries have articulated policies to control the emigration of their nationals” (Adepoju 1991: 215), although some countries,

among them Tanzania and Uganda, fight the brain drain through the institution of travel clearances. Further stringent measures are set by the embassies of the countries of the North to control the African outflow to Europe (which can be assumed to have been further restricted during the 1990s). In order to create incentives for skilled emigrants to move back to their countries of origin, several programs were set up by the IOM and the UNDP. One of them is the Return of Talent Programme, which was initiated in 1983 and joined by several African countries, among them Tanzania. Another one is called the Return of Qualified Nationals Programme, which ran from 1983 to 1999 and managed to relocate about 2,000 nationals to the eleven participating countries (cp. IOM; 04/07/13; Mutume 2003; 04/07/14).

The emigration of unskilled workers from Africa seems to receive less international attention, first of all because a greater part of this form of migration can be considered illegal or clandestine migration (and is therefore harder to record), and secondly because most of the migration flows are within Africa only, i.e. only a very small fraction of all unskilled African migrants reaches countries of the North. This development stands in sharp contrast to experiences of other less or (few) least developed regions, like today's Southeast Asia or Southeastern Europe during the 1970s, where the magnitude of people leaving their country of origin (usually intending to stay abroad for a short period) were unskilled labor migrants. Olesen (2002: 139ff) explains this phenomenon by stating that the migration out of a certain country depends on its actual level of economic and social development. Massey clarifies that

“(...) international migrants do not come from poor, isolated places that are disconnected from world markets, but from regions and nations that are undergoing rapid change and development as a result to their incorporation into global trade, information, and production networks. In the short run, *international migration does not stem from a lack of development,*

but from development itself” (Massey 1998. Cit. in: Olesen 2002: 140. Italics added by Olesen.).

In reference to Martin, Olesen identifies the level of development which results in high rates of emigration as ‘migration hump’ (Martin 1994. In: Olesen 2002: 140). In short, this term is used to describe that migration of greater parts of the population (which mainly consist of unskilled workers) only starts when a sufficient number of people gets access to the necessary information and can afford to migrate. According to Olesen, this ‘migration hump’ is passed as soon as the wealth of the population (in terms of income differentials) exceeds a certain point where migration becomes unprofitable for the migrants and the persons directly profiting from their migration, e.g. through remittances. Olesen (2002: 141) names this range where intensified migration occurs the ‘migration band’ and states that it is in the income bracket of US\$ 1,500 to US\$ 8,000 per capita per year (PPP terms): Below this PPP, people cannot afford to move, above it, people are not interested in migration anymore. Mamadou (1995. In: Olesen 2002: 141) adds that emigration abruptly stops or radically diminishes when the income differentials between the traditional countries of destination and the countries of origin reach approximately 3:1, Martin (1994. In: Olesen 2002: 141) estimates this figure to be 4:1, and Faini and Venturini (1994. In: Olesen 2002:141) 4.5:1.

The use of such formulas to explain an individual’s decision, however, involves the danger of making sweeping generalizations, like the assumptions that the main motivation to migrate is solely to gain higher income, that these figures and relations are applicable to all nations regardless of their cultural, historical or social background, or that the emigration-rates are influenced only by the development of the sending countries instead of considering the global development, including the political, demographic and macroeconomic forces both of the countries of destination and of origin which are stated in figure 5.1. Therefore, Olesen (2002: 141) qualifies the ‘migration band’ as a “gross gener-

alization of a phenomenon [that] reflects more an attempt to pedagogically present a paradox in simple terms, rather than scientifically proving a relationship”.

However, the theory is another possibility to explain one of the ‘preconditions’ of international emigration from LDCs, since it depicts the contemporary situation and is therefore able to expound why African emigration to Europe is mainly a movement of professional, technical and kindred cadres: In Sub-Saharan Africa the average GDP per capita (in PPP terms) in the year 2000 was US\$ 1,690, with a distinctly lower GDP in East African countries, e.g. US\$ 523 in Tanzania, US\$ 1,208 in Uganda, US\$ 1,022 in Kenya, US\$ 943 in Rwanda and US\$ 591 in Burundi (UNDP (ed.) 2002: 151f). Since the greater part of the population obviously cannot afford to migrate (according to Olesen’s hypothesis), only the high-income brackets (or their children), who are generally also the higher qualified part of the population, are theoretically able to afford the expensive overseas migration (apart from the fact that they are more likely to obtain entry permissions to countries of the North). This may in part explain the previously mentioned low emigration rates and the specific composition of migration from Tanzania to Europe.

6. BRAIN DRAIN OUT OF EAST AFRICA

6.1. Emigration of Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers

Brain drain refers to the migration of the skilled labor force, i.e. professional, technical and kindred workers (PTK). According to Logan (1987. In: Logan 1992: 289) it can take one of four basic forms, or a combination of them:

“from one developed country to another; from a developed country to a less developed country (...); from one less developed country to another (...); and from a less developed country to a developed country”.

The last type which is often the only form to which is referred in the literature about the brain drain, especially by the United Nations, is of special interest in the context of emigration of PTKs from East Africa.

This special case of the migration of PTKs is also characterized by the phenomenon of the ‘Reverse Transfer of Technology’, the term describing that

“in this particular case, technology transfer assumes a circular pattern in which the technological expertise (...) moves first from the developed to the less developed world [e.g. through patents, equipment, etc.], and then back again to the developed world” (Logan 1992: 290).

The extent of this form of brain drain from LDCs to OECD countries is enormous. In 1998 it was estimated that about 12.9 million highly skilled persons emigrated from LDCs, out of whom seven million PTKs went to the U.S. and 5.9 million to Europe and the rest of the OECD (cp. Carrington/Detrageache 1998. In: Olesen 2002: 136). The trend that mainly highly educated people leave the LDCs for the North has continued since the 1960s, as

Carrington and Detragiache (1998. Cit. in: Olesen 2002: 136) state in their study 'How Big is the Brain Drain?':

"(...) Migrants tend to be much better educated than the rest of the population, [since] a majority of LDC migrants have a secondary education, [while] flows of migrants with primary education or less are small."

This statement is underpinned by the fact that in most developing countries, the highest migration rates are among university graduates. In Ghana, Egypt and South Africa, for example, about 60 percent of all migrants are graduates (cp. Olesen 2002: 136).

Africa is estimated to be one of the regions which are most affected by this development: According to the World Bank, Africa lost one third of its executives during the period from 1960 to 1987, with an annual outflow of about 23,000 graduates, who mainly headed for Europe, but also for North America (cp. Khan 2001. In: Olesen 2002: 136). The UN Economic Commission for Africa and the IOM, however, estimate that this figure reached 27,000 between 1960 and 1975, and further increased to 40,000 between 1975 and 1984. The outflows since 1990 have been stated to be at least 20,000 people per year (Mutume 2003. In: www.un.org; 04/07/14), though some sources even estimate them to have reached up to 70,000 people per year (cp. Ofori-Sarpong. In: Odumasi-Ashanti 2003; 04/07/14).

Concerning East Africa, and especially Tanzania, reliable data is rare: Gould (1985: 11), in reference to Grillo (1973), Parkin (1969) and Baron Holmes (1970), emphasizes the skill flows, i.e. the migration of "skilled manual workers, railway workers and artisans", during the 1960s and 70s from Kenya and Tanzania to Uganda, as well as the migration of "a very small number of Tanzanian graduates" to Kenya. He adds that "[u]p until that date [1970] he had found no record of any East African members of professional associations abroad (i.e. out of Africa)" (Gould 1985:11). After the collapse of the East African Commu-

nity at the beginning of the 1970s, work permits were introduced in the region, notably for Ugandans in Kenya, of whom many had fled from Idi Amin's regime (without receiving formal refugee status). According to Gould (1985: 11), the outflows of skilled Ugandans increased with the restoration of Milton Obote in 1981, "for the relatively well-educated Baganda [felt] particularly disaffected from the Obote regime". Even long after the end of Obote's presidency, Uganda seems to be the most important country in the region from where skilled labor force emigrates to other nations and even continents (cp. Gould 1985; ECA 1986. In: Adepoju 1991: 205), "Relatively small countries, such as Uganda (...) are among the nine largest African source points for PTKs to the U.S.", mainly because of "a strong domestic tradition in higher education" (Logan 1992: 294). On the other hand, "[l]arger countries such as (...) Kenya make a greater contribution to the regional total than do smaller countries" (Logan 1992: 294).

The main receiver countries of East African PTKs are probably the United Kingdom, Australia and the U.S.¹⁴, since "the language used as an official language and language of instruction in the expert's home country exerts a great influence on the choice of final destination" (Logan 1992: 292). However, recent figures of East Africans who received a U.S. visa because of 'occupational preferences' indicate very modest flows of PTKs out of that region (v. Tab. 6.1.): During the period from 1998 to 2002 more than half a million immigrants were categorized into this class of admission, 22,845 (3.84 percent) originated in Africa, and 2,064 (0.35 percent) in the East African Community, which is less than a third of South Africa's skilled emigrants to the U.S.

¹⁴ Exact figures about PTKs from East Africa are not available, but the South African Networks of Skills Abroad (SANSA) reports that about 60 percent of South Africa's graduated emigrants reside in six countries, out of which the United Kingdom, Australia and the U.S. account for more than half of them (cp. SANSA 2003. In: Mutume 2003; 04/07/14).

	1997*	1998*	1999*	2000*	2001*	2002*	1998 –2002 ¹⁵
Kenya	127	148	140	278	425	308	1,299
Tanzania	n.s.	61	36	88	115	121	421
Uganda	n.s.	58	20	64	110	92	344
Nigeria	609	631	483	805	807	937	3,663
South Africa	826	756	614	1,392	2,423	2,251	7,436
Africa total	3,471	3,169	2,426	4,351	6,665	6,234	22,845
All countries	90,607	77,517	56,817	107,024	179,195	174,968	595,521

Tab. 6.1. Immigrants to the U.S. admitted by 'occupational preferences' (class of admission) and country of birth (cp. U.S. Department of Justice; various years; 04/07/15; U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2003; 04/07/15).

* Fiscal years

The effects of the brain drain are controversial. On the one hand, the effects are evaluated positively since the emigration of PTKs leads to a reduction of the tremendous unemployment rates among graduates (v. chapter 5), who would have otherwise probably caused or aggravated social tensions ('overflow'-hypothesis; cp. Han 2000: 32). Furthermore, the country of origin profits indirectly from the emigrants' remittances to their relatives, which reach astonishing heights and have become even more important financial inflows than foreign aid. For the year 2001 those remittances which were transmitted by official transportation and thus registered were estimated to be higher than US\$ 65 billion (compared to US\$ 54 billion of ODA) (cp. Faini 2001. In: Olesen 2002: 140), with an additional US\$ 10 billion of informal transfers of remittances (El-Qorchi/Maibo/Wilson 2002. In: Adams 2003; 04/07/15). Other sources estimate the total amount of remittances to exceed US\$ 100 billion (cp. Gammeltoft 2002. In: IOM 2004; 04/07/15).

On the other hand, the assumption of a beneficial effect of the brain drain is problematic insofar as the overflow-hypothesis implies that all emigrating PTKs were unemployed. In fact, often the opposite is true, which can be espe-

¹⁵ Comparable data for the European Union is not available due to reasons stated in chapter 4.3.

cially observed in the increasing numbers of medical personnel, i.e. doctors and nurses, who emigrate from LDCs¹⁶, although unemployment among these professions is generally rare (or at least lower than among other qualified professions) (cp. Han 2002: 33). And although the annual remittances of emigrated PTKs are enormous, high costs arise because of the lack of qualified personnel in LDCs: “African countries spend an estimated \$4 [billion] annually to employ about 100,000 non-African expatriates”, states IOM Deputy-Director General Ndioro Ndiaye (Mutume 2003; 04/07/14).

In order to create incentives for PTKs to return to their countries of origin, several programs have been set up, a.o. by multilateral organizations like the UNDP, the IOM, the NEPAD, and by the countries of emigration, e.g. the South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA) or the Kenya-based Research and Development Forum for Science-Led Development in Africa (RANDFORUM). So far, however, their success has been quite limited (v. chapter 5; cp. Mutume 2003; 04/07/14).

¹⁶ According to the UNDP, there is a striking loss of doctors in Africa, e.g. „[a]t least 60 percent of doctors trained in Ghana during the 1980s have left the country“ (Mutume 2003; 04/07/14).

6.2. Student Emigration

The emigration of (university, especially post-graduate) students is not necessarily a brain drain. On the contrary, it can even cause brain gain when the students return to their home country after graduation, especially since the countries of destination usually sponsor a part of the education of students from LDCs by scholarships and post-graduate-programs, or fund at least part of their university fees. However, “according to the available empirical data, the willingness of those who study abroad to return cannot be taken for granted” (Han 2000: 91). Thus, the emigration of students is very often a first step in the process of emigration of professional, technical and kindred workers.

Corresponding to the general migration movements in Africa, most African foreign students stay on the continent to pursue their studies. A study published in 1999 by the UNESCO (cp. IOM 2004; 04/07/15) nevertheless shows that the most attractive countries to African students who travel overseas to receive higher education are France, the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom (v. Tab. 6.2.). In the European Union, African students make up 1.1 percent of all tertiary students enrolled (only about 6.7 percent of all third level students are from abroad), and thus constitute the third largest group of foreign students (16.4 percent) after students from other EU member states and from Asia and Oceania. Out of all countries of the EU, the UK has the biggest share (15 percent) of foreign students enrolled (if Luxembourg with its small absolute numbers is excluded), although France and Germany are rather to be the host countries of students of African origin (cp. European Commission 2003; 04/07/15).

Host Country*	Year	Foreign students total	% of Africans among all foreign students	African students total
<i>Africa</i>				
Egypt	1995/96	6,726	23,3 %	1,568
Morocco	1994/95	3,671	73,2 %	2,648
South Africa	1994	12,625	61,0 %	7,702
Togo	1996/97	480	97,1 %	467
<i>Americas</i>				
Cuba	1996/97	4,243	76,4 %	3,242
U.S.	1995/96	453,785	4,6 %	20,874
<i>Asia</i>				
Japan	1994/95	53,511	0,8 %	429
Rep. of Korea	1996/97	2,143	0,7 %	16
Quatar	1996/97	1,360	13,6 %	185
Turkey	1994/95	14,719	4,4 %	648
U. Arab Emirates	1996/97	1,584	16,5 %	262
<i>Europe</i>				
Belgium	1994/95	34,966	31,3 %	10,945
France	1995/96	138,191	51,7 %	71,445
Germany	1996/97	165,977	9,1 %	15,104
Ireland	1996/97	5,975	4,3 %	527
Italy	1996/97	24,858	12,2 %	3,303
Portugal	1994/95	6,140	49,8 %	3,058
Russian Fed.	1994/95	73,172	5,1 %	3,732
Spain	1994/95	21,403	10,3 %	2,205
Sweden	1996/97	12,189	3,5 %	427
U.K.	1996/97	198,839	7,1 %	14,118
<i>Oceania</i>				
New Zealand	1997	6,415	0,8 %	52

Tab. 6.2. African foreign students receiving higher education in selected countries (cp. UNESCO 1999. In: IOM (ed.) 2004; 04/07/15).

* Only host countries which separately state African foreign students were compiled.

Students from East Africa choose preferentially the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, France, and Germany as their country of destination (v. Tab. 6.3.). In Europe, five percent of all African students are from East Africa. Out of the European OECD-countries, the United Kingdom is the country with the biggest share of Ugandan (66.47 percent) and Kenyan foreign students (75.81 percent), while about half of all Tanzanians studying in Europe stay in France and 13.13 percent of the Ugandans pursue their studies in Ger-

many. The last two figures are surprising insofar, as the respective countries of origin and destination neither have the same language, education systems, nor a joint colonial history. In these two cases other factors seem to be decisive, two of which could be intensive development cooperation or special scholarships awarded by the countries of destination.

Host Country*	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Nigeria	South Africa	Total Africa
<i>Europe (OECD)</i>	3,229	2,182	853	3,826	1,707	139,639
Austria	27	n.s.	28	149	7	965
Belgium	57	38	24	144	39	10,976
Czech Republic	19	2	3	6	7	239
Denmark	8	11	17	19	11	382
Finland	82	66	4	108	10	716
France	114	1,010	1	17	19	75,465
Germany	202	81	112	667	150	19,394
Hungary	8	7	n.s.	n.s.	3	175
Iceland	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	5
Ireland	10	32	7	52	18	415
Italy	20	12	9	78	14	2,186
Netherlands	17	16	3	66	51	2,559
Norway	33	88	38	27	16	733
Poland	34	20	2	50	6	296
Slovakia	22	1	n.s.	5	1	133
Spain	8	2	5	10	8	4,013
Sweden	38	22	28	18	30	641
Switzerland	12	8	3	16	18	1,802
Turkey	70	87	2	13	n.s.	410
United Kingdom	2,448	679	567	2,381	1,299	18,134
<i>Other OECD</i>						
Australia	527	67	68	63	1,160	3,837
Japan	60	36	2	35	14	676
Korea	6	2	1	8	n.s.	44
Mexico	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	24
New Zealand	10	n.s.	5	10	31	143
United States	5,403	1,325	654	3,313	1,827	29,677
Total*	9,235	3,612	1,583	7,255	4,739	174,040

Tab. 6.3. Number of African foreign students in tertiary education by country of origin and country of destination (2001) (cp. OECD 2003; 2004/07/16).

* Only OECD countries which separately state African foreign students were compiled.

Geographical proximity¹⁷, historical colonial ties¹⁸, use of the same language in the host country and the country of origin, and similar education systems seem to play an important role in the students' decision for a country of destination (cp. IOM 2004; 04/07/15; Logan 1992: 292). Interviews with the students in Dar-es-Salaam showed that the students' choice furthermore strongly depends on the availability of scholarships (and on information about scholarships) from institutions in the future host country (v. chapter 9).

Information on the number of students who return to their countries of origin after their graduation abroad (especially Europe) is scarce, but Lucas (2004; 04/07/15) points out that "on average 51 percent of people receiving doctorates in science and engineering from U.S. universities between 1994 and 1995 were working in the U.S. in 1999 (...) and the lowest income countries clearly have the highest stay rates of all". More recent figures estimate this rate to be about 23 percent (cp. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service 2000. In: OEDC 2001; 04/07/16). An indicator for the students' decision seems to be the choice of their studies, since this choice "initiates a preparation for permanent migration, which is orientated towards the requirements of the host country" (Han 2000: 93). Thus, the return rate among students who take courses in science, i.e. medicine, engineering and technology, is lower than the average rate (cp. Han 2000: 92).

The return of students from LDCs who studied abroad depends on various social, cultural, economic and political factors both in the host country and the country of destination (v. chapter 5). Han furthermore mentions that in this special case permanent migration emerges as a result of an antecedent temporary migration since the students are exposed to the host country's society and culture *before* they decide whether to stay or not, i.e. they go through a process

¹⁷ Almost half of the foreign students in Japan originates from China and half of the foreign students in Italy emigrated from Greece (IOM (ed.) 2004; 04/07/15).

¹⁸ More than a quarter of the foreign students in France originate from the Maghreb-states (IOM (ed.) 2004; 04/07/15).

of acculturation in which they adopt, “deliberately or unconsciously, values, norms and lifestyle of the host country, which are often incompatible with the traditions and conventions of the country of origin” (Han 2000: 94). For this type of migration, Hoffmann-Nowotny’s so-called *cultural factor*, i.e. the adoption of certain common (Western) values, increases in importance because of the adoption of a region’s *specific* values and also the alienation from the norms of the country of origin.

III. IMAGES OF EUROPE AND THE MIGRATION PROCESS AMONG POTENTIAL MIGRANTS

7. RESEARCH INTERESTS AND EPISTEMOLOGY

7.1. Research Interests

The research presented in this chapter is based on Hoffmann-Nowotny's theoretical assumptions outlined in chapter 3, which can be summarized as follows: Through the integration of social, political, economic etc. values, the existing differences in overall development between the national unities of the global society. Therefore, he or she realizes the global and/or regional inequalities of living standards and chances.

People can ease structural tensions, which arise because of the unequal distribution of power and prestige within the global social system, by migrating to a unit of this social system with less social tension. Thereby, they aim to achieve "a positive change of the [migrant's] position along the status lines" (Han 2000: 56). First, however, the migrant has to locate a subsystem with less tension to be able to do so. Then he or she will probably try to anticipate his or her social integration and individual chances in the region of destination. But how do potential migrants assess the chances which arise out of their (permanent or temporary) emigration to a European country? And how do they imagine this region to be like in order to provide them with the opportunity to improve their social standing, either after returning to their country of origin, or within the country of destination itself?

In order to define their region of destination, the potential migrants rely on information, which they collect from different sources. Thus, another issue of the research is the question which information sources the potential migrants

use to inform themselves about the region of destination, e.g. the mass media, education facilities, migration networks, social reference groups.

Since Hoffmann-Nowotny emphasizes the importance of his theory especially for the “urban class [of developing countries], who have access to the various stages of the education system (which is to a large extent designed according to the developed world’s model, with corresponding consequences for the process of socialization)” (Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälin 1989: 33), secondary school and university students were selected as sampled population, since they stand better chances to migrate, as underpinned by the following hypotheses: First of all, migrating persons usually are in the middle age group, i.e. “predominantly young men and women in their healthy and productive years, who are willing to take risks and who are preferred by the countries of destination because of labor market and socio-political aspects” (Han 2000: 28). Secondly, the available data shows that those who migrate from the South to the North are “generally among the most skilled and enterprising” (Djamba 1992: 472) respectively that “in most developing countries, the migration rate is highest among the university graduates” (Olesen 2002: 136). Thus, students have generally better chances to fulfill their wish to migrate. Third, the migration of students who intend to study abroad comprises a growing part of the total extent of the brain drain (cp. Han 2000: 91), since a large fraction of overseas students stays in the country of destination after graduation. Fourth, not those who are among the poorest migrate, but those who can (eventually together with their families) at least afford the transport. In this context, students can be assumed to origin from generally wealthier families, as they can afford higher education. Fifth, well-educated urban classes usually have better access to different information sources, be it the mass media or means of individual communication over long distances.

In order to depict the potential migrants' images about a region of destination, Europe¹⁹ was chosen, for it is first of all one of the highly attractive destinations for intercontinental migration from Africa (cp. e.g. Djamba 1992: 471) and was secondly mentioned most often during the pre-tests with university students.

The methodological reasons for choosing East Africa, and thereof especially the United Republic of Tanzania as country of origin, were the relatively high outflows of skilled persons (compared to the general outflows) from this region and its ranking as one of the poorest of the *Least Developed Countries*²⁰. This ranking is determined both by its *Human Development Index* and its *Gross Domestic Product per Capita*²¹. The country might therefore have exemplifying character concerning the migration potential in similar regions.

The above stated issues of interest are formulated in four research questions, which were converted into the questionnaires explained in the next chapter:

1. How do well-educated young people imagine Europe to be like?
2. How do they anticipate their own integration into the society of the region of destination?
3. What are the sources of these assumptions?
4. Which role do the media play in the formation of certain expectations about the region of destination?

¹⁹ For a detailed definition of the use of the term v. chapter 9.

²⁰ The criteria for the LDCs were defined by the ECOSOC, while the inclusion of countries on the list of LDCs is decided by the UN general assembly. The criteria are summarized in the following classification system: (1) GDP per capita (an average of three years) below 699 US\$, (2) Augmented Physical Quality of Life Index (APQLI) which includes life expectancy, nutrition, and alphabetization, (3) Economic Diversification Index (EDI), and (4) number of inhabitants (< 75 mio.) (cp. Nohlen (ed) 2000: 467).

²¹ The respective figures for 2000 were 0.440 for the HDI (*Human Development Index*; which measures life expectancy, alphabetization/school enrollment and living standard/PPP), of which the global average figure was 0.722 and the OECD's value was 0.930. The GDP per capita (measured in PPP) is 523 US\$, the average for all nations of the world was 7.446 US\$ and the OECD's mean was assessed to be 23.569 US\$ in the year 2000 (UNDP (ed) 2002: 149ff).

7.2. Epistemology

Since the research was designed as a pilot study about a hitherto rather neglected aspect of the migration studies, it is rather a qualitative survey and analysis than a quantitative one. However, in some parts of the study the methods overlap. Furthermore, it is not always possible, nor necessary, to draw a clear distinction between quantitative and qualitative research methods, as Lewin (1981. Cit. in: Mayring 2000: 19) observes, “For the determination of the quantity of an object its *quale* always has to be defined as well because the quantity of an object also differs according to how its quality is characterized.”

Thus, qualitative methods were used both to survey and analyze new features of certain objects, e.g. the image of Europe or the statements of the potential migrants about their information sources. Quantitative means were employed to evaluate selected features for which further information was available through the pre-tests. The methods applied had to be designed or modified to reflect the conditions found during the research, i.e. the opportunity also to interview pupils of secondary schools. Presumably, they neither have such concrete plans to migrate nor such a distinct image of Europe that would be comparable to the one of the older and higher educated university students. Therefore, two different sets of questionnaires had to be created for the two different groups. The emphasis in the secondary school students’ questionnaires was laid upon their general image of Europe, while additional questions concerning integration, concrete migration plans, etc. were solely put into the university students’ questionnaires.

Therefore, the outcomes of the two different surveys can be compared only to a certain extent, namely the results about their image of Europe. To draw a clear distinction and make the university students’ outcomes fully comparable, a typology defining five types of potential migrants was designed, considering both the education-level of the students (school-pupils vs. university students)

and their stage of preparations for migration if intending to do so (v. chapter 8.2.).

The empirical part of the research in Tanzania was conducted in four stages:

1. From September 23rd to October 3rd 2003, I carried out pre-tests with students at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, followed by the design of the questionnaires which took into account results of the pre-tests, especially those about the image of Europe.
2. The interviews with 23 university students were held from October 7th to November 17th 2003 at the UDSM and the University College of Lands and Architectural Studies, while the transcription of the interviews was not finished before December 2003.
3. Between November 15th and December 1st 2003, I interviewed 97 pupils from two secondary schools in Dar-es-Salaam. The translation and transcription of the interviews were completed by January 12th 2004.
4. Starting on January 14th 2004, I collected seven issues of the Tanzanian daily newspaper 'The Guardian' for one week, in order to use them as the exemplifying basis for a media analysis (v. chapter 10.2.).

7.3. Design and Conduct of the Interviews

The sample of the research consisted of 23 students from the University of Dar-es-Salaam and the University College of Lands and Architectural Studies and 97 students from the public Azania Secondary School and the private Biafra Secondary School. All of these institutions were located in Dar-es-Salaam²².

The difference in the quantities of the interviewees from universities and secondary schools arose from the different methods applied. The university students were interviewed extensively with a procedure that was carried out

²² For considerations about international migration from urban areas or internal migration from rural regions, v. chapters 3.3. and 7.1.

separately and included a personal interview with a list of questions, a map to be filled out, and a self-completion questionnaire. It took about an hour each. The pupils were instead asked to fill out a self-completion questionnaire, and to write a short essay about their image of Europe. The survey was conducted in several groups of students at each school.

The university students' interviews consisted of an oral and a written part. The personal interviews with structured questionnaires, which covered three different topics, were conducted first (v. App.II.): After a short introduction about the intention of the interview, the students were asked three introductory questions (E1 – E3) about their opinion on Europe and their valuation of it. The next part of the questionnaire (questions 1 and 2) was devoted to the students' definition of Europe by asking the students which countries they associate with it and requesting them to mark the borders of Europe both on a world map and a European map (v. App.II.2.). In the following, the students' intentions concerning migration and possible (and inconceivable) countries and regions of destination were evaluated, as well as their individual reasons for migration (questions 3 to 10). Subsequently, the students' anticipation of their studying and/or working conditions in Europe were investigated, as well as their assumptions about the general working conditions, education and social situation of the population in Europe (questions 11 to 21). In questions 22 to 27, I asked the students about their migration preparations, possible ways to finance their project and what they know about the necessary official and administrative requirements to migrate. The last part of the questionnaire examined the issue of migration networks, the students' knowledge of a Tanzanian diaspora in Europe, their degree of familiarity with the (main) language(s) of the country/countries of destination and the information sources which were used to inform themselves about Europe (questions 28 to 31).

After finishing the oral part of the interview, the students were given three self-completion forms (v. App.II.3.). The first one investigated the students'

reasons to migrate to Europe (in addition to the corresponding question of the oral interview). It listed different possible reasons of migration, which mainly derived from the evaluation of the pre-tests, but as well from the work of Efionayi-Mäder (2001: 82ff), who conducted a similar survey in Kosovo, Iraq and Sri Lanka. The students were asked to weigh the different statements according to their own judgment on a four-level-scale ranging from 'main reason' to 'no reason'. The same system (ranging from 'very important to inform myself' to 'not important at all') was applied in the next question, in which I asked once more about the students' information sources, which they had to list in detail after considering the importance of the respective type of media. The third part of the questionnaire was designed to find out about their assumptions about the income and costs of living both of the 'average population' in Europe and of the potential migrants. Furthermore, the students were asked to estimate the illiteracy rate and the percentage of university graduates in Europe.

The interviews were conducted in October and November 2003, either at the university campus when establishing the first contact, or in the student halls during a second meeting. The interviews were in English because I assumed that the university students are able to formulate this complex topic in the university's tuition language.

Wherever necessary, the word 'to migrate' was replaced by the term 'to go to', since the pre-tests indicated that the students connect the term 'to migrate' – contrary to the definition used in this paper (v. chapter 2.) – exclusively to (intended) permanent migration. The planned duration and intention of the university students was separately investigated in order to re-define the term 'to go to' as migration according to the definition of this paper. In case of the secondary school students, their intention to migrate was inferred from their statements concerning their reasons for migration, as inquired in question two of the pupils' questionnaire (v. App.I.).

The secondary school students' self-completion questionnaire was available in Kiswahili and English in order to enable the pupils to choose their preferred language; 50 students decided in favor of English, 47 filled out the forms in Kiswahili. The answers of the latter were retranslated into English by the author under the supervision of the UCLAS-student William Gasto.

Using both open and closed questions, the questionnaire was aimed to explore the pupils' general disposition to migrate, the existence of individual networks, their knowledge about the existence of a Tanzanian diaspora in Europe and the course of a possible migration (questions 1 to 6), and their information sources (question 7). In question eight, the students were requested to write a short essay about their image of Europe:

- "8. Imagine, you should describe to the pupils of your class what Europe is like. Try to explain both the good and the bad things in Europe! Write your description of Europe on the back of this sheet (about 200 words).
8. Waza ueleze wanafunzi wengine Ulaya inavyokuwa. Andika unavyofikiri kuhusu Ulaya, eleza vitu vizuri na vitu vibaya juu ya Ulaya. Andika karibu sawa na maneno 200 makalioni kwa karatasi hii."

The pupils' survey was conducted in November and December 2003, either in the classrooms or the schoolyard of the respective schools. The students had to fill out the questionnaires by themselves after I had introduced the purpose of the survey and explained the questions, supported by one of the students' teachers or the headmaster, in Kiswahili. In this context one of the weaknesses of this method has to be pointed out: Since the pupils were filling out their forms while sitting together in groups of varying size, some of them copied the others' statements, especially while answering questions number one, four and eight. Therefore, some of the statements occur more often than it would have

been the case if another method had been used. Wherever possible and necessary this bias will be pointed out.

Within the structure of the questionnaire, questions one to seven were kept intentionally rather short – mainly because of the inevitable lack of time during the school-attendances – in order to make the pupils focus on the last question. Therefore, only the last part can be analyzed qualitatively, while the other questions are examined quantitatively and mainly used to enlighten the pupils' migration-relevant background.

The statements both of the university students and the secondary school students were analyzed using the qualitative content analysis developed by Philipp Mayring. Wherever useful, frequencies, cross tabulations and other forms of quantitative measurements will be shown in addition.

7.4. Analysis According to Mayring

Mayring's model of content analysis was designed to analyze fixed (i.e. recorded and/or transcribed) communication systematically by applying pre-formed rules and theories to investigate certain aspects of communication (cp. Mayring 2000: 13).

To achieve this he sketches a pattern including certain procedures, which have to be fulfilled in chronological order, starting with the definition of the material and ending with the evaluation of the outcomes according to the content-analytical criteria. Its centerpiece is the analysis of formerly defined units by means of a category system and by using the methods of summary, explication and structuring of the content.

These three steps of analysis are described by Mayring (2000: 58) as follows:

“Summary: The aim of this part of the analysis is to reduce the material in order to create an easily comprehensible corpus while

preserving the essential contents by means of abstraction which will still give an accurate idea of the basic material.

Explication: In this step the aim of the analysis is to collect additional material to uncertain text parts (terms, sentences,...), which broadens the understanding, which clarifies, explains, interprets the text part.

Structuring: Here, the aim of the analysis is to filter certain aspects from the material, to make a cross-section through the material, taking into account pre-defined criteria, or to evaluate the material because of certain criteria."

Mayring's method was used both to analyze the interviews and the selected newspaper by implementing his three analytical forms in three different steps after transcribing, translating and categorizing the encoding units, the smallest possibly analyzable part being one single word. The categorical system was developed according to the research questions and the statements of the students, which resulted in a fourfold system (Image of Europe – Integration in the region of destination – Anticipation of the migration process – Information sources) whose single categories were defined by the students' respective answers.

8. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

8.1. Socio-Demographic Features

During the interviews with the university students various variables were ascertained, which included sex, age, number of children, place of birth, as well as features concerning the students' university-studies such as course, faculty and end of studies, further job-qualifications, and former journeys abroad. The pupils were requested to state their age, sex, and which school they attended. During the compilation of the sample, I mainly considered the variables sex and type of course, the latter solely for the university students (v. App.III.).

The sample of 23 interviewed university students consisted of eleven women and twelve men whose ages ranged between 19 and 33 although almost 80 percent of the sample (18 persons) were between 21 and 25 years old.

Besides one person who had lived in Dar-es-Salaam all his life, all of the interviewees from UDSM and UCLAS can be considered internal migrants since more than half of the students originally lived either in the Kilimanjaro- (8 persons) or the Tanga-Region (4). Three persons came from the Mwanza-Region, two from Mara and one person each from Kagera, Tabora, Arusha, Dodoma and Zanzibar. Data about regional origins of the students enrolled at UDSM is not available, therefore it cannot be assured that there is a proportionality between the high number of persons from Kilimanjaro in the sample and their actual representation at the university. However, regarding that the highest primary net enrolment ratio and the highest per capita household monthly in-

come²³ of (mainland) Tanzania are within the urban areas of this region, both the financial and the educational requirements would be rather fulfilled than in other regions. It can be estimated, however with caution, that therefore a higher proportion of UDSM-students actually come from the Kilimanjaro-Region.

Regarding the students' university-courses, the sample is distributed as follows:

The main faculty represented is the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, as seven of the nine interviewees were studying Political Science and Public Administration, the others Sociology. Five persons were enrolled at the Faculty of Science, studying Computer Science (four students) and Electronic Sciences and Communication. Furthermore, I interviewed three persons from the Faculty of Land, two from the Faculty of Architecture and Planning and one person each from the Faculties of Law, Fine and Performing Arts, Engineering, and Education. The expected end of their studies is going to be mainly between 2004 and 2006. The relative majority of the sample was in the first year of their three- or four-year courses at the time of the survey. Except for one person, none of the students mentioned special job-qualifications or previous employment.

Surprisingly, most of the students had never traveled abroad. Over 70 percent of the interviewees (17 persons) had never left Tanzania, four persons had been to one or more other East African countries (namely Kenya and Uganda), one person had been to South Africa and one student had visited a relative in

²³ The respective figures are, according to the Household Budget Survey 2000/01 (National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania 2002), 81 percent for the primary net enrolment ratio compared to an average of 59 percent in mainland Tanzania. The per capita household monthly income in the urban areas of the region is 46,148 Tsh (41.7 US\$) compared to 33,241 Tsh (30.1 US\$) in the urban areas of Tanzania mainland in average and 17,922 Tsh (16.2 US\$) in both urban and rural areas of Tanzania mainland in average (Zanzibar is excluded).

Bulgaria once, but none of the mentioned journeys had lasted longer than one month.

The sample taken from the secondary schools, can be characterized as follows: The pupils' age ranged from 13 to 22 with over 70 percent (69 persons) aged between 16 and 20. The sex ratio was exactly balanced (with each 44.3 percent or 43 persons each), but eleven pupils (11.3 percent) either refused to fill out or overlooked the respective question which might have been caused by an unfortunate positioning of this item in the questionnaire (v. App.I.). 38 out of 97 pupils were interviewed at the public Azania Secondary School, 59 persons at the Biafra Private Secondary School, both located in Dar-es-Salaam.

8.2. Typology

A typology of the university and secondary school students which took into account their intentions to migrate was necessary for different reasons: The first and foremost aim was to explicate the students' images at the different stages of their preparation process and make them comparable to each other. Another reason was to compare the respective statements of the different samples with each other. Also, I intended to create manageable data portions which would allow to analyze all the data available (respectively the core statements, v. chapter 7.4.), instead of restricting the analysis to a smaller selection.

Initially, the reference group for the migrating university and secondary school students should have consisted of students with no intention to migrate. However, the quantity of the latter was too small to establish it as the only reference for the potential migrants. Therefore, the group of potential migrants was split according to their stage of preparation for the actual migration because of the hypothesis that the collection of information intensifies in proportion to the advancement of the preparation process, and in turn the image of

Europe becomes more concrete than on a previous stage. Additionally, a distinction between university and secondary school students was drawn to consider the different levels of education. Resulting from these reflections, I constructed a five-fold typology consisting of the variables ‘stage of preparation’ and ‘level of education’:

Migration Status²⁴ \ Level of Education	University Students (23 persons)	Secondary School Students (97 persons)
Non-migrating	Non-migrating (1), 4 persons	Non-migrating (4), 6 persons
Migrating, but nothing organized so far	Migrating, nothing organized (2), 11 persons	Migrating (5), 91 persons
Migrating, with definite plans for migration	Migrating, definite plans (3), 8 persons	

Fig. 8.1. Typology of the students.

The different types were defined as follows; the definition takes into account the students’ statements about their migration plan, financing and organization of the migration (university students’ interview questionnaire, questions 22 to 27, and pupils’ questionnaire, question 2; v. App.II.1. and App.I.):

- (1) Non-migrating university students are those interviewees who either stated that they do not to plan or wish to move to Europe at all or who wish to go to Europe for a period of half a year at most, e.g. for holidays or to visit friends and relatives.
- (2) This type consists of university students who expressed the wish to migrate over a period of at least one year. They have vague ideas about the organization and financing of their journey, but have not taken any fur-

²⁴ Since migration is defined as a complex process which starts with the conception and planning of the physical journey, the term migration status defines whether the interviewees are not intending to migrate at all or already in the process of conceptualizing migration (although none of the students was migrating physically at the time of the interviews).

ther steps so far to reach their goal. They answered the questions whether they already had a financial and/or migration-plan negatively.

- (3) The students who were assessed to have definite plans for their migration to Europe either had already applied for a scholarship at a foreign university once or more often, had sent applications to universities abroad, or knew how to accomplish their migration (concerning scholarships, the university-application, the visa-procedure, accommodation, etc.) and/or the financing, or had already raised part of the necessary funds.
- (4) and (5) Due to the application of different methods, and because the questionnaire mainly focused on the pupils' thoughts about Europe, a distinction between their different stages of organization cannot clearly be drawn. Therefore, the pupils' statements will only be differentiated considering their general intention to migrate. Those students who marked that they do not intend to move at all to Europe were classified as 'non-migrating'-pupils while the others were categorized as 'migrating'.

I analyzed these five types separately and attempted to present similar statements of students by the use of a standardized, defined vocabulary.

9. IMAGES ARTICULATED BY POTENTIAL MIGRANTS

9.1. The Image of Europe

9.1.1. *Understanding of the Term 'Europe'*

The definition of Europe to which the interviewed students refer differs enormously from the way geographers or political scientists might use that term. This definition of the 'geographical' Europe is based on certain features which the students emphasize, and not only is Europe connoted with these features but all the countries the students estimate to possess these characteristics are attributed to be part of Europe. This conclusion can be drawn by considering both the countries which the students mentioned and the maps that the university students were asked to mark.

Every university student was given two maps (v. App.II.2.) and asked to mark the borders of Europe on both of the maps, the first one being a political world map without a legend or labeling and the second one a political map of Europe which stated the countries' names but not the borders of Europe. While all of the students were able to mark the borders of Europe (although not always the correct ones) on the second map, 5 persons refused to do so on the world map or had to be asked two or more times to mark the borders of Europe. When they were asked for the reason for their refusal they explained that they did know the names of the countries, but weren't familiar with their depiction on maps. Out of the 15 persons who did mark the world map, five marked the borders in a way that did not even intersect with the geographical borders of Europe (in those cases, Europe was usually situated by the student

as a small oval area in the middle of Russia). One drew two circles both around Europe and Northern America. Only the borders drawn by nine persons out of 23 correspond to the real geographical boundaries of Europe.

Thus it can be concluded that Europe is not perceived as a geographic unit but rather as a list of countries connected with certain features²⁵ (*one* of which is its location in Europe). This can also be inferred from the European countries mentioned by the students. Both variables, i.e. 'features' and 'location' might influence each other mutually. So on the one hand a country is attributed to Europe *because* it shows certain features (e.g. the U.S., Australia, Japan, or Canada), and on the other hand a country may be assigned to certain features *because* it is located in Europe (e.g. Albania, Macedonia, or the Czech Republic).

The countries marked on the map of Europe correspond to the countries the students mentioned to belong to Europe: The Western European countries (except Iceland which was marked only four times) were more often attributed to Europe than the Eastern European nations, the border being usually drawn east of Finland and Poland, i.e. the Baltic Nations, Belarus and Russia were marked to be part of Europe only twice. To the south-east, the European boundaries were estimated to be east of Hungary and Yugoslavia or – twelve times – east of Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey. Except for three persons – of whom one did not assess Portugal, and one not the Iberian Peninsula to be part of Europe; another one exclusively circled the Scandinavian countries – all of the students estimated the Western, Southern and Northern European countries (except Iceland) to be part of the continent.

²⁵ These often stereotypical features include economic wealth, high education rates, plenty of employment opportunities, good working conditions, etc.

Country	Secondary School Students		University Students	
	Nr. of responses	% of cases	Nr. of responses	% of cases
<i>European countries named</i>				
Albania	1	1.0 %	---	---
Austria	6	6.2 %	10	43.5 %
Belgium	7	7.2 %	4	17.4 %
Croatia	1	1.0 %	---	---
Czech Republic	2	2.1 %	---	---
Denmark	30	30.9 %	12	52.2 %
Finland	9	9.3 %	4	17.4 %
France	38	39.2 %	9	39.1 %
Germany	53	54.6 %	8	34.8 %
Greece	3	3.1 %	1	4.3 %
Hungary	---	---	1	4.3 %
Ireland	6	6.2 %	3	13.0 %
Italy	43	44.3 %	9	39.1 %
Luxembourg	---	---	1	4.3 %
Macedonia	2	2.1 %	---	---
Netherlands	20	20.6 %	8	34.8 %
Norway	18	18.6 %	7	30.4 %
Poland	9	9.3 %	3	13.0 %
Portugal	7	7.2 %	1	4.3 %
Russia	1	1.0 %	2	8.7 %
Spain	21	21.6 %	3	13.0 %
Sweden	33	34.0 %	10	43.5 %
Switzerland	8	8.2 %	2	8.7 %
Turkey	9	9.3 %	1	4.3 %
United Kingdom (GB,England)	87	89.7 %	17	73.9 %
'Europe' (Yulopu, Yuloph, Yuropu, Yulope or Ulaya)	12	12.4 %	---	---
<i>Non-European countries</i>				
Australia	1	1.0 %	4	17.4 %
Canada	14	14.4 %	6	26.1 %
USA	20	20.6 %	3	13.0 %
Other	25	25.8 %	6	26.1 %
Total responses	486	501.0 %	136	591.4 %

Tab. 9.1. 'European' countries listed by the students (first ten mentioned).

The countries mentioned by the university and secondary school students when asked about the "first countries which come to your mind when you

think about Europe”, respectively about “all the European countries you know”²⁶ show a similar picture: Both the university- and the secondary school students mainly mentioned Western, Southern and Northern European countries. On the average, 6.43 nations were stated by the UDSM-students, 5.15 by the pupils. As depicted in table 9.1., the country stated most often by both secondary school and university students is Great Britain. Furthermore, the pupils mentioned Germany, Italy and France while the university students mentioned – in that order – Denmark, Sweden and Austria²⁷.

Among the non-European countries which were claimed to be European are mainly Canada and the USA. This suggests that ‘Europe’ is rather defined as a group of countries which meet certain criteria than the other way round. The fact that 12.4 percent of the secondary school students listed ‘Europe’ (Yulopu, Yuloph, Yuropu or Yulope) as a European country is caused by the use of a different term for Europe in Kiswahili (Ulaya). Only one person actually mentioned ‘Ulaya’ as a European country.

9.1.2. *Economic Features and ‘Development’*

‘Development’ and terms used synonymously by the students, e.g. ‘economic enhancement’, ‘industrialization’ and – describing Europe – ‘First World countries’, is one of the features emphasized most frequently during the description of Europe, stated by 54 of the 120 interviewees. However, the meaning of the term is difficult to stress, since it is used in widely varying ways, as Nohlen (2000: 216) explains:

²⁶ “Uandike majina ya nchi zote unazofahamu” (v. appendix, chapter 13.2.).

²⁷ While Austria was mentioned by only 6.2 percent of the pupils (6 answers), 43.5 percent of the university students (10 persons) mentioned it. This divergence may result from the information the interviewees had about the interviewer, since I paid attention not to mention my nationality in the pupils’ briefings, but couldn’t always avoid to reveal it while establishing contact with the university students.

“What is meant by development comprises the greater part of the problem or subject of development itself. The term is neither separable from given theories, nor generally defined, nor neutral, but depends on time and space, and especially on collective and individual moral principles. Development is thus a normative term which is influenced by expectations about the preferable way of social change, theories about the reasons for underdevelopment, statements about the social actors and the socioeconomic transformation, decisions about the instruments of its initiation and maintenance, etc.”

Although this definition (or rather: non-definition) mainly refers to development theories, it is applicable to the students’ use of the term as well: How do the interviewees define development or a developed region, what norms are (implicitly) included in the use of the word? What hints do they give about social actors or the ways how development in a certain region is initiated?

Generally, the students do not restrict development to economic issues only, but link it with several subjects, among them politics, education, science and technology, infrastructure and communication, social services etc.

Especially in a strict economic sense, Europe’s level of development is seen explicitly distinct from African economies and connoted highly positively²⁸, mainly emphasizing the prosperity of Europe, its countries and their population. This prosperity is defined by generally better living standards and a high per-capita-income of “at least two to three dollars per person per day”²⁹, respectively “more than one dollar per day”. The stated high standard of living

²⁸ Only one student mentions that highly developed industries, sciences and technologies can also cause problems.

²⁹ According to the Human Development Index, the Tanzanian per-capita-income in the year 2000 was 523 US\$ which is 1.43 US\$ per day (cp. UNDP 2002: 193). Thus, this statement can be rather interpreted in stressing a clearly higher income in Europe (despite the fact that two to three dollars would highly underestimate the European per-capita-income since the average per-capita-income of all OECD-states reached 64.57 US\$ per day in the year 2000), since most of the students knew that a lot of Tanzanians live from less than one dollar per day, yet none really knew about the monthly average income in Europe.

includes at least the satisfaction of all people's basic needs due to a good infrastructure – concerning water- and electricity-supply, transport, housing and consumption – and a pleasant environment, the existence of well-paid work as a consequence of a high rate of industrialization, the innovation of new technologies like computers and TVs, sufficient medicine and better education facilities, which ensure the people's "individual development".

According to the students, other features which characterize the developed economy of Europe are, first, its advantaged position in (foreign) trade because of its comparably enormous economic power. The production of highly competitive goods by using specialized knowledge and industries was named as one of the reasons for this economic power. Second, Europe's economic development was said to be characterized by technological advancement, which would lead to an even stronger economy and the use of modern manufacturing techniques. Third, a high production level, booming markets for business and economy, and the existence of big industries, which in turn create more jobs for the population, are seen as beneficial for the economic development of Europe.

The reasons for the high level of development named by the students were paradoxically the advanced development itself (which was said to initiate or maintain fast development) or Europe's history of industrialization. One secondary school student (B25³⁰, v. App.III.1.) explained Europe's successful development by the low population density and population growth, which he considered to be "good for the economic development"³¹. Others mentioned the development of human resources, following the argumentation that advanced education leads to a high level of science and technology and therefore

³⁰ The figures in parentheses refer to the number of the interviews as listed in chapter 15 of the appendix whereby numbers only indicate interviews with university students, while numbers marked with A or B refer to interviews with secondary school students.

³¹ A statement which is, however, doubtful since Europe is first of all still the continent with one of the highest population densities worldwide, and secondly had a tremendously high population growth during the time of industrialization, comparable to the African population growth during the last decades.

to a lot of innovation and inventions which can be used profitably, e.g. by the improvement of the means of transport and communication through mobile phones and computers or the improvement of the efficiency of working processes through computerization. Furthermore, the efficient use of the few resources and raw materials produced in Europe and also the exploitation of African countries in order to receive the necessary raw materials was mentioned.

Another feature connected to the term development is 'political development', which was exclusively stated by the university students, although the four persons who mentioned it were not able to explain their statement. One student (19) responded, "I do not know to explain much about politically, but it's different to here I think." This explanation is interesting as, taken separately, it does not suggest a normative valuation of the political systems but only differences, the students' conclusion, however, is highly normative: Europe's political system(s) is (are) claimed to be further developed.

The students seemed to be strongly influenced by their view of the Tanzanian economy, whose characteristics they inverted to explain that Europe has a better developed economy. It should be noted, however, that the students' statements contained both theoretical presumptions about underdevelopment, which they had supposedly learned at university, and common prejudices. Linguistically, this inversion is sometimes reflected by the use of comparisons (Europe does not have a good economy, but a better one) without identifying the object which Europe is compared to. However, the conclusions are not drawn by actually comparing Europe to another region, but rather by applying the opposite of the outcomes of the students' analysis of the Tanzanian situation to the European situation, be it a low population density, an already achieved high level of development, good standards of education (which most of the students miss in the Tanzanian education system, v. chapter 9.1.5.), a high level of computerization, or a 'better' political system.

9.1.3. Working Conditions

Except for type five, i.e. non-migrating pupils who did not deal with this issue in their essays, those students of the other types who mentioned the topic stressed that there are differences in the working conditions between Tanzania and Europe. The issues which were discussed included the availability of jobs, systems of social security and/or working regulations and payment, and again the students emphasized that the European system's advantages substantially exceeded the Tanzanian one's.

All of the students agreed that salaries and wages were higher in Europe than in Tanzania. They were furthermore fixed because of certain labor regulations which give employees a distinct advantage. With regards to the amount of these incomes, the students expressed their assumptions only vaguely, stating that the "salary is at least high enough for your own survival" (B45) but usually also "sufficient to support other family members who do not work" (8). They estimated wages for hard physical labor to range from about six to seven U.S. dollars per hour.

Additionally, the university students were interviewed about their assumptions about the average and the minimum income in (Western) Europe. The outcomes showed an incredible range of US\$ 499,910³² for the average and US\$ 499,955 for the minimum income per month. The estimates of the minimum income varied between US\$ 45 and US\$ 500,000, indicating a median³³ of US\$ 386.5. The statements about the average income covered a similar range (US\$ 90 to US\$ 500,000), and the median was calculated to be US\$ 904. These figures support the hypothesis that the students only have a vague idea about the ab-

³² Since the students were asked to estimate the incomes in U.S. dollars, euros or Tanzanian shillings, the amounts in euros and Tanzanian shillings had to be converted in U.S. dollars afterwards. The mean exchange rates offered by the Bank of Tanzania (BOT) dating from February 13, 2004 were used to calculate the dollar equivalents (1€ being 1,406 Tsh and 1US\$ being 1,106 Tsh) (www.ippmedia.com; 04/02/13).

³³ Median is defined as "a positional measure of central tendency that consists in the middle value of a set of numbers arranged in order of magnitude" (Koschnick 1993: 849).

solute amount of European salaries and wages but rather assume them to be higher than the Tanzanian equivalents.

A more rewarding approach to examine the students' ideas about incomes in Europe is to compare their statements about the minimum/average income and the minimum/average costs per person per month, i.e. to assess the relative levels of income instead of the absolute ones. While the median value of the estimated average income is US\$ 904, the respective value of the estimated costs of living is US\$ 452, which is exactly half the amount of the estimated income. The respective figures for the minimum income and the minimum costs are US\$ 386.5 and US\$ 271. Thus it can be concluded that the university students assume the average earnings to be twice as high as the average spending and still assess the lowest income level to exceed the minimum costs (i.e. housing, food, taxes, others) by one third.

One of the students (17) mentioned a possible reason for these assumptions. Talking about migrants who return from Europe, he states, "Because our friends, when they go there and they are coming back, they say that they were just washing plates in somebody's house, but when he comes back he is driving a car... and says that he was just washing plates - imagine!"

According to the students, wages and salaries are fixed by collective agreements. Salaries were said to be calculated in relation to the time spent in work. The basis for this calculation can be either one month, one week, or even one working hour. The workers can also determine the frequency in which they are paid. Additionally, overtime is paid differently and better. Furthermore, legally fixed minimum wages and salaries do exist, at least for employees in state companies. Another issue mentioned frequently was that all persons or at least parts of the population in Europe receive a certain amount of money (usually from the government or state) if they are unemployed. However, it is not clear whether the students refer to unemployment benefit (the term itself was cited

only once), or whether they assume a sort of basic income to exist which every person in Europe is entitled to, regardless of their actual employment status.

In any case, the working standards were valued highly by the students and said to be extremely advantageous for the employees. Among the issues which characterize working conditions in Europe are regulations which provide employees with protection against unfair dismissal, and the already mentioned agreements on working hours, which may even fix the daily amount of time spent at work (which is estimated to range between six and 14 hours). Due to modern equipment and convenient working facilities (including well-equipped offices instead of working in the streets) working is safer in Europe. Employment contracts fully describe the conditions of the job and may therefore be used to check up on whether the terms of the agreement are fulfilled. Furthermore, issues regarding social security were mentioned, e.g. regular medical examinations, which are provided by the state, the possibility of retirement, pensions, and various types of support for unemployed individuals, which range from unemployment prevention measures and support for unemployed persons to find work to unemployment benefits. The workers' awareness of their situation and the power of the trade unions are stated to be the reason for these achievements on the one hand. On the other hand, also the state authorities contribute to the social system by enacting laws for the protection of workers, but mainly by their financial support for people who do not work (i.e. retired and unemployed persons, but also children and old people). Social insurances or retirement insurances as systems whereby the productive population supports a part of the (temporary) unproductive population were, however, not stated by the students. This aspect is important insofar as it shows that in the students' opinion the workers themselves only have to enforce the maintenance of systems of social security by political means, i.e. via trade unions, industrial action, lobbying, etc., but do not have to finance it by spending part of

their income, since the money people get if retired or unemployed is given by 'the government'.

Statements concerning the availability of jobs are equivocal but generally tend to postulate a high availability of jobs. Employment is easily found, especially for highly skilled workers and university graduates. Firstly, this is because only few people change from one industrial sector to another (for which they might not be trained), and therefore competition and wage dumping in certain trades are low, as one student (5) stated. Secondly, new jobs are constantly created due to the rapidly ongoing industrialization in European countries. Thirdly, corruption or nepotism play a minor role in the distribution of work.

This high availability of jobs was – among others – mentioned as one of the reasons why both Tanzanians in general and the interviewees in particular are attracted to the idea of working in Europe. Only one student pointed out that it was hard to find a good job in Europe because of strong competition, especially among the well-educated. Racism, although most often stated as a feature which defines an unattractive European country (v. chapter 9.2.3.), was not mentioned in connection to the anticipated working conditions of the students themselves, nor of African migrants in general.

9.1.4. *Social Situation*

The students strongly approve – almost without exception – of the working conditions, the economy, the education system in Europe and its overseas policy (mainly with regard to its development aid). However, statements about the social and the political situation, which is discussed later in this chapter, also contain elements of criticism and disapproval. Especially racism, high crime rates, sexual permissiveness or perversion, and certain aspects of social interactions are seen as 'vitv vibaya' (bad things) by the secondary school students or are mentioned in connection with European features of which the uni-

versity students disapprove. Among the 'vitu vizuri' (good things), the students mentioned the living standard of the population, its wealth and prosperity, social services and an effective infrastructure and to some extent also attitudes of the population in general (such as hospitality, tolerance, emancipation and individualism).

The often stated high standard of living in Europe is thought to derive from the prosperity of the European population, to which the students referred both in absolute and in relative terms³⁴. The incomes are believed to be distributed equally, at least to a great extent, and the percentage of poor persons is considered to be fairly low (between zero and one percent of the population)³⁵. In relation to Tanzania, the various social strata of the European population are said to earn decisively more than the members of the respective social strata in Tanzania, or in the words of one student, "A poor person in Europe is a rich person in Tanzania." (7).

Because of this high living standard people in Europe can afford 'luxuries' (which unfortunately remained undefined). The better conditions manifest themselves also in the high quality of goods and services, which are available even to the average customer. Facilities for regeneration and leisure activities, which are commonly used by European people, are said to be another sign of Europe's wealth. Yet another indicator is said to be the generally good health

³⁴ Prosperity is defined in this context as the absence of poverty, which can be seen from an absolute and a relative perspective. "Poverty defined in absolute terms refers to a state in which the individual lacks the resources necessary for subsistence. Relative definitions (...) refer to the individual's or group's lack of resources when compared with that of other members of society." (Marshall 1998: 516). Thus, absolute prosperity is a state in which the population is provided with all resources necessary for their subsistence, while relative prosperity is the reference group's possession of resources which are deficient in one's own group, i.e. the Tanzanian population.

³⁵ Poverty in Tanzania was usually defined by the students as an income of less than one U.S. dollar per day. This definition may be applied to assess their idea of poverty in Europe as well, especially as the students mentioned a high per-capita income to exceed one U.S. dollar per day (!). Another possibility to define poverty in Europe would be to include all persons with an income less than the minimum income of this region stated by the students (v. chapter 9.1.3.).

of the population, caused by the absence of malnutrition and hunger as well as the presence of wholesome food and a clean and pleasant environment. The existence of well-established social services, which include medical facilities, seem to be another manifestation of the high standard of living in Europe, as well as systems of water and electricity supply and sewerage networks, which are available for everybody. The students furthermore mentioned that the good conditions are also caused by a higher density of social institutions like schools, hospitals and facilities for social groups who need extra care, e.g. homes for the aged or nurseries and kindergartens for young children.

One of the main features mentioned in connection with social services is that they are accessible to everybody in need of them: Especially medical services and social housing, but also the old people's homes and the nursery schools were mostly stated to be free of charge. One of the secondary school students said that "certain things have to be given to every person by the government" (B25), which may be taken to exemplify the students' conviction that in Europe the state assures the satisfaction of one's basic needs. Again, this statement can be interpreted as an inversion of the analysis of the Tanzanian situation, as it can be assumed that the students are confronted quite intensively with this objective for subsistence, which is presented to them as one of the main goals of projects of development agencies, in political speeches and as part of other normative demands concerning the development of their country.

Generally, the students emphasized that chances are distributed more equitably in Europe, at least for the native population. Due to free or cheap social services (almost) every citizen has access to certain basic facilities like health facilities and the education system, the latter enabling individual social advancement (v. chapter 9.5.1.). Furthermore, a minimum income provided by the state ensures at least the satisfaction of all citizens' basic needs.

In this context, the students also mention that women and men have equal chances in Europe: "(...) people of different sexes, males and females, they

march together. There, they are free to do whatever they want, compared to here in Tanzania.” (15) Women’s empowerment and a high awareness of discrimination and sexual harassment of women create, according to the students, equality between the sexes. However, also the commercial sexual exploitation of women is frequently mentioned, mainly in the context of prostitution and pornography³⁶, as well as sexual violence against women. When asked where their knowledge about pornography derived from, the students named various pornographic sites on the internet which mainly show white women (and men), which would explain why pornography is seen as an European and North American peculiarity. The occasional depiction of black women is explained by stating that female African migrants are often forced to work in this métier in Europe. Relating to these porno sites, some students also mentioned differences in sexual practices between the people of Tanzania and European countries, among them the commonness of bestiality, homosexuality – which the interviewees disapproved of to a similar extent – and provocative clothing in Europe³⁷.

Concerning criminality, the students also expressed different, sometimes contradictory, points of view: Some interviewees said that people in Europe generally have no economic need to commit crimes and therefore estimated the crime-rate to be low. In case a student assessed a high level of criminal activity to be prevalent in Europe, the reasons stated were the easy availability of arms and ammunition, a careless attitude of the police and the governments towards crime, a lack of discipline among the youth and criminal offences related to drugs and the trade of narcotics. The abuse of and addiction to legal and illegal drugs is frequently mentioned as a problem affecting big parts of the European population.

³⁶ Concerning prostitution and pornography, only the involvement of women was mentioned.

³⁷ The existence of (supposedly European) porno sites is also taken as an example or proof for the destructive influence of European on African culture(s).

The main drawback of Europe, according to the students, is racism, which is said to affect every European country, all social levels and all parts or functional systems of society. Reasons for this racism were not named by the students, but they can be inferred from the comparison made between Australia and Europe. The former region's population is said to comprise of a mixture of races, which is seen as the reason why there is no or little racism, whereas Europe is mainly inhabited by white people. Because of this, there tends to be more racism (against migrants) in Europe, as the population is not used to other cultures and races and thus also lacks tolerance towards them. Racism is defined by the students either as favoritism towards the white-skinned population, which is privileged to the dark-skinned population (mentioned are mainly Africans, but also Indians and Arabs), or as the deprivation of migrants in favor of native inhabitants, respectively their 'mistreatment'. The country most often mentioned in this context was Germany, which is also the only country where racism is said to be part of the political system: "(...) In Germany, there is this Apartheid. There are these people that are called Nazis. They are all discriminating the people that come from Africa." (10). Other countries stated explicitly for their racism were Great Britain and Italy. Discrimination is furthermore said to occur on every social level, ranging from the microlevel of the individual to the mesolevel of organizations, e.g. all those institutions concerned with social services, and to the macrosocial level. The latter includes all social institutions, the society as a whole or parts of it like the job market.

Racism is also seen as the manifestation of certain attitudes and values of the European people, which may be also perceived in the way they interact with each other: The people of Europe were mainly concerned with their own business, they were too busy and selfish and took care only of themselves, are just some of the statements underlining a negative valuation of the perceived social structures of Europe. Individualism instead of strong family or community ties

is believed to be a distinctive characteristic of Europe's social system, which is also related to small family sizes (families are assumed to consist of five persons at maximum). Only a small part of the interviewees emphasized the positive effects of the social structure they associate Europe with: The individuals' independence which arises from such connections enables them to develop themselves (in this context the term 'development' remains undefined by the students), especially allowing them to be successful and to achieve economic independence. Another positive effect of this individualism – and also one of the reasons for it – mentioned by the students is the different socialization of European children in comparison with Tanzanian children: Children were encouraged to pursue their own ends, they had a lot of rights and freedom of choice and although parents cared for their children, the relationship between the two was rather based on friendship, with equal rights for both sides, than on authority.

9.1.5. Education

The formal education systems in Europe were highly valued by the students, referring both to the equipment and facilities of the institutions, and to the way or methods of education. It was frequently stressed that the education systems were the exact opposite to the Tanzanian ones, once more suggesting that the qualities the students attribute to European systems are rather the reversal of those conditions in Tanzania which the students regard as disadvantageous. European students are rather mentioned in a negative context which is paradoxically mainly substantiated by referring to the excellent circumstances of their education. Thus, the students' analysis of the education systems in Europe shows distinct parallels to their description of the social situation, as the structures are highly valued while the actors are seen rather in a negative way and often said to be spoiled by their convenient environment.

Two features which characterize the education systems in Europe and which are mentioned fairly often are their social permeability and the large number of people who have or had access to higher education. Asked for the percentage of graduates among the European population, the interviewed university students estimated the figure to be 71.5 percent in average, one quarter of the sample even assumed it to be higher than 90 percent. On the other hand, they assessed a fairly big part of the population to be illiterate (8.95 percent in average), with a high range within the sample (25 percent). However, this figure has to be seen in relation to the Tanzanian illiteracy rate, which was 29 percent on mainland Tanzania in the year 2000/01 (National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania 2002: www.tanzania.go.tz; 2004/03/05). Therefore, speaking relatively, the university students estimated the illiteracy rate in Europe to be less than a third of the Tanzanian one. The secondary school students agree with this by emphasizing the large number of educated people in Europe and the commonness of higher education in the region. This view is supported by statements which stressed the population's excellent economic conditions, which enable people to receive a good education before they actually start to work or even while being already employed. Same as unemployed persons, students "are paid while they are given a good education," as one interviewee (12) states. Others mention that students in Europe can rely on their parents' financial support, or that it is possible to study and work at the same time. Economic support, especially scholarships, may also be offered by the 'government' to enable higher education for the majority of the population, and especially for gifted people. The reason why the students believe that a large number of scholarships might be available for citizens of a European country is the possibility even for Tanzanians to receive scholarships from European governments in order to "get higher education and even jobs in [European] countries" (A8).

All the interviewees agreed that the education European schools, colleges and universities offered was of outstanding quality, some students even as-

sumed it to be the best in the world. The reasons mentioned for this outstanding quality were a high density of education institutions, well structured, efficient curricula, advanced teaching techniques, and excellent education facilities, including modern electronic equipment like computers and TVs. Other reasons for the excellence of the European education system were highly trained teachers in sufficient numbers, the easy access to information because of the broad availability of the internet and up-to-date books and the tidiness and good condition facilities were in, as well as the healthy food they provided. In general, education was estimated to be better structured and easier to obtain in Europe than in Tanzania, and also required less time to complete since the contents were better summarized. The students also emphasized the advantages of starting and finishing their education at a younger age, because thus they were sooner able to earn their living.

Another issue relating to the convenience of the European system was the freedom students generally enjoy, which was underlined by the arguments that European students were first of all allowed to go to school in everyday-clothes instead of school uniforms³⁸, secondly that special laws existed which protected the students' rights, and thirdly that European pupils and students had a lot of spare time due to carefully planned timetables. However, this freedom was said to have rather negative side effects: Since European students are not punished for their mistakes (due to the protection laws mentioned above), and because of the many parties they hold during their spare time, their character is ruined. Also, the students do not develop their intellectual abilities due to the good electronic equipment of the schools: "Since they are using the computer, they do not think much, so they just extract from the computer" (15). This view exemplifies the image the students have about the European popula-

³⁸ While Tanzanian university students can wear casual clothes on campus (although their correct appearance is still supervised and sanctioned by some lecturers), both primary and secondary school students have to wear uniforms. Therefore, it's not surprising that this statement was from one of the pupils.

tion, i.e. that Europeans tend to be selfish and decadent, which applies to students in particular. This is despite or even because of the excellent social conditions in Europe, which were already depicted by the statements about the people's social interactions.

Nonetheless, the interviewees emphasize the high quality of the European education system, especially as it provides the students also with good chances of future employment. Therefore, one of its features stressed most often is that it conveys practical skills because of curricula which deal with up-to-date issues, among them the use of computers and other technical equipment. The use of French or English as medium of instruction since primary school³⁹ and the commonness of practical trainings as well as study trips to foreign countries are other reasons for the excellent reputation graduates from an European education system have. Again, the interviewees pointed out the disadvantage they are put at because of their lack of such opportunities: "In order to be a good doctor, you must have education from Europe" (B20). According to the students, the high quality of the European education systems is also one of the reasons why many Tanzanian intellectuals migrate to Europe.

9.1.6. *Political Situation*

Like the students' statements about the social conditions in Europe, their analysis of the political system contains both elements of approval and disapproval. On the one hand, the politics and the political culture prevalent within Europe are valued positively, as long as they concern the native population only. On the other hand, Europe is criticized for its institutional racism and the negative influence it exerts on other nations and regions. Concerning their own plans to migrate, it seems that the students do not regard politics as a variable

³⁹ In Tanzania, the medium of instruction in primary school is Kiswahili (while English is only one of the subjects). It should be replaced by English in secondary school and at university; however, Kiswahili remains the medium of instruction long after primary school.

to be considered, as none of the interviewees mentioned European policies on migration, education, the labor market or the social sector. Generally the students expressed rather vague ideas about European politics, in contrast to their quite detailed images about the education or the social system, which suggests that European politics are of little interest to them or seen as rather irrelevant to the description of Europe.

Therefore, rather general aspects are summarized among the positive features of European politics, such as political freedom, democracy, peace, the protection of human rights, opportunities for participation in the political system for all citizens, gender and racial equality (of which the latter is contradicted by those statements referring to racism), as well as less corruption among politicians. Again, the term 'development' was stressed, describing Europe or the European Union as an amalgamation of "countries which have similar technological development" (A5). Additionally, the interviewees stated that the "political system of Europe" was "generally advanced". One of the reasons for the efficiency of the European political systems seems to be that politicians are paid well, because "(...) it's very difficult to corrupt with people who have money" (2).

Institutional racism, however, is also connected with European domestic politics. The students defined it as systems of political and legal segregation of the population according to the residents' skin color. Synonyms for institutional racism used by the students are 'color segregation', 'Fascism' or 'Apartheid'. This unfair treatment of non-white people extends also to foreign policies: The students' keynote, describing European foreign policies, is that Europe exploits other nations, suppresses them and violates their sovereignty.

The students connoted Europe's foreign policy with the term (neo-)colonialism and described its foreign trade policy as (neo-)liberal, which was said to undermine the LDCs' economic development in order to gain advantages. The economic exploitation of Africa was said to date back to the time of

the slave-trade previous to the Scramble for Africa, was continued through the following colonial period (from which, as one student states, an obligation arises for Europe to help African nations now), up to the current (neo-)liberal trade-system, which the interviewees emphasized to still destroy African (rural) economies. One example for this economic exploitation stated by the interviewees is that rich European nations still dictate the prices of raw materials. According to the students, these states use military or political force in order to perpetuate the (neo-)liberal trade system. The students referred to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq to emphasize that Europe waged these wars also for economic reasons⁴⁰. The implementation of Europe's system of economic liberalism in LDCs (by political means) furthermore leads to impoverishments of the lower social strata: "If you can find that this kind of system will be exercised here, in these Third World countries, you will find that there will be a certain class which will grow up of the expense of other classes which are poor" (8).

Apart from the economic influence Europe exerts on other nations/continents by political means, its foreign policy was said to be also characterized by constant conflicts: Referring to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2004, European countries were depicted either as aggressors, actively taking part in wars, or as supporters of aggressors, e.g. by selling weapons to them. Europe is seen as a traitor of the cause of a fair and equal international community, as it disregards UN rules and legislations and cooperates with the U.S. in their attacks on other nations' sovereignty. Still, the students also value Europe's role as an international arbitrator in crises. Europe was also mentioned to be both a base for terrorists and a target of terrorist attacks.

While the (white) population of Europe is depicted as a homogeneous society of peace, equality and low social and political tensions, its relationship with

⁴⁰ As explained earlier in this chapter, part of the students consider the U.S. to be part of Europe, but asked for the connection between Europe and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, most students referred to the involvement of Great Britain.

other countries is characterized mainly by aggression and (economic) exploitation. This image is interesting insofar, as it exemplifies Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory of structural and anomic tensions whose keynote is that the migrants move from a system with high (perceived) structural tensions to a system whose structural tensions are lower than the original one's (cp. Han 2000: 55f). Thus, it would be highly attractive for the students to become part of the European society, which they perceive to have low structural tensions.

The students' heightened awareness of the racism prevalent in Europe, especially against Africans, however, seems to be in contradiction to the theory, as racism is a strong structural tension affecting immigrants. It should be noted, however, that this applies only as long as the students regard themselves as being affected by racism in the countries of destination. Although the students often talked about racism while describing the migrants' conditions in the countries of destination (v. chapter 9.2.7.), they never mentioned it in their anticipation of their own situation in the respective countries (v. chapter 9.2.6.). Thus, it can be assumed that they exclude the possibility of being potential targets of racism themselves.

9.1.7. Development Aid and International Relations

Concerning development aid⁴¹ the European population or partial social systems are, again, perceived to be highly homogeneous. Instead of naming the various actors of development aid, e.g. states, multilateral organizations, enterprises, or NPOs, all students but one mentioned only one actor: Europe.

The term itself is defined in a rather conservative way, emphasizing the role of Europe as a donator of aid and advice, and that of Tanzania as a (passive) receiver. Thus the students accepted this concept of asymmetric distribution of power and knowledge between the two parties. Terms used in this context

⁴¹ The use of this controversial term in this chapter follows the students' definition, as depicted in the next paragraph.

were 'development aid', 'help', 'to benefit', and 'to force (aid) upon (Tanzania)'. The description of development aid one student gave was quite symptomatic, as he stated that "Europe as a continent, they contribute a lot in Africa, (...) they just give us goods, they give us aid, and other good things. (...) They give it to us because we cannot satisfy ourselves. Our government-expense is very low so that it cannot feed all people and satisfy all basic needs" (18).

According to the students, development aid comprises of the transfer of goods and technologies, economic support by loans and scholarships, and human resources ('experts') which are sent to give support and advice. Another form of development aid was said to be the copying of immaterial values such as culture or jurisprudence. Europe's reasons to grant development aid are explained mainly by stating its obligation to help Africa, which arises primarily from the colonial past. The students emphasized that the exploitation of Africa by Europe resulted in the present economic situation of the continent, Europe's capability to provide development aid is however caused by its high economic and technological standing. However, the students – mainly those from universities – also emphasized that the donor countries grant loans primarily out of self-interest, and sometimes impose their idea of development aid on the receiver countries. Variations of this contra-productive development may be the donation of worthless goods like expired medicaments, loans on conditions which benefit the donors more than the receivers, or the contribution of human resources, which mainly aids the various 'helpers': "(...) those who do not have jobs [in Europe], they are coming (...) and working here in Tanzania - now, they are becoming the 'experts'. I do not know if they really have the talent, but I think they are coming because they know each other. So they are working instead of us, so there is a lot of chances for the Europeans here" (9). Another way by which development aid was used in favor of the donors that was mentioned was the forced implementation of political or economic strategies by threatening to cut their financial aid.

In summary, the secondary school students consider European development aid very positively by emphasizing the transfer of highly valuable goods and services due to Europe's "advancement in every sector" (B52). The university students, in contrast, perceive development aid rather ambiguously. On the one hand they value it as a support of the Tanzanian national economy, but on the other hand criticize it as a form of neo-colonial exploitation. According to the university students, development aid is necessary to improve the countries' bad economic situation, which is caused by the nations' colonial past, but it also prolongs the dependency on the former colonial powers.

9.1.8. Other Associations

Associations related to nonsocial aspects of Europe concern mainly the continent's geographical features. According to the students, Europe is a small continent (though bigger than Australia), in size about two fifths of Africa, which consists of many countries. It lies north of Africa, respectively west of Tanzania or east of Asia [sic]. In this context the students emphasized the harsh climate, especially the heavy snowfalls occurring either throughout the year or at certain seasons, and the dangers which arise from these climatic conditions, like floods, earthquakes [sic], or the disease flu.

In general, nonsocial aspects play a minor role in the students' description of Europe. This once more adds further proof to the hypothesis that the students' image of Europe is mainly based on the attribution of certain features which they regard to be comparable to the situation in Tanzania, rather than being constructed from the results of the students' analysis of the existing information about the geographical or political region.

9.1.9. Differences Between Europe and Other Developed Regions

As has been mentioned above, Europe's image mainly derives from the reversal of the Tanzanian situation. This applies as well to "other regions where

people like to go to (like the USA, Canada or Australia)”⁴² (v. App.II.1.). This may also explain why the students perceive only few differences between highly developed regions. If differences between Europe and other developed regions are stressed, they are only gradual: The regions are associated with the same socio-economic features, only their intensity may vary from region to region. However, most students do not assume “high-developed countries” (9) like Europe, the U.S., Japan, China, Korea, Canada or Australia to differ much. They substantiate this statement by referring to a similar stage of development and a more or less equal income of their populations. The country the students most frequently referred to was the U.S.

Perceived differences between the U.S. and Europe are the United States’ relatively higher stage of development and, connected to it, a better economic situation and an “easier” life, while people living in Europe have to work harder. Concerning the population, greater heterogeneity or multiculturalism was said to exist in the U.S., due to the higher number of African Americans and African migrants, which results in easier living conditions for all people of African origin. On the other hand, the U.S.’ higher crime rate and their aggressiveness against other nations are mentioned.

⁴² The question to assess differences between Europe and other developed regions (v. App.II.1. Question 10) included an ambiguity, as other regions “where people like to go to” might have included LDCs as well. But, since none of the students mentioned an LDC in her/his explanations, I assume that they interpreted the question with respect to differences between Europe and other highly developed regions.

9.2. Integration into the Society of the Region of Destination

The following chapter considers only the statements of those students who intended to migrate (according to the typology depicted in chapter 8, this applies to type 2, 3 and 5), hence ten out of the 120 interviews will be excluded from the analysis (v. App.III.). The only exception from this restriction is the students' description of the migrants' general situation in the region of destination (v. chapter 9.2.7.). Wherever necessary, differences between the three types⁴³ will be mentioned in the text.

9.2.1. Reasons for Migration

Both the university and the secondary school students were asked in an open question why they wished to move to Europe. The university students were additionally given a form containing a list of possible reasons for migration (cp. Han 2000, Efionayi-Mäder 2001) after the oral part of their interview and asked to mark their degree of agreement with each statement along a scale which consisted of the gradations 'main reason', 'important reason', 'less important reason', and 'no reason' (v. App.II.3.).

It is necessary to point out that such an examination can only reveal personal reasons, but these, however, may not reflect the primary factors which were involved in the decision making, since they are hidden in complex patterns of macro- (and micro-)social factors far beyond the individual's perception (v. chapter 3.). The formulation of the question was chosen with the purpose to analyze differences that the students perceive between the area of destination and the country of origin. The wish to achieve higher education in Europe, for example, rather is a statement about the assumed differences in quality of the education systems; the intention to look for work in Europe may tell something

⁴³ Type two includes university students who intend to migrate but have nothing organized so far, type three includes university students who already have definite plans for their intended migration, and type five includes all secondary school students who wish to migrate.

about the anticipated differences in employment opportunities and working conditions, etc.

The students' statements were highly similar in nature: The most important reason was to receive higher education in Europe. Secondary reasons are kept rather vaguely, and refer to the students' wish of 'self-fulfillment', experience, good living conditions, or the aim to improve one's economic situation.

Remittances play a fairly important role in the students' motivation to migrate. Although only 21.1 percent of the university students mentioned them as the main reason to migrate and 18.8 percent as an important reason, they were referred to quite often during the oral part of the interviews which anteceded the preformed answers of the self-completion questionnaire. According to the students, support of those who stayed behind can be both material and non-material. Thus, one of the main intentions of the interviewees, namely to "help Tanzania to develop", can be interpreted as a form of non-material remittances, since the students plan to achieve their goal by returning to Tanzania after they have received higher education and learned special skills in Europe.

Asked to mark the statements in the questionnaire which were inconceivable as reasons for or strategies of migration, the university students excluded first of all the possibility of migrating to seek for asylum (95 percent of all university students), second, to be supported by a European partner/boy- or girlfriend (80 percent)⁴⁴, and third, to be supported by friends or relatives living in the country of destination (65 percent).

⁴⁴ In this task I asked explicitly for the students' willingness to migrate by marrying a European. However, social desirability might have influenced the answers of the students considerably.

Statements	University Students (% of cases)								Secondary School Students n = 97 1 st reason (%)
	Type 2 n = 11		Type 3 n = 8		All University Students n = 23				
	Main rea- son	No reason	Main reason	No reason	Main rea- son	Imp. reason	Less imp.	No reason	
Improve living conditions	30.0	20.0	66.7	---	42.1	43.8	11.8	10.0	12.9
Better job chances	10.0	20.0	50.0	14.3	31.6	43.8	23.5	15.0	5.4
Education	70.0	---	100.0	---	78.9	18.8	11.8	---	73.1
Student ex- change	30.0	10.0	33.3	14.3	31.6	50.0	17.6	15.0	---
Within easy reach (transport)	---	50.0	16.7	57.1	5.3	12.5	35.3	50.0	---
Easy entry (mi- gration policies)	---	40.0	---	57.1	---	25.0	35.3	45.0	---
Seek asylum	---	90.0	---	85.7	---	6.3	11.8	85.0	---
Greater social security	10.0	70.0	---	57.1	5.3	12.5	23.5	60.0	---
Relatives live there	---	80.0	---	42.9	---	25.0	17.6	65.0	7.6
Help of relatives living in Europe	---	70.0	---	57.1	---	18.8	23.5	65.0	---
Help of Euro- pean friends	---	80.0	---	71.4	---	6.3	17.6	80.0	---
Move to Euro- pean spouse	---	90.0	---	100.0	---	---	5.9	95.0	---
Tanzanians are doing well there	---	30.0	---	28.6	---	37.5	41.2	35.0	---
Remittances (money)	40.0	20.0	---	28.6	21.1	18.8	35.3	30.0	---
Political stability/ social peace	---	50.0	---	28.6	---	18.8	52.9	40.0	---
Human rights/de- mocratic values	20.0	10.0	50.0	---	31.6	18.8	47.1	10.0	---
Realize dreams and wishes	40.0	10.0	83.3	---	47.4	31.3	23.5	10.0	---
Gain experience	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	15.1
Other reasons	---	40.0	---	28.6	---	---	5.9	35.0	17.3

Tab. 9.2. Reasons for migration.

Regarded separately, the three different types, i.e. university students who intend to migrate but have nothing organized so far, university students who already have definite plans for their intended migration, and secondary school

students who wish to migrate, show only gradual differences. The opportunity to complete a master's degree or to increase one's chances to receive higher education was stated as the main reason to migrate by all of the university students with definite plans, and by 70 percent of the university students who intended to migrate but had nothing organized so far, respectively by 73.1 percent of the secondary school students with the intention to move to Europe.

The frequency of those who wanted to migrate because of better working conditions or career opportunities illustrates one of the greatest differences between the three types. While half of the university students with definite plans name the prospect of better job opportunities and a higher salary as main reason to migrate, only 10 percent of the university students without definite plans and 5.4 percent of the secondary school students stated this reason as their main purpose or as an important reason for moving to Europe.

9.2.2. *European Countries of Destination*

The attractiveness of the potential countries of destination correlates with the position of the respective country in the list of European nations that first came to the students' minds during the interviews. Hence the by far most attractive country is the United Kingdom, mentioned most often by both the university and the secondary school students (i.e. by about 40 percent of the interviewed pupils and more than half of the university students). In the case of the pupils, the UK is followed by Sweden (12.9 percent), the U.S. (10.8 percent), Italy (9.7 percent) and Canada (8.6 percent). The university students mentioned the Scandinavian countries and France (each mentioned five times), Germany, Australia and the Netherlands (each mentioned three times) after the UK as their preferred countries of destination.

Except for Poland, which was named only once, all the countries which the students stated to be their preferred countries of destination belong to the 'Western sphere', i.e. Western, Southern and Northern Europe, as well as Can-

ada, the U.S., and Australia. Most students' reasons for choosing a certain country were related to the nation's wealth and highly developed economy and the assumed sociopolitical implications, such as access to pensions, systems of social security, the health system, or a good education. The high quality of education was once more mentioned most often, namely by a third of each of the two samples (i.e. university students and secondary school students).

The secondary school students opted for a certain country because of the good living or working conditions there, or because of the good social security systems available, or the highly developed economy of the chosen nation. Of further importance were political stability and social peace, the existence of social networks, i.e. of (Tanzanian) friends or relatives in the chosen nation, the wish to gain experience precisely in that particular country, and the absence of racism. Interestingly, the reasons for choosing a certain nation were first of all quite similar, regardless of the named country, and secondly rather general in nature and would qualify other countries as possible countries of destination as well. Therefore the motivation to opt for a certain country of destination out of the region 'Europe' seems to derive rather from a vague idea of a country than from specific information about it. Furthermore, 15 percent of the pupils stated their preferred countries of destination without giving a reason for their choice. This supports the hypothesis that the image of Europe is rather created by the reversal of the problems in Tanzania, e.g. difficult working and living conditions, a selective and disappointing education system, or the absence of social security systems, than by a sound analysis of the features of Europe or its states.

The university students' image of Europe seems to be created in a similar manner, since their reasons for choosing a European country indicate only a superficial knowledge about features of the different countries: A highly developed economy, 'paradisaal' living conditions in the chosen country and the wish to find out what reality in the country is like, or the polite and self-reliant

people were some of the stated reasons. Of further importance for the choice of a particular nation were the country's superior education system, the opportunity to receive a scholarship for this country, or a general interest in the education system itself. Some students also wanted to broaden their view concerning their subjects at university, for example by interviewing Germany's population about the 'Third Reich', by studying Great Britain's colonial past or its contemporary political system, by learning the country's language, or by studying at the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Besides the latter aims, i.e. to study political, historical or juridical features of the respective country of destination, which only apply to a certain country, the reasons for choosing a particular country did not differ much.

One reason which seemed to be very important for the choice of a certain country of destination was the existence of social networks with people who already lived in the country and who were known to the students. Interestingly, these persons, usually friends and relatives, were seen only as a source of information on the country, as can be deduced from one of the students' statements (13), "I'd prefer London. (...) I heard that London is a good place and in my A-Level-School there were about ten who went to a London University. And many people want to go there." However, most of the students do not seem to use their connections to their preferred countries to inform themselves specifically about tasks relevant to immigration, like formalities, or to reassure themselves of their friends' and relatives' material support in case they moved to the country (v. chapter 9.3.4.). Besides these networks, the students mentioned the mass media (mainly newspapers and the internet) and not further specified common knowledge (referred to as "different people" or "the people") as information sources which provided them with knowledge which was crucial for their decision for a certain country.

9.2.3. *Non-European Countries of Destination*

Additionally to their preferred European countries of destination, the university students were asked for other eligible (non-European) nations. Like in the question for their preferred European country, the students decided again for rich 'Western' countries like Australia, the U.S., or Canada. Though not necessarily 'Western' but undoubtedly better developed, Japan, Korea, and China were also mentioned in this context. African nations were stated only twice and again only the richest were of concern, namely South Africa and Botswana. Only Brazil, Jamaica and the Caribbean Nations were stated to be of interest for the students to migrate to for other reasons than their highly developed economy.

The reasons for choosing a certain country were again mainly the existence of information providing networks, as well as linkages between the country and the topics of the students' university courses, e.g. a country's political system, its high level of development, its art scene, or its geological features. The assumed absence of racism was stated as the reason for choosing multicultural Australia and Brazil, the existence of Rastafarian culture for deciding on Jamaica and the Caribbean.

9.2.4. *Unattractive Countries*

In addition to the students' preferred destinations, I also asked them whether there was any country where they did not want to go at all. In accordance with their usually only vague reasons for choosing single European countries of destination, a relative majority of the students (38.8 percent of the secondary school students and 57.9 percent of the university students) did skip this task. However, there was a slight tendency among the university students with definite migration plans to exclude certain countries. The university students generally justified their denial to answer the question either by emphasizing the high degree of similarity between the various European countries for

their purposes, i.e. a temporary stay with the intention to gain education or experience, or by stating that their choice of a certain country depended on factors they couldn't influence anyway, e.g. the existence of scholarships for the respective country.

The country which was stated most often to be ineligible by both samples was Germany, which is mainly rejected because of fear of racism or other forms of discrimination. For the same reason, Great Britain, France, Norway and the U.S. were mentioned as unattractive countries by the secondary school students. Racial discrimination, political insecurity and instability due to war were also reasons stated frequently, and mainly applied to Russia, Iraq, Afghanistan and the U.S.; a choice which is probably influenced by the latter country's invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan in the year 2003. Besides political insecurity, Russia and other Eastern European countries were excluded because of their "underdevelopment". The third main reason why the students would not choose a certain country is directly related to the potential migrants' integration into the society of the country of destination, as a tenth of the pupils named language problems as an excluding factor. The countries mentioned in this context were France, Germany, Italy and Spain.

Only one out of the 110 interviewees considered migration policies or other factors related to the migration process as a possible reason not to migrate to a certain country. To give an example, he mentioned "[Germany's] restrictions: They need you to undergo German language" (8). Concerning the students' stage of information, this disregard of factors related to the actual migration allows two interpretations: Either their information about the actual possibility to migrate to a country is incomplete and therefore they cannot decide on or exclude certain countries. Or they reach the conclusion after an analysis of the current European migration policies that the obstacles for entering a certain country are the same all over Europe.

Countries	Possible Destination		Impossible as Destination	
	Sec. School St. (n = 93)	Univ. Stud. (n = 19)	Sec. School St. (n = 93)	Univ. Stud. (n = 19)
Afghanistan	---	---	5.4 %	---
Australia	---	15.8 %	---	---
Austria	---	10.5 %	---	---
Belgium	---	5.3 %	1.1 %	---
Canada	8.6 %	5.3 %	---	---
Finland	1.1 %	n.d.	---	n.d.
France	2.2 %	26.3 %	7.5 %	---
Germany	2.2 %	15.8 %	12.9 %	26.3 %
Italy	9.7 %	5.3 %	1.1 %	---
Iraq	---	---	6.5 %	---
Netherlands	1.1 %	15.8 %	---	---
Norway	1.1 %	n.d.	1.1 %	n.d.
Poland	1.1 %	---	1.1 %	---
Portugal	---	---	1.1 %	---
Russia	---	---	1.1 %	10.5 %
Scandinavian Countries ⁴⁵	n.d.	26.3 %	n.d.	5.3 %
Spain	---	---	1.1 %	---
Sweden	12.9 %	n.d.	1.1 %	n.d.
Turkey	---	---	2.2 %	5.3 %
UK, Great Britain	39.8 %	68.4 %	9.7 %	---
U.S.	10.8 %	10.5 %	8.6 %	---
No special preference	8.6 %	10.5 %	38.8 %	57.9 %
Other countries	1.1 %	10.5 %	---	5.3 %

Tab. 9.3. Favored countries of destination and unattractive countries.

9.2.5. *Intended Occupations of the Potential Migrants*

In agreement with the reasons which the students stated for their migration, the most common thing that the students intend to do once they are in the country of destination is studying to receive higher education. Since the secondary school students were not explicitly asked for their plans concerning their occupation, their intentions can only be deduced from the statements about

⁴⁵ While most of the secondary school students listed the Scandinavian Countries separately, the great part of the university students used this term. Therefore, this group of countries is summed up in the university students' table while each country is indicated separately in the secondary school students' case.

their anticipation of their situation in the region of destination. Therefore, the following chapter mainly analyses the data obtained from the interviews of the university students. The few responses the secondary school students made, however, show similar tendencies, i.e. that the main purpose of going to Europe is to study there, followed by the intention to work in Europe, or to do both at the same time.

But while the secondary school students most probably referred to higher education in general, most of the university students intend to undertake postgraduate studies to achieve a Master's Degree or a Ph.D. of their current course or of other courses. The students stated that they would be willing to change their courses of postgraduate studies if they appeared to be either more interesting or more rewarding financially to them⁴⁶, or if there were only scholarships available for these studies. Only one student (17) was aware that it might be necessary to start a new undergraduate course, as the Bachelor's Degree of the UDSM might not be recognized by the universities in the countries headed for. The greater part of the university students is convinced of the recognition of their Bachelor, because firstly, other Tanzanian students were studying in Europe as well, secondly, the education systems of Africa and Europe were very similar due to the colonial past and the adoption of the European education system, and thirdly, the Commonwealth was guaranteeing the comparability of university studies. Again, the students clearly equate the different European systems, and generalize about other European nations from their knowledge of the education system about which they are informed best, i.e. that of the United Kingdom. However, some of the students admit a great degree of uncertainty concerning this issue, either by acknowledging their lack of information or by considering the possibility of compulsory extra training

⁴⁶ Since it can be assumed that the students already chose their undergraduate courses in order to receive a vocational training which might be of use in Tanzania, the latter statement has to be interpreted in the context of Han's (2000: 93) hypothesis that foreign students often choose a course "which provides qualifications for which there is demand in the host country".

courses, which are assumed to last about one year, before being allowed to attend the subject related lectures.

Again, the interviewees emphasize the advantages of studying in Europe, among them the high quality of the education, the integration of advanced technologies into the courses, the common use of computers, and the comparably short duration of the university studies. Also it was assumed that students in Europe had better opportunities to earn money. While some students were even convinced that people studying at European universities get paid for the lectures they attend, most of the interviewees underlined the better economic chances arising out of the possibility to work and study simultaneously.

Hence, a major fraction of the students' job plans during their stay in Europe were to work on a part-time basis during their studies, although it mostly remained undefined how such an employment should be like. If mentioned, the jobs are expected to function both as an economic basis to meet their costs of living, and as an opportunity to acquire practical skills and experience in the field related to the course. Most of the jobs which the students might apply for after graduation are intended to be done only for a relatively short period of time (one to five years), since most of the students plan to return to Tanzania afterwards. The professions which the students intended to go into were usually highly skilled and well-paid and were related to the students' training. They expressed, for example, the intention to work as an architect, lawyer, accountant, programmer, manager or ambassador/ambadress, the last one being (paradoxically) the only profession mentioned where the student did not intend to return. Two of the students (one of whom studied Law, the other one Fine and Performing Arts; 1,22) stated that they do not plan to work in Europe after graduation, emphasizing the high competition in the respective sectors.

Like their statements on their general situation in the region of destination, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the university students anticipated excellent job-opportunities, especially with regards to their employment after

graduation. Although they were well aware of the fact that it might be difficult to get a comparable job in Tanzania, they expected to have immediate access to highly skilled and highly paid professions in Europe. None of the students considered language problems, labor restrictions for non-EU citizens, and institutional or individual racism, although most of the students stated the last two of them when describing the region's features. Paradoxically, the perception of their own chances to find employment in the region of destination stands in striking contrast to their general assumption about the migrants' situation in Europe (v. chapter 9.2.7.). This leads to two conclusions: First of all, the students' expectations rather seem to reflect what they wish for than a realistic anticipation of their situation. This might correlate with their relatively little information about both the region of destination and the migration process itself. Secondly, they might rely on different information sources, some of which give a rather negative account of 'the' migrants' situation while others may report on the excellent conditions for certain social strata in Europe or even for all inhabitants. This contradictory information might in turn create different, contradictory images about this region. The students then applied these different images to various groups of migrants. One important feature to differentiate between these groups is the level of education they had obtained previous to their migration (v. chapter 9.2.6.).

9.2.6. Anticipation of the Interviewees' Situation in the Country of Destination

In general, the students had only a vague idea how their own situation in Europe would be if they migrated there. When I explicitly asked for it, most of the students evaded the issue by mentioning the assumed situation of migrants in general in Europe and simultaneously underlining the differences from their own anticipated situation.

Therefore, in contrast to 'the' migrants' situation, both the university and the secondary school students expected their living conditions in the chosen country of destination to be excellent: "It seems that I am in [a] world of paradise:

nice environment, nice people, best buildings, nice cars and life” (A24). However, especially the university students emphasized the importance – and never doubted the feasibility – to integrate, i.e. to live according to the status to which the ‘average’ population lives, and to assimilate concerning social interaction and social values, i.e. to adapt to how and what people eat or how they dress. Surprisingly, to learn the country’s language was not seen as a necessity for the migrants’ assimilation, for most students assume English to be the most important means of communication. Interestingly, they also stated that it would be important to tolerate what they defined as deviant behavior which is accepted in Europe, i.e. prostitution and homosexuality⁴⁷.

Fears about a potentially hostile environment in the region of destination exclusively concern social interactions, like a lack of contact to other people, problems to find friends, loneliness, racism on an individual level (“different treatment than others”, 8) and especially the absence of family members. Apart from this fear, the students regard their economic well-being as assured, at least after a possibly hard “first time after arrival”, assuming their income to be high enough both to live according to the average living standard and to save money.

9.2.7. *The Situation of Migrants in the Countries of Destination*

Asked for the situation of migrants in Europe, the interviewees clearly distinguished between the assessment of themselves as migrants and other migrants in Europe. Concerning their qualifications and migration intentions, the students admitted that many similarities exist between themselves and other migrants. Their living conditions in the country of destination are, however,

⁴⁷ The use of the terms integration and assimilation is in accordance with Hoffmann-Nowotny’s definitions, stating integration as taking part in the status structure, e.g. work, education, the legal system, income and accommodation, and assimilation as adoption of the majority culture of the destination society, concerning language, values, etc. (cp. Treibel 2003; Humpl 1996).

assessed differently. This distinction between ‘the’ other migrants⁴⁸ and the students’ anticipated situation was said to be caused by the low level of education of the former. Furthermore, the different types of students (including those who stated no intention to migrate) have a different perception of the general migrants’ quality of life and opportunities.

The figures the students stated when asked about the numbers of Tanzanian migrants in European countries varied enormously, ranging from 1,000 persons to ten percent of all Tanzanian citizens (which would be about 3.45 million people⁴⁹, a figure comparable to the number of inhabitants of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania’s biggest city). However, most of the interviewees agreed that there are “many” Tanzanians living abroad (even if the stated number does not exceed one or two thousand). They underlined this statement by citing friends or media that had reported on the existence of European-Tanzanian political organizations, or the common use of Kiswahili in certain countries, especially Great Britain.

A majority of the sample assumes mainly the youth to migrate. Concerning their sociodemographic features, however, the students’ statements contradicted each other. Part of the interviewees assumed the young migrants to be highly educated and prosperous, and to intend to gain further education in order to increase their chances in their country of origin. Another part of the sample explained that only poorly educated people from the lowest social strata who hoped to benefit from better economic conditions were the ones who actually migrated. Explaining the latter phenomenon, one student (4) emphasized, “Even if he or she does not have studies, they get a job, they get a

⁴⁸ The students’ view that migrants, or at least African migrants, can be seen as a homogeneous group of people is highly problematic. Therefore, I will address this group in the way it was created and generalized by the interviewees as “the” migrants.

⁴⁹ According to the Tanzanian Census from August 2002, the Tanzanian population consists of 34,569,232 persons. However, this by definition includes non-Tanzanian citizens within the territory of the national state and excludes Tanzanian citizens outside the territory (NBS 2002. In: www.tanzania.go.tz).

good payment, so it makes them live. It's not like here, here without studies, then you're finished".

Correspondingly, the students' assumptions about 'the' migrants' specific reasons for migration are in good agreement with these presuppositions about the two different kinds of migrants, apart from rather general reasons, which the students ascribe to them as well, like to gain experience, or to live an "easier" or "better" life due to the region's high level of development. Also, these reasons match the students' statements both about their own reasons to migrate and their assumptions about the features of Europe's education sector and the job market. As the education system in Europe is said to be highly socially permeable and very efficient regarding the quality of its education and the required time to accomplish it, this system is said to be the main reason to migrate for people who have already gained a certain level of education (i.e. completed secondary school in the pupils' case or received a Bachelor's Degree in the university students' case). The other main reason for migration was better economic opportunities, both for unskilled and highly skilled persons. A greater availability of jobs in Europe and higher payment in comparison to the Tanzanian situation was named as the main migration reasons for youth with only poor skills, suffering from unemployment and a lack of opportunities due to the economic situation in the country of origin. On the other hand, the interviewees emphasized that there was also a certain demand in Europe for highly skilled persons which are then able to work (again under better conditions) in the profession they were trained for. Similar to the students' own migration reasons, their analysis of other migrants' reasons for migration seems to originate rather in an inversion of the perceived Tanzanian problems, like the difficult situation on the labor market, including unemployment and a high level of uncertainty about the availability of jobs for highly skilled persons, or low chances to have higher education (beyond the one which the students received at the time of the interview).

But only a minority of students assumed that migrants of whatever kind stood good chances of getting a job with good working conditions. Especially the secondary school students mentioned the necessity for many migrants, among them mainly women, to work either in precarious jobs⁵⁰, illegally, or in professions with a low reputation, e.g. as prostitutes, or to become criminals. The pupils also remarked that African migrants, and again especially women, are often forced to do certain jobs, namely “to make porno movies and have sex with animals”⁵¹ (B12). The university students who had not taken any steps at the time of the interview to put their plan to migrate into action (type 2) had a less disturbing image about working conditions in Europe. However, they also remarked on the precarious and potentially socially deviant labor situation of migrants in Europe. Besides the emphasis on the difficult situation for unskilled people, some students (of type 2) also mentioned the difficult position of higher educated migrants, stating that almost all African migrants have to work as day laborers or generally in jobs requiring no or only low education. Only two out of the eleven interviewees of type two assumed that at least some African migrants in Europe are employed in highly skilled professions, namely as doctors, engineers or social workers.

However, both the secondary school and the university students were highly convinced that the migrants were against all the odds economically suc-

⁵⁰ The Kiswahili term “kibarua”, which was stressed in this context, means day or casual laborer and is often used with a negative connotation (cp. TUKI 2001: 135).

⁵¹ “Waafrika wanavyokwenda huko [Ulaya] ulazimishwa kupiga picha za uchi na kufanya mapenzi na wanyama” (B12). Similar statements were made by several students from Biafra Secondary School, seemingly with a concrete image in mind, since some of the pupils added that the named bestiality had to be committed with dogs. Here may exist a correlation to the quite commonly and even publicly used internet pornographic sites, which, to a relatively small degree, also depict African or African American women.

But, as none of the other interviewees (i.e. students from Azania Secondary School, the UCLAS, and the UDSM) mentioned these forms of forced labor, I conclude that the Biafra-students rather copied this piece of information from one another in order to present also a shocking “kitu kibaya” (negative thing) about Europe after long lists of “vitu vizuri” (positive issues), than permanently having it in mind while thinking of the job situation of migrants in Europe.

cessful: Simultaneously to the mention of their precarious character, both groups emphasized the high payment for all kinds of jobs and the therefore resulting good financial position of the migrants, substantiating their assertion by referring to the prosperity of people who return to Tanzania. The last statement also makes it comprehensible that the students intended to work in Europe (after or beside their studies). As the great majority intends to migrate only temporarily with the main goal to have acquired skills and wealth when they return to Tanzania, the bad working conditions and the difficulties to get a job are seen as a necessary evil.

Only those students who had already devised definite plans for their migration (type 3) had a rather positive image of 'the' migrants' situation. Same as the other types of interviewees, they emphasized the comparatively higher payment for every type of work. But additionally they observed, more frequently than the other types, that the opportunities to find a job in Europe, even to get employment as a white-collar worker, were better as a result of "industrialization and development" (10). While the features named by the other students are similar to the features ascribed by this type, the frequencies by which the situation is valued change. Therefore the advantages of working in the region of destination became more decisive for this type than the disadvantages. Furthermore, this type seemed not to worry much about racism or difficult living conditions, which were often mentioned in other contexts by the students, or the lack of social contacts. In general, they did not take into account the social and cultural alienation to which a migration might lead. Thus, it appears that they assessed their chances to be quite good to find a decent job and lead a life free of economic or social distress in Europe.

Therefore, I conclude that the level of information about other migrants' situations in the region of destination that students with already concrete plans to migrate (type 3) have is not higher than that of students who do not want to migrate or intend to do so but have nothing organized so far. Instead, the dif-

ferent aspects of the imagined situation, e.g. income, working conditions, or social circumstances, were weighted differently. Thus, the students of type three create a more positive image by emphasizing the positive facets of 'the' migrants' situation and by rather neglecting the negative aspects. This different valuation does not only concern the economic benefits of the migration, but also the actual quality of life in the region of destination. Therefore, a connection between the students' anticipation of the situation and the level of realization of their plans does exist. Firstly, the expectations about living (permanently or temporarily) in the region of destination rise the more concrete the migration plans become. Secondly, only those who are firmly convinced of the feasibility of their aim to seek their fortune in Europe take actions to achieve their goal.

9.3. Ideas About the Migration Process

The greater part of the following chapter is based on the interviews with university students, especially on the last part of the guided interview (questions 22 to 31) where I asked them to explain how they will or would prepare for their migration to Europe. None of the secondary school students mentioned one of the following issues in their essays (which might indicate their low level of preparation). The only topics which I explicitly asked for in the pupils' self-completion questionnaire were the intended time of departure for Europe and whether they were part of or knew of social networks with Tanzanians already living in the country of destination.

9.3.1. Time of Departure and Duration of Stay

Most of the university students (16 out of 19 potentially migrating students) planned to stay in Europe only for a relatively short period of time, i.e. between one and five years, usually just long enough to finish their intended uni-

versity-course. One student stated that the duration of his stay was not fixed but depended on the living conditions in the country of destination. Only two students expressed the intention to stay in Europe permanently.

Since the students' intention to migrate is strongly connected to the wish to receive higher education, both the secondary school and the university students stated that an appropriate time to depart would be after they finished their current education, i.e. either secondary school or their undergraduate course. This implies that most of the students intend to migrate within a period of six months to five years. However, this assessment seems to be unrealistic, since only a small minority of the students had already thought about how to finance their journey or tried to organize the migration.

9.3.2. *Organization of the Migration*

Despite the huge differences between the five types of students (v. chapter 8.2.), there seemed to be one basic principle: The more concrete the plans to migrate were and the more steps had been already taken to realize the project, the higher the level of information was. Hence, while all of the secondary school students as well as the non-migrating university students (types one, four and five) expressed only very vague ideas about the necessary preparations, the students who intended to migrate but had not (yet) taken any concrete steps to realize their plan (type 2) had at least a rough idea about the migration process. The students with definite plans (type 3), however, had already taken further measures to reach their goal (or had tried to do so, but had failed), and were informed best about the issue. Interestingly, most of the statements were related to tasks which are essential for the departure from the country of origin and for receiving a permit to enter the country of destination legally. Further steps to be taken in the country of destination were, however, considered only by a minority of the students.

The requirements which the students stated to be most important were, firstly to get a passport, secondly to find a sponsor, and thirdly to obtain a visa. Especially the secondary school students hardly considered any other steps of organization. Only 5.3 percent thought about procedures after their physical migration, e.g. to find an accommodation in the country of destination, as a necessary part of their organization. In contrast, 41.1 percent of the pupils mentioned the importance of holding a passport, 37.9 percent were concerned about a sponsor (which may be also a family member), and 27.4 percent worried about getting a visa. However, about half of the pupils left the question for organizational requirements unanswered and 5.3 percent filled in “Sijui” or “I don’t know”, which indicates a high uncertainty about the actual process of migrating. However, most of the pupils (60.8 respectively 76.3 percent) agreed on the difficulty of getting both a passport and a visa⁵². The non-migrating university students’ statements differed from these concerns only insofar, as one of the students also emphasized that in order to get a visa one had to obtain a letter of admission from the college one intended to attend.

Like the secondary school students and the non-migrating university students, the university students who had nothing organized so far concerning their migration focused on bureaucratic procedures like how to get a passport and a visa. Although the single statements differed widely concerning the order of the single tasks, almost all of the students of this type mentioned one or both of the two as requirements. Different to the other three types they also stressed the necessity to send their application to the relevant authorities, i.e. the Migration Department respectively the embassies of the countries of destination. Additionally, the students regarded the following preparations as nec-

⁵² The third question of questionnaire item five, concerning the difficulty to work in Europe, originally aimed to find out whether the students knew about the necessity in many European countries to obtain a work permit. But, since the question can also be interpreted differently, i.e. towards employment in general or labor market conditions, no definite conclusions can be drawn. However, the frequency of the answers “easy” and “difficult” was approximately equal.

essary: fund-raising, an application at the chosen university (in order to obtain an official letter of invitation which was said to ease the requirements for getting a visa), and – to a relatively small degree – to inform themselves about bureaucratic requirements in the country of destination, like the necessity to report one's arrival at the Tanzanian embassy.

Generally, the students regard the organization of their departure as more difficult and more important than any procedures after arrival, which seem to be of little significance. One reason for this ranking might be the students' lack of knowledge about issues of immigration in the countries of destination. However, another reason might be their conviction that procedures after arrival would be less complicated because of the support from Tanzanian authorities responsible for migrants' issues in the country of destination, namely the ambassador who was even said to "help you in case of any problems and who is going to come to pick you up [from the airport]" (13).

Although the statements of the university students with definite plans for migration (type 3) contained by far more specific details about the legal procedures, they mainly focused on bureaucratic necessities, usually on how to apply for a visa, similarly to the other types. They described the application procedures at the respective European country's embassy as follows: Firstly, the applicant needs to collect the necessary documents, i.e. birth documents, health certificates, a passport, a letter of invitation (from private persons or the responsible university), or a confirmation of scholarship. Secondly, he or she has to attend an interview at the embassy about his or her intentions in the country of destination. Furthermore, the students stated that potential migrants had to leave a security for their return at the embassy, a bank account consisting of US\$ 600 to US\$ 1,000. Despite the similarity of the reports which all of the type three students gave concerning the official procedures, their estimates of the chance of actually getting the visa varied enormously: Provided the possession of the required documents, the majority of the type three students deemed the

application procedure to be not more than a formality. However, some interviewees stated that the chances to obtain a visa for citizens of Third World countries were rather low, especially for young men. Considerations about the requirements in the countries of destination included the establishment of social ties in order to get financial support, accommodation, and other forms of help for a certain period after arrival; the most common idea in this respect is that the person who wrote their letter of invitation, their further host, or a university-staff member will pick the students up at the airport.

Although the latter type includes all the students who had already taken steps to accomplish their plans, most of them had actually taken few preparations to migrate. Their stage of preparation for the migration did not exceed the collection of information about legal and other requirements, (failed) applications at European universities, the organization of a passport and attempts to raise funds, e.g. by saving money or applying for different scholarships. However, none of the students had already applied for a visa or collected the necessary documents, although they mentioned these two activities to be the centerpiece of the migration organization – an assessment which is highly congruent with the students' intention to use only official/legal channels to realize their migration.

9.3.3. *Costs and Financing*

Corresponding to their low stage of preparation, none of the (university) students – even those with concrete migration plans – had earned the amount of money they considered necessary either for the journey itself or for their (usually temporary) stay. Generally, the students seemed to be highly uncertain about this issue, both about the overall costs and the single cost factors, but also about how to find potential sponsors or information about the existence of sponsorships and scholarships. This is paradoxical insofar, as most of the students stated the search for a sponsor to be one of the most important migration

preparations. Concerning this topic, the level of information of students with concrete plans for migration is slightly higher than of students without definite plans, which in turn exceeds that of the group of non-migrating students. None of the secondary school students' statements indicated signs of considerations about the costs and financing of the migration.

Asked for the extent of the costs and cost factors, the students remarked that costs both arise out of the preparations needed for departure, and of certain necessities which are connected to their arrival and stay in the country of destination. Costs connected to their departure include the air fare (as all of the students wanted to travel to Europe exclusively by plane), as well as applying for a passport and visa, which they stated to be connected to the necessity to open a bank account as a security for the migrants' return. Costs which will have to be met after their arrival in Europe include accommodation, tuition fees for the chosen university and the cost of living, i.e. to pay for food, clothing and other expenses which were usually stated to be covered by 'pocket money'.

But while most of the students agreed on the single cost *factors*, the figures they named varied enormously, which might indicate their low stage of information about the actual costs in the country of destination (v. chapter 9.1.3.). The overall costs for the stated factors, for example, ranged from US\$ 2,712 to US\$ 80,000 for a period of two to five years. The amount to be paid for tuition fees varied between US\$ 904 and US\$ 45,000⁵³. The uncertainty about what the scholarships will cover was about as high: Some of the students assumed the scholarship to be sufficient to meet all costs arising during the migration and the stay in Europe, i.e. fares, tuition fees, rents, money to be paid for food, etc.

⁵³ The students were asked to state the assumed costs in U.S. dollars, euros or Tanzanian shillings. Therefore, the statements indicated in euros and Tanzanian shillings had to be converted in U.S. dollars afterwards, using the mean exchange rates cited by the Bank of Tanzania (BOT) dating from February 13, 2004 which convert 1 € as 1,406 Tsh and 1 US\$ as 1,106 Tsh (www.ippmedia.com; 04/02/13).

Others were convinced that the scholarship would only cover some of the overall costs, e.g. tuition fees or fares. Additionally, a part of the students assumed that the amount of the scholarships or sponsorships would depend on their performance at university or expected to have to work for the sponsoring company (in case the sponsorship was given by a company) as a kind of repayment.

However, the students with more definite plans tended to assess the costs to be higher, which might reflect their greater knowledge about the region of destination. Although both types of potentially migrating students stated that they would rely on nearly the same information sources in order to estimate the costs for their migration, those students with definite plans also stated to have already actively consulted the respective institutions. The stated information sources included organizations concerned with tasks relevant to migration, as the Migration Department, the Ministry of Higher Education and institutions linked to the UDSM which are important with regard to the availability of scholarships, or the embassies of European countries in Tanzania, the mass media, especially the internet and print media, fellow students and “expert eyewitnesses”, such as Tanzanians who have already been to Europe, or European exchange students and other people from Europe.

Differences between students with definite plans (type 3) and those without (type 2) are especially obvious with regard to their knowledge about possible sponsors. Although all of the students named those institutions which might provide information⁵⁴ in a similar frequency, the students with definite plans were able to name specific organizations which offered scholarships to Tanzanian students. In detail, the stated scholarships were the Commonwealth, DAAD and the Fulbright scholarship, which are offered (in the same order)

⁵⁴ European, United States' and Tanzanian governmental funds, NGOs, relatives and friends in the countries of origin and destination, private companies, the students' own resources, and the church.

from Great Britain, Germany and the U.S., furthermore SIDA as a Swedish governmental organization. In addition the type three students mentioned private fundraising by working in Tanzania and Europe, selling properties, and saving some money from the UDSM-scholarship every month.

9.3.4. *Networks*

The term network is used here to refer to the potential migrants' social ties which are relevant to the migration process and either span persons who live in the country of destination or people in the country of origin with the students. While the former are important as a possible source of information and may also support the students after arrival, the latter might sponsor the journey and the migrants' cost of living for some time after their arrival. Later, this group will be also the most frequent receiver of remittances.

Most of the sociological network theories emphasize the importance of migrant networks as an information source about the country of destination and as a possibility to reduce the costs of migration (cp. Parnreiter. In: Husa et al. 2000). The students' statements indicate that former migrants in the countries of destination are of a certain importance since they can provide information which is useful for the choice of the country of destination, whereas financial support from this group plays only a minor role. What was stated by the students to be crucial, however, was the families' support, both financial (v. chapter 9.3.3.) and also emotional (the students referred to the necessity of their family's positive attitude towards their migration plan). This emphasis on the networks within the country of origin might be caused by the fact that only a minority of the students had contact to Tanzanian migrants in European countries (although most of the interviewees knew emigrants or returnees). Thus, migration networks in the countries of destination seem to play a rather minor role in the students' process of migration and the preparation for it, mainly because the greater part of the students stated either to have only loose social ties

to the countries of destination, or to be the first migrants among their friends and relatives. According to the network theories, the latter indicates that the students would rather be the potential initiators of chain migration than the ones who constitute chain migration, since most of them do not have the opportunity to count on already existing networks in the countries of destination.

Following, the role of networks according to the students' statements will be assessed. A distinction between 'internal networks' and 'external networks' will be drawn, the former term referring mostly to family members in the country of origin, the latter to friends or relatives in the region of destination. It should be noted, however, that the expression 'network' was never used explicitly by the students themselves, but derives from the Migration Network Theories (v. chapter 3.2.3.).

42.3 percent of the secondary school students and all but one of the university students stated to have relatives living in Europe, usually describing their quantity as "one or two" or "many", which hints at their only limited knowledge whether there are networks between Tanzania and Europe. It furthermore shows that the students are only poorly integrated in those networks, which might be one of the reasons for the low expectations the students articulated towards the assistance these networks may give. In any case, the term "relatives" cannot be treated as equivalent to the European use of the word, which usually describes only blood relations, whereas the interviewees' use of the terms relatives, brothers and sisters, aunt(ie)s and uncles, as well as cousins also refers to the potential migrants' or their families' close friends or people from the same region. This might explain why some of the students stated not to know their migrated relatives or not to have any contact to them.

The countries where the relatives live correspond with the students' preferred countries of destination. Most of the emigrants related to the students resided in Great Britain (about half of the university students' relatives and 43.9 percent of the secondary school students'), followed by the U.S. (24.4 per-

cent) and Italy (12.2 percent) in the pupils' case, respectively the U.S. and Sweden (each named four times) in the case of the university students. Other countries mentioned included Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Canada. A cross-tabulation between the (secondary school) students' preferred countries of destination and their relatives' countries of residence hints at a correlation between the two variables⁵⁵. 77.8 percent of the pupils (14 persons) with relatives in Great Britain, for example, want to migrate to this country as well. Four persons out of five with relatives in Italy, and four out of five with relatives in the U.S. mentioned these countries as their preferred destinations.

Regarding this correlation, the students' statements concerning the expected provision of help by their relatives are rather surprising: Although a majority of the secondary school students (53.7 percent) said that their relatives actually can aid them "to move to Europe" (v. App.I.1.), the university students stated that the support these people may provide does not exceed the passing of information, especially about the general situation in Europe. Consequently, they may solely assist when choosing a university or provide information about immigration procedures. Other forms of help are regarded to be rather unlikely because of their relatives' lack of financial resources or their political and/or social status as foreigners in the countries of destination. Only a small part of the interviewees expect their relatives in Europe to help them by providing them with accommodation or money, with finding work, or with the organization of the journey. However, some of the students, especially those without definite plans (type 2), either stated that help from European relatives was difficult to obtain because they had very little contact with them, or emphasized that they do not require any help from their relatives.

⁵⁵ Although the sample of the secondary school students is considerably larger than the university students' sample, it is hardly possible to draw a general conclusion from these figures, since only 40 pupils stated to have relatives who live in European countries. Hence, the single frequencies in the cells of the cross-tabulation are extremely low (one to 14). Therefore, it is difficult to assess whether the above mentioned correlation is significant.

Contrary to the university students' valuation of the potential help from their relatives in Europe, the support of the family in the country of origin seems to play an essential role in the decision to migrate. Almost all of the students emphasized the importance of "their family's opinion" about their intended migration, i.e. their appreciation of it. Correspondingly, it was said to be equally important to maintain contact to the family after reaching the country of destination. The students also planned to help other family members to move to Europe as well, provided that they perceived their living conditions as convenient enough to both support other migrants financially and to expect the respective relative to enjoy their stay in the chosen country. In any case, the students intended to help their relatives by providing them with information about the migration process. (Financial) remittances, however, seem to play only a minor role in this context, since only one of the university students mentioned it actively, i.e. during the oral part of the interview.

With regard to these statements, it seems that the material and nonmaterial support from internal networks, i.e. the potential migrants' families in the country of origin is assessed to be more important than the assistance from external networks, i.e. relatives in the country of destination. This might be caused by a lack of contact to migrants in the respective countries. From a general point of view, the reason for the low importance of external networks may be that only insufficient numbers of Tanzanians have immigrated into Europe to initialize chain migration, since Tanzania is a country with rather insignificant emigration to Europe (v. chapter 4.3.).

9.3.5. *Language Knowledge*

As shown in chapter 9.2.6., language problems that may occur in the chosen country of destination were of minor concern to the (university) students. Although approximately a tenth of the interviewees stated that they would not migrate to certain countries because of the language spoken there (especially

referring to Germany and France), the students did not regard a poor knowledge of the local language as a problem, neither for bureaucratic affairs after reaching the country, nor for social interactions, nor to get a job, and, surprisingly, not even for their courses at university.

The last assumption can be explained by the students' conviction that the Tanzanian and European education systems are similar. Thus, since English is the medium of instruction at university and (at least theoretically) at secondary school in Tanzania, the students might have expected English to be the medium of instruction in Europe as well. Furthermore, English is used as the official language by Tanzanian authorities and known at least by those Tanzanians who have gained higher education, as well as by people who are employed in the tourism sector, etc. Correspondingly, the interviewees expect English to have a similar (or even greater) importance in their countries of destination, although they know that the main language in most European countries is not English. One student, for example, stated that "English is very common in the Netherlands, it's the language of administration and in some places the language of education" (22), others emphasized the common use of English in daily social interactions.

Furthermore, they did not see the necessity to study the country's language before migrating there for two reasons. Firstly, it would be harder to learn the language in Tanzania than in the country or the region where it is spoken. Secondly, they assume their hosts to act as translators and directives, at least during the first time after arrival. However, all the students agreed that it would be useful to know some phrases or at least to start studying the country's language shortly before migrating there. Once they arrived at the region of destination, they stated, the language could be learned in a period of six months to one year.

Thus it can be summarized that the students, first of all, believed that English is used in Europe in a way similar to that in Tanzania, i.e. as medium of

instruction, official language in business and administration, and even in common social interaction. Therefore, they did not regard the knowledge of the country's national language as a necessary preparation for their migration. Furthermore, they considered it to be more sensible to learn the language after arrival and would rather focus on the knowledge of certain phrases, like greetings, before migrating to the country. They intended not to start learning the language before they got accepted by the university they would apply for (which again indicates that the students were only poorly prepared at the time of the interview to migrate to Europe).

10. INFORMATION SOURCES

Which sources of information do highly educated young people rely on in order to create an image about a region they have never been to so far, but which appears to be so attractive that most of them dream of moving there one day? And, furthermore, in which way is this image presented by the various information sources?

Concerning the mass media, the answers to these questions seem to be quite clear: Like everybody else, the students' have only a restricted access to the media landscape. It depends on their financial resources, the time they have to consume the mass media, their personal decision, as well as on social factors⁵⁶. To give an example of these social factors: At bars, which are the only access to TV for many students, the sports program which the majority prefers will be watched instead of the news or films; the expensive Internet cafes will be mainly visited for writing e-mails, doing research for courses, etc., instead of surfing for sites with (general) information about Europe; if one of the newspapers can be afforded, rather national than international news will be read because of their direct relevance to the recipients, etc. In any case, I assumed that the students are able to evaluate their current use of the mass media, the results of the analysis which is based on this assumption will be discussed in chapter 10.1.

⁵⁶ These social factors refer to mass media consumed in public and can be defined as the choice, i.e. the result of group dynamic negotiations, which a group of people is going to make when facing a certain shortage.

However, one of the main disadvantages of self-evaluation, which also affects this work, is the phenomenon of social desirability, which is defined as

“the perception by respondents that the answer to a question will enhance or hurt their image in the eyes of the interviewer or the researcher, that is, a response set to answer questions about oneself in a socially approved manner. It is generally assumed that people will act in such a way as to reduce personal or social discomfort or to make as good an impression on other people as possible in an interview situation” (Koschnick 1993: 1473).

This effect might have been magnified by, firstly, the acquaintance with the interviewer⁵⁷, secondly, by the physical presence of other people (roommates which happened to be in the same room while I conducted the interviews or student colleagues which were in earshot during interviews at the campus), and thirdly, by the (more than usual) amount of asymmetric distribution of power between interviewer and interviewee, since some students expressed to expect the interviewer to function as information source or support.

Hence, social desirability might have distorted the students’ responses (not only about their information sources⁵⁸) towards a certain direction (which will be more obvious in the university students’ statements, since they were interviewed more extensively on this issue). However, the difference between the socially approved answers and the statements the students would have made without this factor might differ only slightly, because firstly, the field of re-

⁵⁷ As stated earlier, I conducted most of the interviews during a second meeting with the students.

⁵⁸ It can be assumed that the factor of social desirability is smaller in the students’ statements about Europe, since it first of all mostly does not involve concrete actions of the students which they might be afraid of being valued negatively (except for the question concerning legal vs. illegal migration). Secondly, the students would have to have a choice between certain images in order to make socially desirable statements. Furthermore, the students’ mentions of their information sources during the oral guiding interviews slightly differ insofar as they state socially less valued information sources, e.g. the internet instead of newspapers, porno sites instead of news, etc.

search can be assumed to be only slightly influenced by social desirability, and secondly, their written statements were re-checked by using both their answers to the explicit open question of the structured questionnaire as well as their implicit hints on information sources during their statements concerning other questions.

A more severe limitation of the research on how pictures on certain subjects develop is a methodological one, since not the refusal to name certain media might distort the results seriously, but the fact that they might actually be not aware of what influenced them.

A historical example of how migration can be induced or rather perpetuated by diffuse information is given by William Petersen. He describes the phenomenon of 'mass migration' as a social movement which starts with a small number of individuals migrating and eventually develops into a social pattern: The individuals decide to migrate because their peers do the same, which in turn triggers chain migration (cp. Petersen 1958. In: Han 2000: 26f). He terms this pattern 'migration fever' and illustrates it by the example of the transatlantic mass emigration from Europe to North America during the 19th century, which was induced by what he calls 'America fever'. During this process, highly positive images of the country of destination are summoned up, which focus on the migrants' 'almost unlimited' possibilities in the respective countries. These images become collective and simplified ideas – or stereotypes – about a certain region and, although in the beginning formed by the migrants, develop independently from the actual migration flows (and the knowledge about the country of destination) and are passed on as gossip, modern myths, and eventually become part of the socialization.

Although none of the students mentioned this phenomenon, many parallels can be drawn between the creation of stereotypes in the mentioned example and the pictures the students conjured up during the interviews. "It seems that I am in world of paradise", (A24) was one of the most striking. And, although

the Tanzanian emigration is low compared to other countries of the region, Europe is seen as a highly attractive destination. The preconditions of the migration from Tanzania to Europe are, to name just a few, Tanzania's colonial past and the use of an education system similar to the British one, the asymmetric distribution of wealth and economic opportunities between the regions, which is perceivable by the mass media, or the increase of tourism from 'industrialized nations' visiting Tanzania, which appears to be a sign of the rather luxurious and decadent lifestyle in Europe (v. chapter 5.). All of those preconditions might contribute to a specific image of Europe which makes migration appear very attractive to the students.

However, the origins of the pictures and ideas about Europe are difficult to trace since their formation is a multi-causal process, influenced by many factors, which are neither to be fully explored by the researcher nor the interviewees themselves are always aware of. Interviews or a media analysis can therefore only reveal some sources where these ideas might derive from, the greater part remains undiscovered, which includes popular images, stereotypes and prejudices, collective impressions which the potential migrants have but cannot explain. This hypothesis is also an extension of Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory, which explains that the mass media are the only means of communication that are responsible for the transmission of information which causes the integration of values, i.e. his cultural factor.

10.1. The Potential Migrants' Perception

The university students were interviewed about their use of the mass media and other information sources both during the oral part of their interview in an open question and in the self-completion questionnaire in semi-open questions. Therein, they first had to indicate the intensity by which they use different media and then had to specify their statements by naming the different media

products they consume. Furthermore, answers to other questions of the oral part of the interview which also mentioned information sources were taken into consideration as well. The secondary students' information sources can, however, only be interpreted by their statements following question seven of the questionnaire, in which they were requested to mark the media they often used to inform themselves about Europe. The possible categories to choose from (newspapers, television, cinema, books, school, friends and family, internet, radio) were derived from the pre-tests at the UDSM and consisted of those eight media which the university students had mentioned most frequently during these tests.

Slightly different to the university students' media ratings, the secondary school students regarded television (64.9 percent of all pupils⁵⁹) and the internet (61.7 percent) as the most important information sources, followed by newspapers (45.7 percent) and radio (31.9 percent). Books, cinema and school were stated less frequently but still more often than family and friends, which was marked by 13.8 percent of the pupils.

On a scale ranging from 'very important to inform myself' to 'not important at all', the university students marked TV, books, and school and university to be very important information sources, national newspapers and European exchange students at the UDSM to be important, whereas they regarded cinema as less important and relatives as well as information provided by the state to be not important at all. The internet was stated as a very important information source only by nine interviewees.

⁵⁹ Multiple answers were possible.

Media \ Rating	Very important to inform myself		Important		Less important		Not important at all	
	% of rating	Abs. Fig.*	%	Abs. Fig.	%	Abs. Fig.	%	Abs. Fig.
National newspapers	33.3	7	55.0	11	6.7	1	18.8	3
International newspapers	38.1	8	30.0	6	13.3	2	18.8	3
Television	66.7	14	25.0	5	---	---	12.5	2
Cinema	19.0	4	25.0	5	46.7	7	25.0	4
Books	66.7	14	15.0	3	13.3	2	12.5	2
School and university	61.9	13	35.0	7	6.7	1	---	---
Information provided by the state	23.8	5	25.0	5	20.0	3	37.5	6
Radio	42.9	9	35.0	7	13.3	2	12.5	2
Internet	42.9	9	10.0	2	6.7	1	12.5	2
Relatives	19.0	4	20.0	4	20.0	3	50.0	8
European friends	23.8	5	35.0	7	13.3	2	31.3	5
Tanzanian friends	28.6	6	25.0	5	20.0	3	31.3	5
Tourists	28.6	6	35.0	7	13.3	2	31.3	5
Exchange students at UDSM	42.9	9	40.0	8	13.3	2	12.5	2
Other information sources	---	---	15.0	3	6.7	1	18.8	3

Tab. 10.1. Rating of information sources (university students).

* Absolute figures

However, the university students' rating of the media is in contradiction to their statements during the oral part of the interview, as their responses to explicit questions about their information sources show. Here, the interviewees almost always emphasized that the internet was an incomparable resource for information about Europe or its countries in general, as well as about scholarships or application procedures and information about universities and education issues. In contrast to their written statements, books, school and (their) university were not mentioned. Instead, face-to-face communication with different 'experts' or authorities on the subjects mentioned above was stated. These experts included friends who had been to Europe (or were staying there at the time of the interview) and other returnees, as well as Europeans in Tanzania or Europe (e.g. pen pals). These 'authorities' were mentioned by ten of the students, and hence were more important than any other source of infor-

mation. Embassies and councils were rated higher during the oral interviews than in the written part ('information provided by the state'), which leads to the conclusion that this task might have been interpreted differently.

Besides the different rankings of the same issues in the oral and the written part of the interview, there was one information source that was commonly referred to during the students' description of their image of Europe, but which was not named by the students when they were talking or writing about their information sources: In order to emphasize the favorable conditions of Europe or their arguments for choosing a certain country, some students cited "different people", "the people", or "the things I hear", i.e. unspecified information sources. These undefined sources of information hint at the existence of certain *collective* stereotypical ideas about Europe. The fact that the students' statements differed in the oral and the written part of the interview – provided that the students were honest and that their answers were not excessively distorted by social desirability – suggests that the university students may not be able to realize on what sources they rely on most in the formation of a mental picture of Europe.

With regard to more practical problems than the formation of a general idea about Europe, the students also emphasized that different media served them for different purposes, i.e. they were used to gain information about a particular subject. Television and information sources other than the mass media (friends, returnees, etc.) rather provide the students with general information about Europe and its countries, including their level of economic development, the weather conditions, or all sorts of 'breaking news'⁶⁰. The internet, embassies and other authorities, as well as the different types of print-media, e.g. newspapers, journals and books, are used by the students to inform themselves

⁶⁰ Deduced from Lutz Erbring's theory of information value, the term "breaking news" describes information which is assessed to be important enough to interrupt the normal (television) program and hence consists of information which depicts exceptional situations, e.g. abnormality or conflict (cp. Erbring 1994: 76ff).

about specific topics which are relevant to their intended migration, especially information about scholarships, the existence of jobs in the field they are interested in, and about bureaucratic affairs in the countries of destination.

Concerning the students' answers about what media products they consume, the phenomenon of social desirability becomes probably most obvious. 13 out of 23 interviewees stated to read the newspaper 'The Guardian' and seven to read the 'Daily News', both of which are Tanzanian high-quality newspapers published in English, and to regard them as a very important information source. Only eight people mentioned to consume one of the Kiswahili mid market papers or tabloids 'Kiu', 'Mtanzania', 'Mzalendo', 'Nipashe', 'Uhuru', 'Ijumaa', and 'Mwananchi'. In general, all of the students were able to name one or two national newspapers after they had assessed their importance for them as an information source on a scale from 1 to 4 (1 meaning very important; 4 not important at all). In contrast, about a third of the students who regarded international newspapers to be of a certain importance as an information source did not name any specific international newspaper, which indicates that no newspaper fitting into this category came to their mind and hence makes their statements concerning this task rather doubtful. Correspondingly, the students tend to state highly esteemed broadcasting corporations, i.e. international rather than national channels and programs. Therefore, CNN and the BBC were the TV-channels mentioned most often (eleven and ten times, respectively), followed by the Tanzanian ITV (named five times) and the German-Tanzanian DWTV (stated three times). Concerning radio stations, the statements were less homogeneous, but still the BBC was named most often by far (twelve times), followed by DWT, East African Radio and the Tanzanian Radio One, which were each named twice.

Few conclusions can be drawn about the use of the internet, since twelve students named only search-machines, respectively email providers (mainly yahoo.com and hotmail.com), and did not state the single sites visited. Three of

the students stated to surf the net regularly for news sites, and again three indicated to visit university or higher education homepages to inform themselves. Six students did not give any statement about their use of the internet. However, social desirability can be estimated to be extremely important concerning this medium, since it allows its users to anonymously visit sites with contents which they might have considered socially deviant (and might still be regarded as an important information source). To illustrate the influence of social desirability, one student may be mentioned as example who stated that "the difference [between Tanzania and Europe] you cannot forget, if you visit worldsex.com, you realize that the way of conducting sex is completely different to an African family. Therefore, they have new styles of conducting sex," although he had previously sharply criticized the consumption of porno sites as "moral destruction of African culture" (6), and hence could not admit to know the contents of the site when being asked directly about his information sources.

To sum it up, the students' statements can be characterized as normative, i.e. the students mentioned the media which they felt to be valued highly as sources of information about Europe, or those they *would* use if they were looking for information. The latter assumption seems to be supported by the students' written statements about government institutions which one ought to contact in order to gather information about Europe: Although ten students assessed European embassies or certain Tanzanian ministries to be of a certain importance as an information source, only a small part of them mentioned to have already gained information from these organizations during the oral part of the interview.

10.2. The Image of 'Europe' as Presented by the Tanzanian Daily Newspaper 'The Guardian'

19 of the 23 interviewed university students, as well as 45.7 percent of the secondary school students stated to read national newspapers to gather information about Europe. Only television and the internet were more important concerning this regard for the pupils, respectively the information sources 'school and university' in the university students' case. (Furthermore, television, books and exchange students at the UDSM were rated as high as newspapers by the university students.) As national newspapers were of equally high importance for both groups of students, I chose this medium to analyze how Europe is presented in the mass media. Furthermore, in contrast to foreign media, e.g. the most important radio and television channels as well as internet sites, the content of the medium is created by highly educated Tanzanians who have their own image of Europe as well. Therefore, provided that collective ideas about this region do exist, only a Tanzanian medium can function as multiplier of these collective ideas or stereotypes. In order to evaluate whether this medium really has this function, I will compare the students' image about Europe with the image transported by the medium. Other reasons for choosing a newspaper for media analysis were, firstly, its permanent character (contrary to most of the other named information sources), and secondly, the possibility to analyze its content in single units (contrary to the internet or long-term processes arising out of face-to-face communication or ideas conveyed through the education system).

Since it was stated most often, the daily newspaper 'The Guardian' was chosen out of all the named national print media. Four issues were collected from Wednesday, January 14, 2004 to Saturday, January 17, 2004, the comparatively small sample size arising out of the quantity by which the subject Europe was covered in each issue: Out of these four issues, all the 142 articles containing

the terms Europe, synonyms of it, the respective adjectives, the names of its countries⁶¹, or their respective adjectives were analyzed.

The interpretation was made employing Mayrings' techniques of content analysis (v. chapter 7.4.), especially focusing on the context the words are used in, i.e. the section of the paper, the type of article, the topic of the article, the location of the words within the text, and whether other countries are named. These features were listed in a table (v. App.IV.) with respect to their frequencies. The subject of each article as well as its headline and its context were analyzed according to whether the country was presented positively or negatively. The frequency by which other countries were mentioned (as well as the European country's context) indicates the importance of a single country within the article.

Interestingly, the number of the countries' mentions in the issues was similar to that of the interviews with the students: Great Britain (26.8 percent of all European countries mentioned in all articles) was named most often, followed by Australia (9.2 percent), Europe in general (7.0 percent), France (5.6 percent), Germany, the Netherlands and Italy (each 4.9 percent) (v. table 10.2.). The frequency of the occurrence of Australia, however, was especially high in the four issues analyzed because at the time of the analysis the Australian Tennis Open happened to take place. Thus, eleven of the thirteen mentions of Australia are related to tennis and other sports. Hence, the country might usually be mentioned less often. These figures show similar tendencies to (but nor necessarily a correlation with) the statements of the secondary school students who mentioned Great Britain most frequently, followed by Germany and Italy. However, they are slightly different to the order in which the countries were mentioned by the university students (Denmark and Sweden behind Great Britain,

⁶¹ A list of the countries which the university students stated to be part of Europe is depicted in chapter 9.1.1. Since the students also named non-European countries, Australia and Canada will be considered as well.

while France and Italy were on position four, the Netherlands and Germany on position five) (v. table 9.1.).

Generally, Europe or European countries were relatively seldom one of the main subjects of the newspaper articles. Articles on Europe and its nations were furthermore distributed asymmetrically among the different sections of the paper, with a relative majority (38.7 percent) of the respective articles dealing with sports issues (mainly with the results of European sports events). The United Kingdom and Italy were mainly associated with soccer and Australia, Belgium and Spain with tennis. But, since only two of the secondary school students⁶² and none of the university students covered these topics during the interviews, their influence on the students' formation of the picture of Europe might be of minor importance.

Only 87 of the analyzed articles dealt with Europe in another context than sport. 23 of these articles reported on economic matters or the latest economic developments in the region, 14 were about crimes that had happened in Europe, 13 covered the topic of development aid, eleven the social situation of the respective region or country, and nine were related to education. Although the students also mentioned these issues during the interviews, a correlation between their choice of the topics and what the newspaper covered is doubtful since the subjects the students mentioned most frequently, i.e. education and the job situation, were either reported on seldom or not at all.

⁶² One of the statements was about the existence of good soccer clubs in Europe, the other one was directly related to migration: "So many players from Africa who are talented in sports especially football and in few cases Athletics go there in order to have a chance to be professional players and also a richer person as there are good salaries." (A37)

Countries/ Regions	Nr.	%	Domestic Politics	Int./Foreign Politics	Economy (Devel- opment)	Job Situation	Social Situation	Health	Education	Development Aid	Migration	Sport	Crime
'The West'	1	0.7		1									
First World	1	0.7		1									
Europe	10	7.0		1	4			1	1			2	1
Europ. Union	3	2.1		1	2								
Australia	13	9.2		1					1			1	1
Austria	2	1.4			1							1	
Belarus	1	0.7										1	
Belgium	5	3.5						1				4	
Canada	2	1.4								1	1		
Czech Rep.	1	0.7										1	
Denmark	2	1.4								1			1
Finland	3	2.1		1	1					1			
France	8	5.6	1		1			1				4	1
Germany	7	4.9			2		1					1	3
UK, Great Britain	38	26.8	2		3		5	1	4	3		16	4
Hungary	2	2.1			1		1						
Ireland	2	2.1					1			1			
Italy	7	4.9			1		1		1	2		2	
Luxembourg	1	0.7			1								
Netherlands	7	4.9						1		2		3	1
Norway	2	1.4		1						1			
Poland	1	0.7			1								
Portugal	1	0.7										1	
Romania	2	1.4										2	
Russia	2	1.4		1	1								
Slovakia	1	0.7										1	
Spain	6	4.2			1		1					4	
Sweden	3	2.1					1			1			1
Switzerland	3	2.1			2							1	
Turkey	1	0.7			1								
Ukraine	1	0.7											1
Yugoslavia	1	0.7											1
Migration	2	1.4							2		(2)		
All articles	142	100	3	8	23	---	11	5	9	13	1(3)	55	14

Tab. 10.2. Main topic of the articles the named countries are associated with.

A measure for the influence an information source has on its consumers (besides the degree of accordance of the topics mentioned by the medium and its consumers) is the degree to which the (normative) valuations of the topics overlap between the senders and the recipients: If the connotations and general

attitudes towards a subject are shared to a considerable extent between the two, a correlation between the newspapers' depiction and the recipients' image of the matter in question can be assumed. However, it is still not a proof for an actual existence of causality, as long as interfering variables cannot be defined and excluded. But if, on the contrary, the connotations of and attitudes towards the same topic do not overlap at all, it is highly possible that this information source may not have a significant influence on the opinions and ideas of its recipients, respectively that other variables have a distinctly bigger impact.

With regard to these assumptions it must be concluded that 'The Guardian' has only a small impact on the students. While the students usually emphasized the positive features of Europe – exceptions were some features of the assumed social and political situation –, the way in which the newspaper presented the region was rather balanced: Eight of the 142 articles depicted Europe or one of its countries highly positively, e.g. by advertising the "genuine immigration & job opportunities" (Nr. 35, v. App.IV.), or by praising a generous donation of corn by some London businessmen (Nr. 79), or by reporting highly positively about the establishment of a friendship between a rural Tanzanian community and a wealthy Italian town which wants to support the village's development (Nr. 105). 41 newspaper articles reported on Europe in a positive context, mainly in connection to development aid, its economic development, the social situation, and education. 75 of the articles mentioned Europe or one of its countries in a neutral context, 55 of which were on sports events, the rest business news and other topics where Europe was only the background of the subject reported on, e.g. the bids of European (German, Turkish and Austrian) and other mobile phone companies in an auction for the Iranian sending license (Nr. 137), or the information that a certain statement had been broadcasted on a British radio sender (Nr. 89). On the other hand, Europe was presented in a negative context or with a negative connotation in 21 articles, e.g. by reporting about crimes that had occurred in one of the countries or had been committed by one of their citizens, on authoritarian foreign policies, or on the

former European colonial powers' regimes in Africa. In three cases Europe was depicted in a very negative way, e.g. to be the cause of economic and political crises in Tanzania or Africa in general.

It should be pointed out, however, that on some issues the students' opinions and the articles' connotations clearly show similarities, i.e. 'Economy and Development', 'Education' and 'International and Foreign Politics'. The first two are associated mainly positively, the latter rather negatively. The newspapers' valuation of 'Development Aid' matches with that of the secondary school students, but is less ambivalent than the university students' attitude towards the subject. The presentation of the topics 'Social Situation' and 'Crime', however, do not show any similarities to the interviewees' images (not even the topics were similar). The 'Job Situation', a subject which was of tremendous concern to the students, was not mentioned by 'The Guardian', whereas sports, the major topic of the articles on Europe, was not considered to be a European particularity by most of the students. Therefore, it does seem to be possible that the newspaper – which the students stated to be one of their most important information sources – has a certain influence on the students' opinion about economy and education. The social situation and the living conditions in Europe are, however, not covered by this medium. Thus, it seems to be a rather unlikely source of information concerning these subjects. This is surprising insofar as the students seemed to have a concrete image especially about these topics in mind.

Hence, other information sources have a greater influence on the image of Europe with regard to these issues than this newspaper. Since the mass media do not seem to be likely to present a picture as detailed (and sometimes as inaccurate) as the students' image, other sources of information are responsible for the students' images, at least for those concerned with topics 'The Guardian' does not cover.

10.3. Other Determinants of the Conception of Europe: Socialization and Collective Knowledge

Some of the information sources were not stated explicitly by the interviewees, but can be traced by taking the students' socialization or their environment into account: Most of the scientific texts they read at university originated in Europe or North America; 'Western' music videos which they can see daily in bars and cafeterias and mainly show singing rich men adorned with impressive jewelry, huge limousines and beautiful, scantily dressed women, might influence their image of Europe; American soap operas which depict the lives and problems of the Bold and the Beautiful might have a similar effect on the students. European NGOs in Tanzania on the other hand struggle for social equality, general access to medical and educational infrastructure, or a transparent political system. They might lead the students to the conclusion that they try to implement the conditions of their own ('Western') societies. Mails from friends and relatives, or reports from returnees in Europe might depict the region yet in another way (probably suggesting Europe to be full of chances and opportunities for potential migrants). These information sources are able to explain at least part of the students' image about Europe.

But what about students who do not watch TV, do not have relatives in Europe, or hardly have access to newspapers, and who live in an area where European NGOs are not or hardly present? All of the interviewed students expressed their assumptions about Europe with a great certainty, but not all of them, especially among the secondary school students, stated to consume the mass media regularly or to receive information through other channels. Furthermore, sources of media the students can be assumed to have access to (e.g. because they are provided by the education system) do not cover all of the topics emphasized – but still, the students were informed about these topics as well. According to Hoffmann-Nowotny's theory of migration within the 'world

society', the mass media are responsible for the transmission of information about what he calls the structural factor, i.e. the different levels of development between the national unities of the world society, and for the implementation of the cultural factor, i.e. the integration of (Western) values (cp. Hoffmann-Nowotny. In: Kälén 1989: 30). However, both of these processes are not *solely* initiated and continued by the mass media, networks or other social institutions.

Instead, the complexity of the students' images may be explained by the existence of collective ideas about strange or foreign phenomena which I would call regional stereotypes, in reference to Nicklas and Ostermann's (1982. In: Aigner 1991: 12) national stereotypes which are defined as the "association of 'typical' features with certain nations or ethnical groups" (Aigner 1991: 12). Regional stereotypes are applied to all individuals, ethnic groups, races, etc. of a certain region (e.g. by making a statement about 'the' African population, 'the' North Americans or 'the' European peoples). They are also part of "systems of prejudice (...), which means that a combination of different – positively or negatively connoted – prejudices defines the term [regional] stereotypes" (Aigner 1991: 12). Davis (1964. In: Teichman 1975: 13) describes the two main characteristics of stereotypes with the terms 'over-generalization' and 'over-simplification'. The first term refers to the generalization necessary in order to ascribe certain features to a group or people from a certain region as a whole although they were only experienced with a limited number of individuals who were perceived to be part of the generalized group or derive from that region. The second term is related to the tendency to describe a group or region by using as few features or attributes as possible.

Schäfer (1973. In: Teichman 1975: 13) adds to this definition, with regard to the contents of these characterizations of peoples, groups and regions: Usually, only two factors are used for the stereotyped description of others, which are

“(1) the social and economic level of development and (2) the temperament of the respective people” (Teichman 1975: 13).

Both features can also be found among the interviewees’ depiction of Europe and its population. The sources where the information for these characterizations derives from were usually either not stated at all or described rather vaguely, e.g. by referring to “what I hear” (e.g. 12, 16, 21), “what our people say” (e.g. 16), “the people” (e.g. 2, 17, 21), or “friends” (e.g. 5, 7, 8, 16, 22), or by pointing out that “I heard some people say” (e.g. 16), or “I heard from different people” (e.g. 20).

The difference between (individual) images and stereotypes are thus, firstly, that the latter are embedded within the *collective* knowledge and, secondly, that stereotypes are transmitted and perpetuated in a process which might be influenced by the named mass media (and in return affects them as well). This collective knowledge is mainly transmitted during the individuals’ socialization by the relevant peer groups, the individuals’ families, or the education system. Another important source of collective knowledge is – as the students state themselves – ‘the’ people, i.e. the students’ social environment, all of which are themselves influenced by stereotyping images which derive from the mass media (cp. Lipiansky; 25/06/04).

The students’ image seems therefore to be built up from a combination of components, which they are either conscious or unconscious of, the former mainly deriving from the mass media and direct connections to Europe, the latter mainly being the result of the students’ socialization and environment. However, strong ties between these two components exist, which can be figured out by regarding the role of the ‘gatekeepers’ of those information sources the students are aware of: Journalists, teachers, as well as friends in Europe have their own stereotypes and prejudices about Europe, which they (unconsciously) pass on to their recipients. Furthermore, as long as they are part of the

same or a similar social environment, they share (at least partly) their recipients' collective knowledge concerning the topic (although they might still have more – and more detailed – information about the topic itself). On the other hand, the creation and variation of collective stereotypes are influenced by sources from which the recipients actively seek information about Europe, e.g. the mass media.

11. RESUMÉ

11.1. Outcomes of the Research

‘Imagine Migration’, was the simple essence of the request which I confronted my interview partners with. However, to do my bidding, to answer my questions on the many details of migration, was incomparably more difficult. The reason for this was not only because migration itself is a complex phenomenon, embedded within many functional systems of society, described by an almost uncountable amount of theories. It was neither only because the students’ low stage of migration preparation made it difficult for them to give concrete answers, nor because of the extensive and often contradictory information they had received about their region of destination. I think the fact which made it most difficult for them to respond to my request was that suddenly they were confronted with their hopes and wishes about their future.

For the interviewees, migration was much more than the movement from point A to point B; it was the passage of borders which restrict their individual chances (especially concerning their educational prospects). Thus, as stated by Hoffmann-Nowotny (In: Kälin et al. (ed.) 1989: 30), migration provides them with an opportunity to “improve [their] situation virtually on [their] own”, in order to move from a tension-rich to a tension-low system. According to his theory of ‘global migration’, this solution is only possible because of the interplay of the worldwide development differentials and the homogenization of values, the latter being responsible for the individuals becoming aware of the unequal regional distribution of wealth.

The emphasis of the students' attempt to migrate is thus not on moving to a certain region of destination, but rather on overcoming the structural difference between the region of destination and the region of origin: The positive aspects of Europe the students emphasized were usually substantiated by a description of the adverse conditions in Tanzania, be it the level of 'development', the education system, certain aspects of the political and social situation, or the individuals' economic opportunities. This suggests that many of the students' analyses of their region of destination were rather the reversal of the situation they perceive in Tanzania.

This also explains why the interviewees were able to express their images about Europe with a great certainty while at the same time having problems with tracing Europe on a map or naming its countries. Their difficulties with this task shows that Europe is not perceived as a geographic unit but rather as a list of countries connected with certain features, like "high level of development", "wealth", "social security", "political power", and – paradoxically – "European country". Consequently, countries which show many of these features, are considered to be part of Europe (e.g. Australia, Japan, the U.S., or Canada). On the other hand, certain countries which are defined by the students as European countries are thought to have the other European features mentioned above as well, like Albania, Macedonia, or the Czech Republic. Thus, the students perceive 'Europe' to be quite homogeneous with, only little differences between the European countries in the extent of the expression of these features.

The aspect which was mentioned most often during the description of Europe was its high level of 'development', and although the students mainly used the term in an economic sense, they also employ it to refer to other fields of society, among them politics, education, science and technology, infrastructure and communication, and social services. Here, it becomes obvious that the students invert those results of their analysis of the Tanzanian situation which

they perceive negatively. The high level of development was also stated to be one of the reasons for the excellent working conditions for virtually all Europeans: The students postulated a generally high availability of jobs (especially for PTKs), favorable working conditions, and greater economic security due to high wages and to the provision of a certain amount of money by the government or state for unemployed persons. The latter statement might refer to social insurances (which are rather the exception in Tanzania), but the students do not seem to be aware of the fact that the workers have to financially contribute to these systems of social security. In general, working conditions in Europe are valued highly positively.

In contrast, the students are rather ambiguous about certain other characteristics of Europe, i.e. 'social situation', 'education', and 'political situation'. The dividing line between a negative and a positive valuation seems to be whether European people are involved: While the students highly approved of the political freedom and the more equal distribution of chances in Europe (across the whole society, but especially between the sexes) due to free or cheap social services, a guaranteed minimum income and socially permeable education institutions, they, on the other hand, emphasized the negative influence of these advantages on the whole population or the individual's character. On the level of the individual, Europeans were said to be selfish and mainly concerned with their own issues, and especially students were lazy and somehow decadent because they had too much leisure time due to the efficient education system.

One of the main problems in Europe was stated to be racism, which was said to occur both at individual and institutional level, and can also be part of the political system. While the (white) population of Europe is depicted as a homogeneous society of peace, equality and low social and political tensions, its policies towards other regions of the world were characterized as aggressive and (economically) exploitative. Some of the university students perceived even the current forms of development aid as a kind of neo-colonial exploita-

tion, whereas the greater part of the students and virtually all secondary school students valued development aid highly positively.

Concerning the students' image about their own situation in the country of destination and the migration process, I divided the sample into five groups in order to investigate the differences between potential migrants at the various stages of the migration process. However, none of the interviewees had already undertaken any concrete steps to achieve their goal (besides the application for scholarships and the organization of a passport). Hence, the whole sample was on a rather early stage of their migration preparations, which can also be deduced by regarding the funds they had raised so far in order to finance the whole journey – a preparation which most of the university students deemed to be most crucial for the emigration.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the students' anticipation of the migration process was rather vague. Generally, to get access to higher education was stated to be the most important reason to migrate, followed by not clearly identified reasons like self-fulfillment, experience, good living conditions or a change of their living situation. Correspondingly, the students thought that studying would be their main occupation in Europe, maybe occasionally accompanied or followed by work. The most attractive country to the majority of students was Great Britain, followed by Western European or North American countries which either were colonial powers once, or give foreign aid to Tanzania. They were chosen because of their wealth and highly developed economy, but mainly because they are expected to provide excellent education. Concerning countries where they did not want to migrate to, most of the sample did not reject any European country, the rest often mentioned Germany, mainly for fear of racism. Other reasons for avoiding a country were that it was involved in wars or that it was seen as politically insecure or instable. Migration policies or other factors related to the migration process were mentioned only by one of the 110 interviewees, which either allows the conclusion that the

students had only a vague idea about migration procedures and did not actively aim for or exclude certain countries because of their migration policies, or that they assessed the chances of entering a certain country to be more or less equal in the whole of Europe.

Another ambiguity became obvious when I compared the 'general living conditions' in Europe, the situation of migrants in Europe, and the situation which the interviewees anticipate for themselves in the respective countries of destination. While the students described the general living conditions in rather positive terms, especially regarding the economic and job chances of the population, they assess 'the' migrants' situation to be rather difficult, particularly referring to their working conditions. Especially the secondary school students were aware of the necessity for many migrants to work either in precarious jobs or in illegal, informal or disreputable professions. Nevertheless, none of the students doubted that 'the' migrants were economically successful. In contrast, most students expected that (almost) every aspect of their own situation in the country of destination would be highly favorable. Fears about a potentially unpleasant or hostile environment exclusively concerned social interactions, but never the quality of their anticipated occupations. This was caused by two considerations: First of all, many students assumed that 'the' (usual) migrants are mainly unskilled, contrary to themselves, since all of the interviewees planned to graduate from secondary school, respectively university before their migration. Secondly, the greater part of the students wanted to migrate only temporarily, which makes the students' intention to work in Europe regardless of potentially inconvenient job conditions comprehensible, since the acquisition of both skills and property in advance of their return to Tanzania is more important to them. The analysis of the different statements about 'the' migrants' situation revealed that the level of information about other migrants' situations in the region of destination does not change when

the plan to migrate becomes more concrete, but instead single features of the perceived situation were interpreted differently, and more positively.

Corresponding to their only vague idea about their integration into the society of the region of destination, the students regard the organization of the departure as the more difficult and more important task, while procedures after arrival seem to be of rather minor significance. Therefore, they also considered the support of internal networks (i.e. the potential migrants' families in the countries of origin) to be of greater importance than the support from external networks (i.e. relatives and friends in the country of destination). The latter might be also caused by a lack of contact to migrants in the respective countries.

Of further interest to this paper was the use of media by the potential migrants and their influence on the images of Europe. However, these subjects are hard to examine for various reasons: First of all, the factor of social desirability probably distorted the interviewees' answers that provided the basis for the choice of the medium to be analyzed. Secondly, a correlation between the students' and the newspaper's regard and choice of topics is doubtful, since the subjects which were of most concern for the students, i.e. education and job situation, were either represented quite poorly or not mentioned at all. Thus, other information sources have a greater influence on the ideas on and the perception of those issues which were hardly dealt with in the analyzed newspaper. Some of these sources can be traced by considering the students' socialization or their context of living, like their access to the mass media, the fact that they attend school or university, contacts to Europeans or European institutions, or to migrants, returnees and other networks that can give information on migration.

Additionally, collective ideas, so-called regional stereotypes, affect the potential migrants' perception of their region of destination. Hence, the students' image of Europe is built up by a combination of the information sources which

the students are aware of, and those which they are oblivious of, the former consisting mainly of the mass media and direct connections to Europe, the latter mainly being the students' socialization and social environment.

11.2. Conclusions

According to a recent IOM-study, 150 million people (including refugees) migrate every year. "[R]oughly, one third of such migration occurs in developing countries" (IOM (ed.) n.s.; 04/07/12). The same source states that in the period between 1995 and 2000 Tanzania experienced a net outflow of over 200.000 individuals. Provided that the prerequisites and auxiliary conditions of migration do not change significantly, this number can be assumed to increase since the Tanzanian population is growing steadily; it is listed by the UN as one of the 21 countries which currently account for 75 percent of the population growth in the world, with an estimated annual population increase of 706.000 people between 2000 and 2005.

However, only a small fraction of all Tanzanian emigrants (probably less than 1.5 percent) actually reaches Europe. Generally, the non-EU population in the European Union does not exceed 4.5 percent of the whole population (Lucas 2004; 04/07/15), most probably due to the restrictive immigration policies and other factors which Hoffmann-Nowotny summarizes as pre- and sideconditions of the migration process.

Nevertheless, a great part of the potential migrants of Tanzania aims to move to Europe, and their number exceeds the number of actual migrants by far. It can even be assumed that the amount of people who *want* to emigrate to Europe might increase, first of all because of the population growth, and secondly because the two determinants of migration are likely to become more important: The cultural differences between the regions are on the decrease, while the differential in the level of development, i.e. the structural difference, are increasing. In other terms: The interviewees assumed that emigration to

Europe might provide them with greater opportunities of receiving higher education and wealth, which were of primary concern for them. The integration of Western values into the students' set of values is also indicated by the fact that they obviously had a quite detailed (even if inaccurate) image about Europe, although they had not (or only recently) started with their preparations for migration. Thus, their knowledge did not derive from the preparation process, which involves inquiring for specific and more detailed information, but from a deduction from their knowledge about Western principles, which they must have absorbed previously.

Europe's current solution to the perceived problem of a worldwide increasing migration potential is to further restrict the access to the continent, and especially to the European Union. One of the unfortunate results of this development is the increase of clandestine migration and human trafficking (cp. Hoffmann-Nowotny 2000: 71). Thus, the forms and directions of migration change, but not the potential migrants' intentions to leave their country of origin. Furthermore, it is more than questionable whether restrictive migration policies will prevent a growing number of potential immigrants from accessing Europe in the long run: "The concept of the global society, however, regards international and intercontinental migration as a sort of internal migration on a global scale, and history shows that internal migrations are virtually uncontrollable" (Hoffmann-Nowotny 2000: 87f).

Hence, the only feasible way to reduce migration – and with regard to the current migration policies this seems to be of major importance, may it be sensible or not – is to control the *determinants* of international migration instead of trying to influence the pre- and sideconditions. Hence, one possibility would be to reduce the worldwide population growth in order to keep the number of potential migrants on a constant level, which, however, seems rather unrealistic, at least for the next few decades. A second possibility would be to stop or to reduce the process of the homogenization of (Western) values, which probably is even more unrealistic. Thus, the reduction of the third determinant, i.e. the

development differentials, may be the most effective measure, although this might – in the short run – actually increase migration flows, since one of the hindrances to migration, the potential migrants' inability to pay for the costs, would cease to exist (cp. Hoffmann-Nowotny 2000: 79f).

In addition to these macrosocial factors, I want to point out a micro- or mesosocial measure: In this paper I showed that the migrants' choice of the region of destination is based on certain images about this particular region. The ideas behind these images might be accurate or not, but in any case they stem from different sources, which often contradict each other. The pictures that emerge are rather the result of a mixture of individual assumptions and common stereotypes than of precise information. And regardless of how their images about Europe might be, the students appeared to have only a vague idea about the social situation of migrants in the region of destination and seemed to be even more uncertain how their own situation would be.

Accurate and precise information about the regions of destinations and the migration process, about job and education opportunities for migrants, about legal possibilities to migrate, and about the institutions which provide potential migrants or new arrivals in countries of destination with further information would probably lead to a more realistic assessment of the feasibility of their plan to migrate. The provision of this information might result in the reduction of actual migration flows, and probably even in the reduction of the migration potential.

But in any case, it would give the potential migrants the chance to make decisions that are not mainly based on stereotypes. It would enable them to distinguish between actual information they have about Europe and certain wishes which they hope to be fulfilled by moving to this region. And whether the provision of precise information would prevent potential migrants from migrating or not, at least it would help them to come to this difficult decision because of an opinion which is hopefully rather based on facts than fiction.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY & APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I. QUESTIONNAIRES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

The students were handed the self-completion questionnaires after a short introduction about my intention and the central themes of the questionnaire, which I gave to them with the support of their teachers or the headmaster, respectively. The pupils were asked to choose both between the language the questionnaire was written in, and the language they preferred to use to fill out the forms. 50 students decided in favor of English, 47 wrote their answers in Kiswahili, which were later re-translated into English.

App.I.1. Self-Completion Questionnaire in English

QUESTIONNAIRE about your IMAGE OF EUROPE			
What is your age? ____ years	What is your sex?	☐ female	☐ male
Name of your School: _____			
1. Please write down all the European countries you know: _____			
2. Do you plan to go to Europe in the future?			
☐ no			
☐ yes			
When do you want to go there? In ____ years.			
Why do you want to go to Europe? _____			
Are there certain European countries where you want to go to? Which ones and why?			
Are there European countries where you do not want to go to? Which ones and why?			
3. Are there members of your family living in a European country?			
☐ no			
☐ yes			
How many? ____			
In which countries do they live? _____			
What are they doing in Europe (studying, which work etc.)? _____			
Can they help you to go to Europe? ☐ no ☐ yes			
4. What do you have to do to organize your travel to Europe? _____			
5. Is it rather easy or difficult to get a passport? ☐ easy ☐ difficult			
Is it easy or difficult to get a visa for a European country? ☐ easy ☐ difficult			
Is it easy or difficult to work in Europe? ☐ easy ☐ difficult			
6. Do you know if there are many people from Tanzania living in the countries of Europe?			
☐ Many people: _____ (Write down the number of people)			
☐ Not many people: _____			
☐ I don't know			
7. Which information sources do you often use to inform yourself about Europe?			
☐ Newspapers	☐ Cinema	☐ School	☐ Internet
☐ TV	☐ Books	☐ Family and Friends	☐ Radio
8. Imagine, you should describe to the pupils of your class what Europe is like. Try to explain both the good and the bad things about Europe! Write your description of Europe on the back of this sheet (about 200 words).			

App.I.2. Self-Completion Questionnaire in Kiswahili

QUESTIONNAIRE kuhusu PICHA YAKO JUU YA ULAYA

Una miaka mingapi? ____ Jinsia yako: ☐ ya kike ☐ ya kiume
 Jina la shule yako: _____

1. Uandike majina ya nchi zote za Ulaya unazofahamu: _____

2. Je, unapanga kwenda Ulaya tangu leo?
☐ hapana
☐ ndiyo
 Unapanga kwenda Ulaya lini? Baada ya miaka ____.
 Kwanini unataka kwenda Ulaya? _____

Je, kuna nchi fulani ambako unataka kwenda? Nchi gani? Kwanini ulichagua nchi hii/hizi? _____

Je, kuna nchi fulani ambako **hutaki** kwenda? Nchi gani? Kwanini? _____

3. Je, kuna ndugu zako wanaoishi Ulaya?
☐ hapana
☐ ndiyo
 Wangapi? ____
 Wanaishi nchi gani? _____
 Wanafanya nini pale Ulaya (kusoma, kufanya kazi gani, n.k.)? _____

Je, wanaweza kukusaidia kwenda Ulaya? ☐ hapana ☐ ndiyo

4. Ni nini unavyohitaji kupanga/kutegeneza kwa safari yako kwenda Ulaya? _____

5. Je, kupata pasipoti ni rahisi au ngumu? ☐ rahisi ☐ ngumu
 Je, ni rahisi au ngumu kupata viza kwa nchi za Ulaya? ☐ rahisi ☐ ngumu
 Je, ni rahisi au ngumu kupata kazi pale Ulaya? ☐ rahisi ☐ ngumu

6. Unajua kama kuna Watanzania wengi wanaoishi Ulaya?
☐ Watu wengi: _____ (Andika namba ya Watanzania wanaoishi Ulaya)
☐ Watu wachache tu: _____ (Watanzania wangapi?)
☐ Sijui

7. Je, unatumia vyanzo/taarifa gani mara kwa mara kwa kupata habari kuhusu Ulaya?
☐ Magazeti ☐ Sinema ☐ Shule ☐ Internet
☐ Televisheni ☐ Vitabu ☐ Familia na marafiki zako ☐ Redio

8. Waza ueleze wanafunzi wengine Ulaya inavyokuwa. Andika unavyofikiri kuhusu Ulaya, eleza vitu vizuri na vitu vibaya juu ya Ulaya. Andika karibu sawa na maneno 200 makalioni kwa karatasi hii.

APPENDIX II. QUESTIONNAIRES FOR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

After a short introduction to the subject, the interviewees were required to answer the 31 oral questions of the structured questionnaire of the interviews. After question 2. they were shown two maps (copied on one sheet of paper) and asked to mark the borders of Europe on each map separately. Questions marked with (P) were only asked if the interviewee stated to intend to migrate. After answering the questions, I handed them a self-completion questionnaire consisting of three different groups of questions they had to fill out.

App.II.1. Structured Questionnaire of the Interviews

Introduction (oral): This interview is about your image of Europe. So I'm going to ask you some questions about your perception and your expectations of Europe. What is important in this interview is just your opinion on Europe - so it is very valuable to me to learn more about your view on Europe, even if you are not completely sure if it is really like that or not. So please just say whatever comes to your mind.

E1.: Imagine, you should describe to a small schoolchild what Europe is like. What would you say?

E2.: Imagine, the schoolchild would ask you what the good and the bad things in Europe are. What would you answer?

What are the good things?

What are the bad things?

E3.: How do you personally imagine life in Europe to be like?

1. Please name all the European countries that come to your mind.

2. **(Present the maps:)** Please mark the borders of Europe on these maps, first on the one above, then on the other one.

3. Do you plan to go to Europe (either temporarily or permanently)?

“Yes”: When would you like to go there (within how many years)?

How long do you plan to stay in Europe?

Have you already talked to your family about your plan? What's your family's opinion about it?

Do you want to keep contact to your family when you're in Europe?

Are you planning to help other family members to come to Europe after you have reached there? Which ones?

“No”: If you could afford to, would you migrate to Europe?

For what period of time?

- (P) 4. Are there certain countries you want to go to?
Why did you choose these countries?
- (P) 5. Are there any European countries where you wouldn't want to go, even if you had the possibility? Which ones? Why do you want to avoid them?
- (P) 6. Why do you want to go to Europe? (**Probably clarify:**) You are living here, you have your family here, you know this country - and yet you want to move to Europe and give up most of what you have here. Why? What are you expecting in Europe that makes you leave your home country?)
7. Are there other regions you would like to go to (as well)?
8. What do you think are the usual reasons for people to migrate from Tanzania to Europe?
9. What do you think are the main differences between Tanzania and Europe?
10. Are there differences for you between Europe and other regions where people like to go to (like, for example, the U.S., Canada or Australia)?
11. What do you think are the differences between the working conditions in Tanzania and Europe?
- (P) 12. What do you want to do in Europe, in terms of studying or working?
- (P) 13. What branch are you expecting to work in after your migration to Europe?
- (P) 14. After you have reached Europe, do you think it will be possible for you to cover all your costs without support from somebody?
"No": Who will support you? Which organisations or persons will provide a minimum of social security for you? For which period of time?
- (P) 15. If you have found a job, what lifestyle, which kind of life, will you be able to afford with the income you are going to have?
16. In what type of jobs do you think are most of the persons who migrated from Tanzania to Europe employed?
- (P) 17. When you come to Europe, do you want to continue your education? Which sort of education do you plan to do (e.g. special courses provided by private agencies like language studies, higher university education, job training courses)?
- (P) 18. When you come to Europe after the end of your studies, will your education be acknowledged by the country/the countries you want to go to?
19. Which scholarships do exist for students from Tanzania who want to come to Europe (either in Tanzania or in the European countries)?
20. Where can you inform yourself about these scholarships?
21. What do you think are the differences between the education in Europe and the education in Tanzania?
22. What do you know about the procedure of migrating to a European country?
- (P) 23. How did you plan your journey to Europe? Have you already organized anything?

(P) 24. Are you using mainly official channels (embassies and relevant authorities in the country of destination) or rather unofficial channels (like friends or other organizations)? Which institutions and organizations?

(P) 25. Which kind of residence permit or visa will you try to get?

(P) 26. Do you know how much the journey will cost?

Who is going to pay for it? (Do you get financial aid from someone?)

(P) 27. Which steps do you have to undertake until you reach your country of destination?

28. Do you have relatives living in Europe?

In which countries do they live?

When did they migrate to Europe?

What do you know about their move?

Do you think they could help you to come to Europe?

29. Do you know if there are many people from Tanzania living in the country/countries where you want to go (the countries of Europe)?

(P) 30. Do you know the languages of the countries where you want to go to?

"Yes": Where did you learn it? Was it a reason for choosing this country?

"No": Did you learn it before or after your decision to migrate?

"No": Are you planning to learn the language before you migrate there?

31. Which information sources do you use in general to inform yourself about Europe?

Biographic background:

Age Sex Marital status (s/m/d) Children from which region in Tanzania

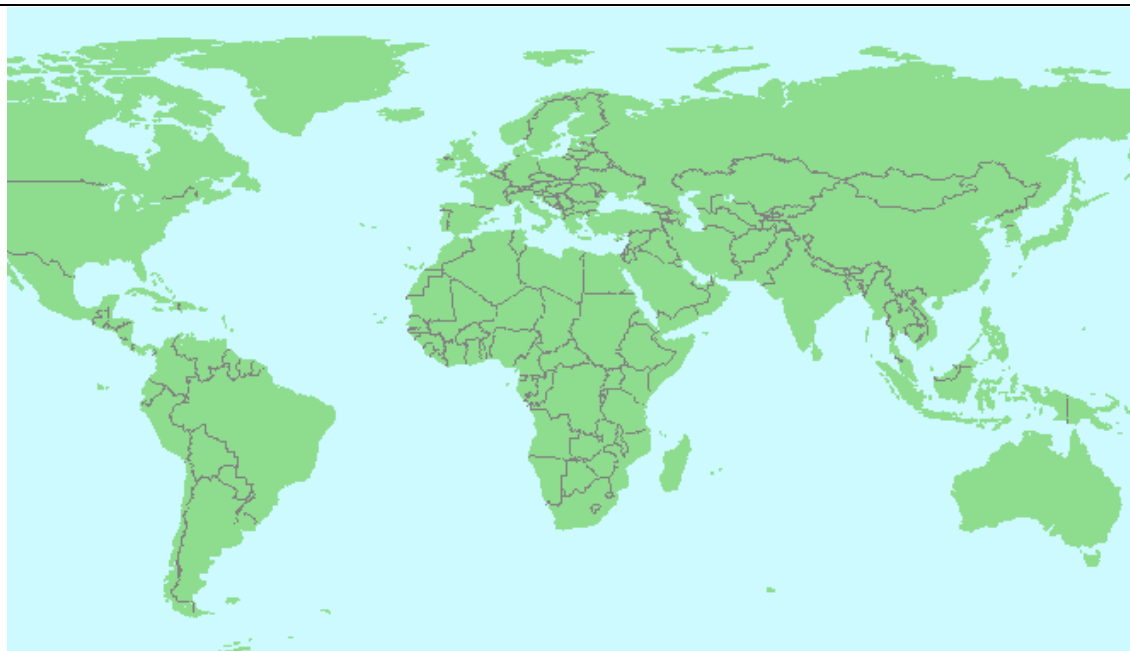
What are you studying? In which faculty?

When are you approximately going to end your studies?

What other job-qualifications do you have (e.g. special courses, jobs beside your studies)?

Have you already been to another country? For which reason? For how long?

App.II.2. Maps of Europe



App.II.3. Self-Completion Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

What were your reasons to decide to migrate to Europe? Please mark to which degree the following reasons fit for you:

1 - main reason, 2 - important reason, 3 - less important reason, 4 - no reason

1 2 3 4

- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I want to improve my living situation.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I would have better chances of getting a job with a good salary.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I would have better chances of education.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I want to go to Europe for student exchange.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ It is easier to get to Europe than to other destinations, concerning the transport.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ In terms of migration policies, the entry to European countries is easier than to other countries.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I plan to seek for asylum.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ There are high standards of social security, especially for migrants and asylum seekers.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Family members or relatives of mine live there.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Family members or relatives of mine who live in Europe could help me to come there.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I have friends/a friend coming from Europe, who can help me to migrate.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ My partner/boy- or girlfriend is from a European country and I want to move to him/her.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ People from Tanzania are doing well in Europe, they have a good income and social position.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I would like to send back money from Europe to help my family in Tanzania.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I would go to Europe because of higher security and peace.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Human rights are accepted and there is a long history of democratic values.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ In Europe I would have a greater possibility to realize my dreams and wishes than in Tanzania.

What dreams and wishes? _____

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Other reasons: _____

Information Sources

Please mark which of the following possible information sources you use or you used in the past in order to inform yourself about issues concerning Europe, and to which amount:

1 - very important to inform myself

2 - important

3 - less important

4 - not important at all

1 2 3 4

- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ National newspapers.
Which newspapers? _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ International newspapers.
Which int. newspapers? _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ TV. Which channels/programs? _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Cinema.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Books.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ School and University.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Information provided by the state (e.g. ministries, embassies, special information offices).
Which institutions did you visit to inform yourself? _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Radio. Which stations? _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Internet. Which sites? _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Relatives. Which relatives? _____
Have they ever been to Europe? ☐ no ☐ yes, to _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ European friends.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Friends living in Tanzania.
Have they ever been to Europe? ☐ no ☐ yes, to _____
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Talking to tourists about the countries they come from.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Talking to exchange students on UDSM.
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ _____ (other information sources)
- ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ _____ (other information sources)

The next questions concern the economic situation in Europe, the level of education and the migration policies. Most of the questions are quite detailed, so if you do not know them, just guess!

1. What do you think the average income of people living in (Western) Europe could be?
_____ (either Tsh or US\$ per month)
2. What is the minimum income of people living in (Western) Europe?
_____ (either Tsh or US\$ per month)
3. What are the costs of a person living in a single household in a (Western) European country?
Minimum costs: _____ (either Tsh or US\$ per month)
Average costs: _____ (either Tsh or US\$ per month)
4. If you want to move to Europe, what do you think your costs of living will be when you live in a European country? Please write down how much you are going to spent on the following items (in Tsh or US\$ per month):
Housing: _____ Food: _____
Taxes: _____ Others: _____
Altogether: _____
5. What percentage of the adult population of European countries does **not** know how to read and write? ____ %
6. What percentage of the adult population of the European countries has finished university? ____%
7. Is it rather easy or difficult for persons from Tanzania to get a residence permit/visa in a European country?
☐ easy ☐ difficult ☐ do not know
(If you know something about the different forms of residence permits, please explain it: _____
_____)
8. When somebody from Tanzania enters a European country, is he/she allowed to work immediately?
☐ yes ☐ no ☐ do not know
(If you know more about the labour permits, please explain it: _____
_____)

APPENDIX III. LIST OF THE SAMPLE

App.III.1. Secondary School Students

The students were given the questionnaires in groups of varying size and asked to return them to the interviewer after completion. The numbers were assigned according to the order in which the questionnaires were handed back. The letter indicates each school (A for 'Azania Secondary School', B for 'Biafra Secondary School').

Nr.	Age	Sex	Mig. ⁶³	Nr.	Age	Sex	Mig.	Nr.	Age	Sex	Mig.
A1	18	♂	5	A34	19	♂	5	B29	14	♀	4
A2	20	♂	5	A35	19	♀	5	B30	14	♂	5
A3	17	♂	5	A36	20	♀	5	B31	15	♀	5
A4	18	♂	5	A37	19	♂	5	B32	16	♂	5
A5	19	♂	5	A38	18	♂	5	B33	15	♀	4
A6	21	♂	5	B1	14	♀	5	B34	17	♂	5
A7	20	♂	5	B2	15	♀	5	B35	--	♀	5
A8	20	♂	5	B3	14	♀	5	B36	16	♀	4
A9	18	♂	5	B4	17	--	5	B37	16	♂	4
A10	20	♀	5	B5	15	♀	5	B38	16	♀	5
A11	19	♀	4	B6	16	--	5	B39	15	♂	5
A12	20	♂	5	B7	15	♀	5	B40	--	♂	5
A13	20	♀	5	B8	13	--	5	B41	16	♀	5
A14	19	♀	5	B9	13	--	5	B42	17	♀	5
A15	19	♀	5	B10	14	--	5	B43	16	♀	5
A16	22	♀	5	B11	14	♂	5	B44	17	♀	5
A17	22	♀	5	B12	14	--	5	B45	21	♂	5
A18	20	♀	5	B13	14	♀	5	B46	17	♀	5
A19	19	♀	5	B14	15	--	5	B47	19	♀	5
A20	19	♂	5	B15	16	♂	5	B48	19	♀	5
A21	20	♂	5	B16	15	♀	5	B49	18	♀	5
A22	19	♂	5	B17	16	♀	5	B50	18	♀	5
A23	18	♂	5	B18	16	--	5	B51	17	♀	5
A24	19	♂	5	B19	16	--	5	B52	18	♂	5
A25	18	♂	5	B20	18	♂	5	B53	18	♂	5
A26	19	♂	5	B21	14	♀	5	B54	18	♀	5
A27	17	♂	5	B22	14	♀	5	B55	17	♀	5
A28	19	♂	5	B23	17	♀	5	B56	17	♀	5
A29	20	♂	5	B24	14	--	5	B57	18	♂	5
A30	19	♂	5	B25	16	♂	5	B58	16	♂	5
A31	17	♂	5	B26	17	♀	5	B59	17	♀	5
A32	18	♂	5	B27	16	♂	5				
A33	18	--	4	B28	15	♂	5				

Tab. III.1. List of the sample: secondary school students.

⁶³ Mig. stands for „Migration intention“ and refers to the typology explained in chapter 8:

- 1... Non-migrating university students.
- 2... Migrating university students who have nothing organized so far.
- 3... Migrating university students with definite plans.
- 4... Non-migrating secondary school students.
- 5... Migrating secondary school students.

App.III.2. University Students

Again, the number assigned to the questionnaires results from the chronological order in which the interviews were performed.

Nr	S.	Age	Region	Course	Faculty	End	Other Ctr.	Mig. ⁶⁴
1	♂	33	Zanzibar	Law	Fac. of Law	2004	No	2
2	♂	25	Tanga	Quantity Survey	Fac. of Architecture	2005	No	3
3	♂	22	Kilimanjaro	Electronic Sc. & Communication	Fac. of Science	2006	Kenya, Uganda	3
4	♂	19	Dar-es-Salaam	Computer Sc.	Fac. of Science	2004	No	2
5	♂	24	Mukoba/Kagera	Architecture	Fac. of Architecture	2006	Kenya, RSA	3
6	♂	25	Kilimanjaro	Land Management	Fac. of Land	--	Kenya	2
7	♂	27	Mtambora	Land Survey	Fac. of Land	2007	No	3
8	♂	32	Mara	PSPA ⁶⁵	FASS ⁶⁶	2004	Kenya, Uganda	3
9	♀	22	Kilimanjaro	PSPA	FASS	2006	No	2
10	♂	25	Mwanza	Land Survey	Fac. of Land	2004	No	3
11	♀	21	Kilimanjaro	Computer Sc.	Fac. of Science	2006	No	3
12	♀	23	Kilimanjaro	PSPA	FASS	2005	No	2
13	♀	21	Kilimanjaro	PSPA	FASS	2006	Uganda	2
14	♀	21	Tanga	PSPA	FASS	2006	No	1
15	♀	21	Tanga	Computer Sc.	Fac. of Science	2003	Ke., Ug., Bulgaria	1
16	♂	27	Mara	Education	Fac. of Education	2007	No	2
17	♀	23	Mwanza	PSPA	FASS	2006	No	2
18	♂	25	Dodoma	Mining Engineering	Fac. of Engineering	2004	No	1
19	♀	23	Arusha	Sociology	FASS	2005	No	1
20	♀	23	Kilimanjaro	Sociology	FASS	2005	No	2
21	♀	22	Kilimanjaro	Computer Sc.	Fac. of Science	2006	No	2
22	♂	25	Tanga	Fine & Performing Arts	Fac. of Performing Arts	2005	No	3
23	♀	21	Mwanza	PSPA	FASS	2006	No	2

Tab. III.2. List of the sample: university students.

⁶⁴ v. explanation of Tab. 15.1.

⁶⁵ Political Science and Public Administration

⁶⁶ Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

APPENDIX IV. MEDIA ANALYSIS

In this table, all articles from the Tanzanian daily 'The Guardian' containing the terms Europe, its synonyms or respective adjectives, and the names of its countries or respective adjectives were listed, indicating their position in the newspaper, the type of article, the general subject of the article, the context of the words looked for, as well as the mention of other countries.

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
Europe		Europe	
1 15/01 16/01 17/01	Ads, 9, 'General'; Adver- tisement	Engineering; Shaloom Engineering Ltd: Brings to you a new European Technology for production of decorated windows, door grills and beautiful fences you only need to order now, we are fast & accurate, Call: 0744:287907, 0744-000966	—
2 15/01	Foreign & Sports, II; News article	Economy/banking sector (Spain's Banesto beats own forecast with 2003 profit); Shares in Banesto were down 0.6 percent to 9.88 euros at 0858 GMT versus a 0.5 percent rise in the European banking sector.	Spain
3 15/01	Foreign & Sports, IV; Analysis	Development in Poland (Banks target heroes of Polish market economy); "'Towards a strong and wealthy Poland,' says a communist-era poster in the Warsaw office of Mauro Albenga, an Italian banker at UniCredito's top Eastern European unit.", With 100,000 euros in his pocket, a Pole can get private banking services while the average threshold in western Europe is 0.5-1.0 million euros, said Rafal Plokarz at BPH-PBK, Poland's third largest bank."	EU, 'the West', Poland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Germany, Italy
4 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Leeds on the brink after spectacular two-year slide); "European victories [of Leeds] over [different European teams]."	UK
5 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; Feature	Competition for Olympic games (Nine cities presenting 2012 Game bids); "9 cities, including three former European summer Olympic hosts, had until midnight yesterday to present details of their bids for the 2012 Games to the International Olympic Committee (IOC).", "The bid [of Paris] has full government support while Europe is due to host the Games again after the 2000 Sydney Olympics and the 1996 Atlanta Games."	South America (other geographical references; only cities)

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
6 17/01	National News, 3; Interview	International meeting (International meeting to discuss bride price); "Grace Lwanga, an official with a leading women's rights and development organization in Uganda, Mifumi Project, said in an interview in Dar es Salaam yesterday that the conference, bringing together over 100 participants from Africa, Europe and the United States, will come up with strategies for reforming or abolishing bride price."	Uganda, Africa, United States
7 17/01	Opinion, 6; Letter to the Editor	Student Exchange (Rape at UDSM: Academic exchange programs to continue); "The majority of [the American exchange students] go to Europe, with the greatest number going to United Kingdom."	UK
8 17/01	Features, 7; Report	Drug trafficking (Al-Qaeda links with drug traffickers); "He is a major supplier of drugs to the United Kingdom and Western Europe."	U.S., Europe, UK, Colum- bia, Vene- zuela, South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, India, Afghanistan
9 17/01	Features, 11; Feature	HIV/AIDS (Pope, Catholics hurting the fight against HIV/AIDS); "His [the pope's] death will be mourned world-wide – throughout Europe, the Americas and Africa."	Americas, Africa, UK
10 17/01	Foreign & Sports, III; News article	Business news; "On that day, Iran shortlisted six bidders including European, African and Middle East firms for the license and said a winner would be announced on February 23."	Africa, Mid- dle East, Austria, Ger- many, South Africa, Egypt, Tur- key, UK, Iran
EU		European Union	
11 15/01	Features, 7; Analysis	Development of Tanzania's fish industry (Tanzania's fish industry recovers after EU ban); Title; "Despite a crippling 1999 European Union import ban, large-scale freshwater fish processing in Tanzania has grown from humble origins to a key contributor of economic growth.", "Most exports are chilled fillets flown to Europe, but frozen fillets are also loaded onto planes bound for markets including Japan, the Middle East and the United States.", "But the blossoming trade took a heavy blow in March 1999 when the European Union slapped a ban on fish export from the Lake on grounds the fish was contaminated by toxic chemicals. The embargo was lifted in January 2000, but many in the industry struggled to recover as efforts to reach alternative markets had met with only limited	Uganda, Kenya, Tan- zania, Ja- pan, the Middle East, the United States

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
		success." "Since then, however, businesses that did survive have established new, more stringent working practices and exports to the European Union began to climb again slowly.", "As the main consumer of Tanzanian fish, the EU has introduced two schemes that help to maintain its quality and help to preserve what is left of the lake's fish stocks.", "The second EU project focuses on strengthening health stocks by training local Fisheries Department staff so that exports do not run the risk of future bans like the one in 1999."	
12 15/01	Foreign & Sports, IV; Analysis	Development in Poland (Banks target heroes of Polish market economy); "Growth prospects in the region's largest economy due to join the European Union this year have attracted top players, with the most recent entrant, Zurich-based UBS, the world's largest asset manager."	Europe, 'the West', Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Germany
13 16/01	Foreign & Sports, II; Photograph legend	Joint News conference; "Georgian President –elected Mikhail Saakashvili listens to European Union foreign policy chief Javier Solana at a joint news conference in Tbilisi, yesterday."	Georgia
Australia		Australia	
14 14/01	National News, 3; Advertisement	Advertisement by the Australian Studies Institute (AUSI) (Now you can complete an Edith Cowan University (Australia) Degree in Kenya through AUSI!); Title; "Choose to graduate from 39 Universities in Australia", "Affordable, quality Australian Education", "Australian Studies Institute"	Kenya
15 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis, Sydney international (Guccione stuns Ferrero as Clijsters withdraws); "Australian Chris Guccione, ranked 447 th in the world, pulled off a shock 6-3-7-6 win over French Open champion Juan Carlos Ferrero at the Sydney international yesterday.", "Australian team", "Australia's most promising junior players" "Australian Open", "Australia's 2003 Wimbledon finalist"	France, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, UK
16 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; Photograph legend	Tennis; "Australia's Mark Philipoussis gestures to his supporters after beating Greg Rusedski of Great Britain at the Sydney International tennis tournament yesterday."	UK
17 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis (Philipoussis knocks Rusedski out of Sydney); "Australian Mark Philipoussis knocked embattled Briton Greg Rusedski out of the Sydney International yesterday."	France, Netherlands, Belarus, Slovakia, Spain

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
18 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Tennis (Henin injury scare, Agassi exudes fitness); "Top seed Justin Henin-Hardenne gave Australian Open chiefs a scar yesterday when she sprained her ankle just three days before the opening grand slam of the season."	U.S.
19 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Cricket (Fast 'bowlers need protection from injury'); Cricket Australia (CA), Australia fast bowlers, Australia's leading fast bowler, etc.	—
20 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Tennis (Roddick, Henin named top seeds in Melbourne); Sports: Australian Open, Australian players	France, Belgium
21 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Tennis (Agassi blunts Federer at Kooyong event); Sports: Australian Open	Switzerland
22 17/01	Foreign & Sports, III; Feature	Australia's military co-operation with U.S. (Australia, U.S. tighten security ties in Asia); Title; "Dismissing Asian fears of an arms race, Australian Prime Minister John Howard yesterday declared it would be 'recklessly negligent' to opt out of a US 'star wars' missile defense system.", "Australia is disparaged by some Asian nations as America's 'deputy sheriff' in the region." "Australia, which sent troop to support US-led wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, was hoping to sign a memorandum of understanding with Washington soon to formalize its role in the so-called 'Son of Star Wars' project but there was no set timetable.", "But Howard brushed aside regional concerns, saying most nations understood Australia's drive to defend itself.", Etc.	U.S., China, Taiwan, North Korea, Indonesia, Asia
23 17/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; Feature	Cricket (Sporting chaos hits South Africa hard); "On Tuesday, Come Krige, who captained the Springboks at their disappointing 2003 World Cup in Australia, announced his retirement from international rugby at the age of 28."	South Africa
24 17/01	Foreign & Sport, VII; News article	Tennis (Agassi ready for youthful onslaught); "Australian Open", "Australian ground", "Australian Open"	Spain, U.S.
25 17/01	Foreign & Sport, VII; News article	Cricket (Gilchrist hits 172 as Australia crush Zimbabwe); title; "Australia scored"; "Australia record"; "Australia vice-captain Gilchrist"; "Undefeated Australia"	Zimbabwe
26 17/01	Foreign & Sport, VII;	Tennis (Hewitt and Henin reach finals in Sydney); "Australia's Lleyton Hewitt and Belgian Justine Henin-Hardenne strolled	Belgium, Netherlands

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
	News article	into their respective finals at the Sydney International after both their opponents succumbed to injury yesterday." "the Australian Open"	Spain, U.S.
Austria		Austria	
27 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Formula One (Ferrari was my university, says Massa); ""I'm very happy to be back," he said at the launch in Austria of the new C23 car on Monday."	Italy
28 17/01	Foreign & Sports, III; News article	Business news; "The other five consortia are headed by: Kuwait's Telecommunications Co with Germany's Deutsche Telekom AG; Mobikom, the mobile Arm of Austria's Telekom Austria; South Africa's MTN; Egypt's Orascom Telecom; and Turkey's Turkcell."	Europe, Africa, Middle East, Germany, South Africa, Egypt, Turkey, UK, Iran
Belarus		Belarus	
29 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis (Philipoussis knocks Rusedski out of Sydney); (Results:) against Max Mirnyi of Belarus	Australia, Britain, Netherlands, France, Slovakia, Spain
Belgium		Belgium	
30 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis, Sydney international (Guccione stuns Ferrero as Clijsters withdraws); "The women's draw also lost one of its main attractions when Belgian Kim Clijsters pulled out with an ankle injury before her first match."	France, Australia, Netherlands, Spain, UK
31 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Police plot to foil hooligans at Euro 2004); The 2000 European championship in Belgium	Portugal, UK
32 16/01	Frontpage 1, News article	AIDS (Cardinal backs use of condoms); "A Belgian cardinal who is among the leading candidates to succeed Pope John Paul yesterday broke the Roman Catholic church's taboo on the use of condoms, declaring that, in certain circumstances, they should be used to prevent the spread of Aids.", "A Dutch-speaking Belgian, Cardinal Danneels is widely respected by conservatives and liberals alike."	—
33 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Tennis; (Roddick, Henin named top seeds in Melbourne); Sports: Belgian players	France, Australia

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
34 17/01	<i>Foreign & Sport, VII; News article</i>	Tennis (Hewitt and Henin reach finals in Sydney); "Australia's Lleyton Hewitt and Belgian Justine Henin-Hardenne strolled into their respective finals at the Sydney International after both their opponents succumbed to injury yesterday."	Australia, Netherlands, Spain, U.S.
Canada		Canada	
35 14/01 15/01 16/01 17/01 (á 2x)	<i>Ads, Entertainment', 9; Advertisement</i>	Immigration to Canada; "Immigration genuine immigration & job opportunities in Canada, Send CV & bio-data for free assessment, immigrationbest@hotmail.com	—
36 17/01	<i>Front page; News article</i>	Presidential speech (Mkapa underlines peace in the Great Lakes region); "He also thanked governments of Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Canada, and the World Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) for helping Tanzania with seeds for the next season."	Tanzania, U.S., Japan, UK, Sweden, Ireland, Norway, Finland
Cz. Rep.		Czech Republic	
37 14/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, VII; Feature</i>	Soccer (Totti, Nedved named Italy's best players); "Earlier in the ceremony, dubbed the Italian football 'Oscars', Czech Nedved beat Roma's Brazilian midfielder Emerson and Romanian striker Adrian Mutu, who moved from Parma to Chelsea last year, to win the award for Best Foreign player."	Italy, Brazil, Romania
Denmark		Denmark	
38 15/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, II; Advertisement</i>	Job Vacancy (Project Manager to Popular Culture and Sports Programme, Mwanza Region); "The Popular Culture and Sports Programme (PC&SP) in collaboration with the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI) hereby advertise the post a Project Manager for the period from 1 st March 2004 to 28 th February 2006."; "The Project Manager will be responsible for implementing a two-year project in capacity building within PC&SP funded by DGI through the Danish Project Counseling Service."; "Popular Culture & Sports Programme and Danish Gymnastics and Sports Association"	Tanzania
39 16/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, VIII; Short News</i>	Curiosity (Danish car thieves call police for help); Title, "Two Danish car thieves called police for help when they realized the angry victim of their latest crime was in hot pursuit in another car.", "The car's owner decided to chase the men after witnessing the theft from his home in northern Denmark, the local <i>Berlingske Tidende</i> said."	

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
Finland		Finland	
40 14/01	<i>National News, 3; News arti- cle</i>	NGO-forum (India hosts global forum); "Mwingira said the participants will be exposed to the 'Helsinki Process', an initiative launched by Finnish and Tanzanian governments to push the search for new approaches to global problems." , "Co-chairperson of the process are Finland and Tanzanian Ministers of Foreign Affaires, according to TANGO director."	Tanzania, India
41 17/01	<i>Front page + Adver- tisement, 4 News article, President- ial speech</i>	Presidential speech (Mkapa underlines peace in the Great Lakes region); "Mkapa explained that the report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization that he co-chaired with Finnish President Tarja Halonen, would reveal explosive disparities of income, well-being and opportunities within and between nations."	Tanzania, U.S., Japan, UK, Sweden, Ireland, Norway, Canada
42 17/01	<i>Front page; News arti- cle</i>	Economy (SPM sale sealed); "Construction of the mill was completed in 1985 under the supervision of Jaako Poyry, a Finnish firm of consulting engineers."	Tanzania, Kenya
1st World		First World	
43 15/01	<i>Features, 10; Com- mentary</i>	African Renaissance (Cursed Africa, the irredeemable continent?); "The Third World thus is the first world dumping site."; "We allow all this to happen and then grumble over the injustices of the so-called first world."	America, 'the West'
France		France	
44 14/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, VI; News article</i>	Tennis, Sydney international (Guccione stuns Ferrero as Clijsters withdraws); "French Open Champion Juan Carlos Ferrero"	Belgium, Australia, Netherlands, Spain, UK
45 15/01	<i>Features, 7; Feature</i>	Zanzibar's History (Zanzibar after 40 years); "It is within this general trend of economic stagnation and blocked politics as the French often say, that the politics of union with Tanganyika can be traced."	Zanzibar, Tanganyika
46 15/01	<i>Features, 12; Fea- tures</i>	Salaries of doctors in Uganda (Where doctors' pay is equivalent to that of judges); "This is Museveni who, last October had literally despised all medical doctors in Uganda, saying he could no longer trust them to treat his pregnant daughter, and she was flown in a Presidential jet all the way to a French hospital for delivery."	Uganda, Tanzania

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
47 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis (Philipoussis knocks Rusedski out of Sydney); French Open, Michael Llodra of France	Australia, Netherlands, Belarus, Slo- vakia, Spain
48 16/01	Ads, 12; Adver- tisement	Vacancy; "DTP Terrassement is a well- established French International Construction, Earthmoving and Open Pit Mining Company with ongoing projects throughout the world."	—
49 16/01	Foreign & Sport, 1 News article	Death of the Princess of Whales (Eyewitness to Diana crash says it was accident); French investigators, French magazine <i>Paris Match</i> , "Royal commentators say British authorities will likely concur with their French counterparts that it was an accident."	UK
50 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Tennis (Roddick, Henin named top seeds in Melbourne); Sports: French Open, French players at Australian Open	Australia, Belgium
51 17/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Kanoute makes Mali debut); "Kanoute, who had represented France at under-21 level, was cleared to play for his parents' country Mali by FIFA under new rules which came into force on January 1.", "French junior internationals"	Africa, Mali, Algeria, Ni- geria, Tunisia, UK
Ger- many		Germany	
52 14/01	Sports, VIII; News article	Curiosity (German police probe potato computer scam); Title, "German police are investigating after an angry man returned a computer he had just bought saying it was packed with small potatoes instead of computer parts."	—
53 15/01	Foreign & Sports, IV; Analysis	Development of Poland (Banks target heroes of Polish market economy); "BRE, controlled by Germany's Commerzbank, says nearly half its private banking assets are now invested in instruments other than traditional bank deposits."	Europe, EU, 'the West', Italy, Switzer- land, Lux- embourg
54 15/01	Foreign & Sports, V; News article	Study about internet-users (Internet 'geek' image shattered by new study); "The findings are derived from surveys of Internet and non-Internet users in 14 countries: the United States, Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, China and Chile."	U.S., Hun- gary, Britain, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Mo- naco, South Korea, Sin- gapore, Chi- le, Taiwan, China

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
55 16/01	Foreign & Sport, 1; Report	Modern slavery (Sudanese women rises from slave to author in the UK); "In her book <i>Slave</i> , published earlier in Germany and to be released in Britain on Friday after clearing legal hurdles, Nazer describes her harrowing journey from Sudan's Nuba mountains to servitude in north London."	Sudan, UK
56 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News art.	Formula One (Schumacher ready to continue beyond 2006); "The 35-year-old German"	Brazil
57 17/01	Foreign & Sports, 1; News article	Terrorism (Tunisian charges with plotting attacks in Germany); Title; "German state prosecutors said yesterday they had charges a 33-year-old Tunisian man with trying to form a militant group to attack U.S. and Jewish targets in Germany."	Tunisia, U.S., Afghanistan
58 17/01	Foreign & Sports, III; News article	Business news; "The other five consortia are headed by: Kuwait's Telecommunications Co with Germany's Deutsche Telekom AG; Mobikom, the mobile Arm of Austria's Telekom Austria; South Africa's MTN; Egypt's Orascom Telecom; and Turkey's Turkcell."	Europe, Africa, Middle East, Austria, South Africa, Egypt, Turkey, UK, Iran
UK		Great Britain	
59 14/01	National News (Regional Round-Up), 3; Short news	Research-outcomes of a UK-student (Students warned on foreign culture); "Catherine Mark, a students from UK, carrying out research on education in Tanzania said that many students have been copying foreign cultures as they watch television and surfing on the internet."	Tanzania
60 14/01	Business News, 5; News article	Advantages of irrigation pumps (Appro TEC irrigation pumps raise chances of food security); "Appropriate Technologies for Enterprise Creation (ApproTEC) was getting funding from UK government for mass production and distribution of the pump but the funding has been stopped."	Malawi, Mozambique, Haiti, Kenya, East Africa, Tanzania
61 14/01	Business News, 5; News article	Development in Africa; "The Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom (UK) undertakes in a recent report on halving poverty by 2015, that economic growth is essential for reducing poverty."	Tanzania
62 14/01	Business News, 5; Analysis	Analysis of measurement of development (Capital flow comparisons for Africa: Is it a good yardstick?); "Spin Doctors, to use a term liked by UK media on the roles of government spokesmen attached to 10 Downing Street, who usually try to give a brighter side of issues, are at work in Dar."	Tanzania, Africa, Uganda, Nigeria, Mozambique, Senegal, Burkina Faso,

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
			Cameroun, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagas- car, Ghana
63 14/01	Ads, 'Edu- cation', 9; Adver- tisement	Further education; "Fast Track to diploma, degree MBA,ACCA, Form IV, Form VI, and , mature candidate can join new session starting on 14.01.01 internationally recognized qualifications from UK, financial Training Centre Osman towers, Zanaki Street, Call: 21 15252/3."	—
64 14/01	Features, 12; Feature	Zanzibar's History (Political succession in Zanzibar); "There was criticism at the time over the way the British local authorities handled the election results. ASP had not only the majority of seats, but of votes too. ASP felt that the British Resident should have called on its leader, Abeid Karume, to form a government and have him appointed Chief Minister." (1957)	Zanzibar
65 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis, Sydney international (Guccione stuns Ferrero as Clijsters withdraws); "He plays Briton Greg Rusedski today."	Belgium, Australia, Netherlands, Spain, France
66 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Allerdyce criticizes Brooking appointment); "Defending the decision to appoint the former England middle-fielder the FA statement read:"	—
67 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Soccer (FA hails meeting with England players a suc- cess); "Talks between senior England players and the Football Association to discuss international selection policy have been successful, the FA said on Monday."; "both England regulars"; "from England duty"; "with his England team mates"	—
68 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Soccer (China striker signs for Man Unites); "Dong, 18, emerged as the cream of a crop of youngsters sent by China's top clubs to England for trials in August and United manager Alex Ferguson dais in November that the club was pursuing him."; "England midfielder Nicky Butt"; "He [Nicky Butt] has won 30 caps for England."	China
69 15/01	Features, 11; Feature	Zanzibar's History (Zanzibar succession in the Sultanate); "Zanzibar was made a British protectorate on 14 th : June, 1890, and thus started the British colonization of the islands which ended seventy-three years later, on 10 th December, 1963.", "There has been debate in the literature as to whether between 1890, when Zanzibar became a British protectorate,	Zanzibar

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
		and 1963, the year of independence from Britain, there was dual power in the islands.", "But it is obvious that the British dismantled the Sultan's state and imposed their own.", "One of the manifestations of British power was their mandate of deciding who would succeed to the throne in Zanzibar.", "When this line of succession ended in 1893, and Seyyid Khalid wanted to get to the throne, the British stopped him and instead put forward their own nominee.", "The British gave him an ultimatum to step down or else they would bombard the palace."	
70 15/01	Foreign & Sports, II; News article	Inquiry on suicide of murderer (Prison ombudsman starts inquiry into shipman death); "An independent inquiry was launched on Wednesday into the suicide of 'Dr. Death' Harold Shipman, Britain's most prolific murderer who took the secrets of his killing spree to the grave. Prison and Probations Ombudsman Stephen Shaw is conducting the probe at Wakefield prison in Northern England where the mild-mannered doctor hanged himself with his bed sheets." "'...', he told Britain's Channel Four News."	—
71 15/01	Foreign & Sports, V; News article	Study about internet-users (Internet 'geek' image shattered by new study); "The findings are derived from surveys of Internet and non-Internet users in 14 countries: the United States, Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, China and Chile."	U.S., Hungary, Britain, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Chile, Taiwan, China
72 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Wenger hails 'legend' Seaman); "Arsenal manager Arsene Wenger described David Seaman as a legend" after learning about the former England goalkeeper's retirement." (...) English sport, England, England caps, his England successor David James, English football, England caps, England manager, English Football Association, England's history	—
73 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; Photograph legend	Tennis; "Australia's Mark Philippoussis gestures to his supporters after beating Greg Rusedski of Great Britain at the Sydney International tennis tournament yesterday."	Australia
74 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI;	Soccer (Leeds on the brink after spectacular two-year slide); "Playing with a commitment to attack not seen in Eng-	Europe

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
	News article	land since (...)."	
75 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis (Philipoussis knocks Rusedski out of Sydney); "Australian Mark Philipoussis knocked embattled Briton Greg Rusedski out of the Sydney International yesterday."	Australia, Netherlands, Belarus, Slo- vakia, Spain
76 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Police plot to foil hooligans at Euro 2004); England fans, "Given English hooligans' notoriety, British and Portuguese authorities – plus supporters' organizations – are desperate to avoid trouble this time round.", British police, English visitors, England's Football Supporters Federation.	Portugal, Belgium
77 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; Feature	Soccer (Former England keeper Seaman retires); s.a.	—
78 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Soccer (Bolton suffer cup exit to Tranmere); The English champions Manchester United	—
79 16/01	National News, 3; News article	Foreign aid (London-based Kilwa traders donate maize); Title; "London-based businessmen originating from Kilwa District in the Coast Region have donated 10 tonnes of Maize to people affected by drought in the region."	—
80 16/01	Foreign & Sport, 1; News article	Diana's death (Eyewitness to Diana crash says it was accident); "An eyewitness to the Paris car crash which killed Britain's princess Diana has told a British newspaper it was an accident, casting doubt on numerous conspiracy theories that she was murdered." "Dodi's father Mohamed al Fayed, multi-millionaire owner of the exclusive London store Harrods, has long claimed British secret services were responsible because the couple's relationship was an embarrassment to the Royal family." "At the opening of an inquest into Diana's death this month on the same day details of Diana's letter were published, Britain announced a top-level police probe whose findings would be revealed at the full inquest due next year." "Royal commentators say British authorities will likely concur with their French counterparts that it was an accident."	France
81 16/01	Foreign & Sport, 1; Report	Modern slavery (Sudanese women rises from slave to author in the UK); Title; "When Mender Nazer was captured by raiders and carried off from her family and tribe in Sudan she couldn't have imagined how different life would be in Britain – as a slave."	Sudan, Ger- many

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
		After toiling in the north London home of a Sudanese diplomat, escaping and then winning a tough asylum fight to stay in the UK, Nazer now wants to tell the world that slavery, far from dying out in the 19th century, is alive and kicking.", "Hundreds in Britain may be working against their will in the sex industry or as domestic servants. In her book <i>Slave</i>, published earlier in Germany and to be released in Britain on Friday after clearing legal hurdles, Nazer describes her harrowing journey from Sudan's Nuba mountains to servitude in north London.", "'I wanted to express the freedom I have gained in Britain and to be an example for others of that freedom.'", "Sudan's embassy in Britain denies Nazer's story, but said that al Koronky had returned to Sudan.", "'I feel that I can make a life in England,' she said. 'It is the first place I have had my freedom and I feel it is my second home. I just do not like the rain.'"	
82 16/01	Foreign & Sport, VII; News article	Gossip about the Royals (All Black coy on romance with Queen's granddaughter); "New Zealand All Black Caleb Ralph visited Queen Elizabeth's granddaughter Zara Phillips in England but he declined to comment on speculation of a royal romance, newspapers reported yesterday.", "'I have been in England and I did see her,'", "British media reported the All Black winger danced the night away (...)"	New Zealand
83 16/01	Foreign & Sport, VII; Feature	Soccer (Leeds could stave off administration – for now); "Leeds United could become the first premier league club to go into administration if they do not meet Monday's creditor deadline and their financial problems would dwarf those suffered by other English sides."	—
84 16/01	Foreign & Sport, VII; Photo-graph legend	Soccer; Chelsea' Adrian Mutu (right) is congratulated by team mate Celestine Babayaro after scoring against Watford during their English FA Cup third round replay soccer match at Chelsea's Stamford Bridge Stadium in London on Wednesday.	—
85 17/01	Front page + Advertisement, 4 News article, Presidential speech	Presidential speech (Mkapa underlines peace in the Great Lakes region); "The President also thanked the United States, Japan, United Kingdom, Sweden and Ireland and the World Food Programme for responding to the appeal for food assistance due to severe and widespread drought last year."	Tanzania, U.S., Japan, Canada, Sweden, Ireland, Norway, Finland
86 17/01	Opinion, 6; Letter to	Student Exchange (Rape at UDSM: Academic exchange programs to continue); "The majority of [the American ex-	Europe

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
	the Editor	change students] go to Europe, with the greatest number going to United Kingdom."	
87 17/01	Features, 7; Film review	Film review (Enough stars to fill a galaxy); "The <i>Four Weddings and a Funeral</i> director's latest offering is set mostly in London, England, and, as during the 5 week countdown to Christmas, it follows eight very different couples dealing with their love lives in various loosely and interrelated tales.", "And the finally there's Colin (Kris Marwill), who, after striking out endlessly in England, decides to go to America, where girls are '10 times better looking' and 'love English accents', despite his mate's efforts to dissuade him.", "It does not break new ground, apart from the fact that this could be the largest collection of well-known British talent to date, most of them popular and respected British actors, from the consummate Mr. Darcy/Colin Firth to rising star Keira Knightley."	U.S.
88 17/01	Features, 7; Report	Drug trafficking (Al-Qaeda links with drug traffickers); "On November 10 Venezuelan authorities, with the help of British secret agents, seized 3.5 metric tones of Colombian-produced cocaine in what has been labeled as the second-largest drug bust ever to take place in Venezuela.", "He is a major supplier of drugs to the United Kingdom and Western Europe."	U.S., Europe, UK, Colum- bia, Vene- zuela, South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, India, Afghanistan
89 17/01	Features, 11; Feature	HIV/AIDS (Pope, Catholics hurting the fight against HIV/AIDS); "While on a British Broadcasting Corporation program, the cardinal said, '...'"	America, Africa, Europe
90 17/01	Features, 12; Book review	The works of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (Lift the boom of lan- guage!); "Later he was admitted in Makerere University Col- lege, Kampala, Uganda, and Leeds University in Britain.", "In 1996 he gave the Clarendon Lectures in English at Oxford Uni- versity, UK."	Uganda, Kenya, Italy, New Zea- land, Africa
91 17/01	Foreign & Sports, 1; News article	Court decision (UK woman wins right to appeal frozen embryo ban); Title, "A British woman banned from using her frozen embryos to have a child against her partner's wishes won the right to appeal against the ruling yesterday, in a landmark case over rights to use stored embryos."	—
92 17/01	Foreign & Sports, III; News article	Business news; "Vodacom is owned by South African fixed line group Telkom, Britain's Vodafone and South African in- vestment group VenFin."	Europe, Af- rica, Middle East, Ger- many, South Africa, Iran, Egypt, Tur- key, Austria

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
93 17/01	Foreign & Sports, V; Report	Adventure (Rafter tackle world's last challenge on Nile trip); "The journey could take six months or more depending on the challenges but all of the team – three South Africans, two Britons, New Zealander McComb and Irishman Clarke – are determined to stay the course."	South Africa, New Zealand, Ireland, Sudan, Uganda, Egypt, Kenya
94 17/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; Overview	Soccer (Sumptuous menu in English premiership); Title	---
95 17/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Kanoute makes Mali debut); "The striker will play for Mali in the African Nations Cup, a decision that has angered premier league club Tottenham, who will be without Kanoute for up to five matches."	Africa, Mali, Algeria, France, Nigeria, Tunisia
96 17/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; Announcement	Soccer (English premier league fixtures); Title	---
Hungary		Hungary	
97 15/01	Foreign & Sports, V; News article	Study about internet-users (Internet 'geek' image shattered by new study); "The findings are derived from surveys of Internet and non-Internet users in 14 countries: the United States, Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, China and Chile."	U.S., Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Chile, Taiwan, China
98 16/01	Foreign & Sports, V; Analysis	Development of the Hungarian economy (Hungary economic medicine seen milder than in 1995); Title; "Pledged by new finance minister Tibor Daskovics to cut Hungarian state spending to repair a fragile economy have rekindled memories of 1995, when a tough austerity package rescued the country's finances from collapse."; "(...) a package of measures that cut deep into Hungarian's pockets."; "Hungary's situation differs now in that there is no crisis (...)"; Etc.	
Ireland		Ireland	
99 17/01	Front page + After-	Presidential speech (Mkapa underlines peace in the Great Lakes region); "The President also thanked the United States, Japan, United Kingdom, Sweden and Ireland and the	Tanzania, U.S., Japan, Canada,

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
	<i>tisement, 4</i> News article, Presidential speech	World Food Programme for responding to the appeal for food assistance due to severe and widespread drought last year."; "He also thanked governments of Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Canada, and the World Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) for helping Tanzania with seeds for the next season."	Sweden, UK, Norway, Finland
100 17/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, V; Report</i>	Adventure (Rafter tackle world's last challenge on Nile trip); "The journey could take six months or more depending on the challenges but all of the team – three South Africans, two Britons, New Zealander McComb and Irishman Clarke – are determined to stay the course."	South Africa, New Zealand, UK, Sudan, Uganda, Egypt, Kenya
Italy		Italy	
101 14/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, VI; News article</i>	Formula One (Ferrari was my university, says Massa); "Massa, who is managed by the son of Ferrari sporting director Jean Todt after a year of testing with the Maranello team, joins Italian Giancarlo Fisicella at Sauber."	Austria
102 14/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, VII; Feature</i>	Soccer (Totti, Nedved named Italy's best players); Title; "Italian Association of Footballers"; "Earlier in the ceremony, dubbed the Italian football 'Oscars', Czech Nedved beat Roma's Brazilian midfielder Emerson and Romanian striker Adrian Mutu, who moved from Parma to Chelsea last year, to win the award for Best Foreign player."; "Best Italian Player"	Romania, Brazil, Czech Republic
103 15/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, IV; Analysis</i>	Development in Poland (Banks target heroes of Polish market economy); "'Towards a strong and wealthy Poland,' says a communist-era poster in the Warsaw office of Mauro Albenga, an Italian banker at UniCredito's top Eastern European unit."	Europe, Poland, 'the West', EU, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Germany
104 15/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, V; News article</i>	Study about internet-users (Internet 'geek' image shattered by new study); "The findings are derived from surveys of Internet and non-Internet users in 14 countries: the United States, Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, China and Chile."	U.S., Hungary, Germany, Britain, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Chile, Taiwan, China
105	<i>National</i>	Village partnership (Iringa village gets Italian friends);	—

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
17/01	News, 3; News article	Title; "An Italian township has established direct contact with Bomalang'ombe village in Iringa rural district whereby the latter will benefit in a number of socio-economic projects.", "Under the agreement, the Italian township of Casalecchio in Bologna and an Italian firm, Valfrutta, has made a joint commitment amounting to 170,000 US dollars to fund various projects in Bomalang'ombe.", "The assistance could be channeled from the donors to the recipients through CEFA, an Italian non-governmental organization for development co-operation and international voluntary service founded in 1971."	
106 17/01	Features, 12; Book review	The works of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (Lift the boom of language!); "He has also received several awards for his writing including the 2001 Nonino Prize for the Italian translation of the book Moving to the Centre."	Uganda, Kenya, UK, New Zealand, Africa
107 17/01	Foreign & Sports, V; Feature	History (Yemen's capital Sanaa unchanged by test of time); "'Sanaa is an open-air museum,' said Italian Marco Livadiotti, who has lived in the city since 1960 and is now a heritage consultant who runs one of the country's biggest and oldest tour operators."	Yemen, Arabian peninsula
Luxembourg		Luxembourg	
108 15/01	Foreign & Sports, IV; Analysis	Development of Poland (Banks target heroes of Polish market economy); "Poland still lags the West in terms of accumulated funds and the quality of services of established private banking centers like Switzerland and Luxembourg."	Europe, Poland, 'the West', EU, Switzerland, Italy, Germany
Netherlands		The Netherlands	
109 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis, Sydney international (Guccione stuns Ferrero as Clijsters withdraws); "French Open runner-up Martin Verkerk of the Netherlands"	Belgium, Australia, UK, Spain, France
110 15/01	National News, 3; Short News	Educational development-aid (Parents want school for the deaf); "They [the parents] made the appeal [for a special school] at a seminar conducted by teachers of a special school for the deaf, Amani Amsterdam in the Netherlands, Las de Witt and Nova van Dooren, at Kilakala Primary School in Morogoro."	
111 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI;	Tennis (Philipoussis knocks Rusedski out of Sydney); (results:) the Dutchman	Australia, France, UK,

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
	News article		Belarus, Slo- vakia, Spain
112 16/01	<i>National News, 2; News article</i>	Scientific congress (Radiographers start meeting in Morogoro); "Recently Tanzania upgraded the status of radiological facilities through a project co-sponsored by the Tanzania Government and the Royal Netherlands Government."	Tanzania
113 16/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, 1; News article</i>	Bird flu (FAO calls for probe of East Asia bird flu links); "One person died in the Netherlands last year in an outbreak that grew to 83 cases."	Vietnam, Japan, South Korea, China
114 17/01	<i>National News, 3; News article</i>	Court news (Dutchman arraigned, charged with using abusive language); Title; "Schrege Come (60) from the Netherlands, who resides at May Fair Guesthouse at Kawe in Dar es Salaam, yesterday appeared before the Kisutu Resident Magistrate's Court charged with using abusive language."	—
115 17/01	<i>Foreign & Sport, VII; News article</i>	Tennis (Hewitt and Henin reach finals in Sydney); "Hewitt advanced to today's men's final when Dutchman Martin Verkerk retired ill after losing the first set 6-2."	Belgium, U.S., Australia, Spain,
Norway		Norway	
116 14/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, II; News article</i>	Civil war in the Philippines (Manila to resume peace talks with Marxist rebels) "The Philippines will resume formal peace talks with communist rebels next month in Norway, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo said yesterday, in a fresh bid to end a conflict that has raged for three decades." "She said details of the negotiations will be ironed out by both sides with the Norwegian Government." "Norway, which has played high-profile roles in brokering peace talks in Sri Lanka and other parts of the world, has hosted several sessions of exploratory talks between Manila and communist negotiators last year."	Philippines
117 17/01	<i>Front page + Adver- tisement, 4 News article, Pre- sidential speech</i>	Presidential speech (Mkapa underlines peace in the Great Lakes region); "He also thanked governments of Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Canada, and the World Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) for helping Tanzania with seeds for the next season."	Tanzania, U.S., Japan, Canada, Sweden, Ireland, UK, Finland
Poland		Poland	

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
118 15/01	Foreign & Sports, IV; Analysis	Development in Poland (Banks target heroes of Polish market economy); Title; "'Towards a strong and wealthy Poland,' says a communist-era poster in the Warsaw office of Mauro Albenga, an Italian banker at UniCredito's top Eastern European unit.", "'All the banks in Poland now claim to be involved in private banking." "BRE Bank, a pioneer in the elite services during the post-communist boom of the mid-1990s, estimates there are 100,000 – 200,000 potential high-net-worth clients in Poland, worth up to 40 billion zlotys (\$10.8 billion).", "'Private banking is profitable around the world. In Poland, you can also make money on it – quite good money,' said BRE's deputy Chief Executive Slawomir Lachowski.", "Poland still lags the West in terms of accumulated funds and the quality of services of established private banking centers like Switzerland and Luxembourg.", "With 100,000 euros in his pocket, a Pole can get private banking services while the average threshold in western Europe is 0.5-1.0 million Euros, said Rafal Plokarz at BPH-PBK, Poland's third largest bank.", "Poland is among the richest countries in the region.", "Even during half a century of communist rule, Poland stood out in the region for tolerating private business, which flourished during the free market reforms of the 1990s."	Europe, 'the West', EU, Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Germany
Portugal		Portugal	
119 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Soccer (Police plot to foil hooligans at Euro 2004); "Five months before an expected 50,000 England fans flood Portugal for the European soccer championship, British and Portuguese police are laying elaborate plans to outwit hooligans and prevent violence." Etc.	Belgium, UK
Romania		Romania	
120 14/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; Feature	Soccer (Totti, Nedved named Italy's best players); "Earlier in the ceremony, dubbed the Italian football 'Oscars', Czech Nedved beat Roma's Brazilian midfielder Emerson and Romanian striker Adrian Mutu, who moved from Parma to Chelsea last year, to win the award for Best Foreign player."	Italy, Brazil, Czech Republic
121 17/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; Feature	Soccer (Want to score? Put Basil in your boots); "Cynics may scoff but for Romanian soccer players, coaches and club owners such superstitions are a sure way to success.", "Romania's first division teams kicked off their winter training season after the holiday break not with team building exercises but with blessings to ward off evil and secure victories.", "One Romanian first division team posed for religious calendars in a bid to improve their athletic abilities.", "Since the 1989 collapse of	—

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
		communism, Romanian players have been free to pray openly.", "When Romanian witches warned Chelsea's Adrian Mutu that his career would suffer because of the curses an abandoned girlfriend had cast on him, Mutu just shrugged."	
Russia		Russia	
122 16/01	<i>Business News, 5 News article</i>	Tanzanian economy (TCCIA official invites Russian geologists, investors); Title; "Six geologists from Russia will arrive in Tanzania later this month to study rock illustrations for possible subsequent investments.", "He met with the group of geologists during a five-day-visit to Russia recently, where he toured several firms and financial institutions.", "TCCIA believes that there is a benefit especially employment to Tanzanians who will be joined in their activities by the Russian visitors, he added."	Tanzania
123 17/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, III; News article</i>	Support of Iraq-war (First Japanese soldiers set to leave for Iraq); "A Russian charter plane also left Hokkaido in northern Japan yesterday for Kuwait carrying eight light armored vehicles."	U.S., Japan, Iraq
Slovakia		Slovakia	
124 15/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, VI; News article</i>	Tennis (Philipoussis knocks Rusedski out of Sydney); (results:) "after having trailed the Slovakian 4-0 in the first set."	Australia, UK, France, Netherlands, Belarus, Spain
Spain		Spain	
125 14/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, VI; News article</i>	Tennis, Sydney international (Guccione stuns Ferrero as Clijsters withdraws); "Spaniard Ferrero said,"; "Former world number one, Carlos Moya of Spain,"	France, Aus- tralia, Neth- erlands, Belgium, UK
126 15/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, II; News article</i>	Economy/banking sector (Spain's Banesto beats own forecast with 2003 profit), Title; "Spanish retail bank Banesto said on Wednesday its full year 2003 attributable profit rose 1.4 percent years-on-year, helped by strong loan growth and an aggressive sales policy."; "Loan growth, adjusted for a securitisation programme, was of 20.5 percent, backed by an expanding Spanish economy and in particular a booming mortgage market."	Europe
127 15/01	<i>Foreign & Sports, V; News article</i>	Study about internet-users (Internet 'geek' image shattered by new study); "The findings are derived from surveys of Internet and non-Internet users in 14 countries: the United States Britain Germany Hungary Italy Spain Sweden Japan	U.S., Hun- gary, Ger- many, Italy, Britain, Swe-

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
		Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, China and Chile."	den, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Chile, Taiwan, China
128 15/01	Foreign & Sports, VI; News article	Tennis (Philipoussis knocks Rusedski out of Sydney); (results:) "to beat Felix Mantilla of Spain.", "The Spanish had also reason to cheer (...)."	Australia, UK, France, Netherlands, Belarus, Slovakia
129 17/01	Foreign & Sport, VII; News article	Tennis (Agassi ready for youthful onslaught); "Spain' Juan Carlos Ferrero"	Australia, U.S.
130 17/01	Foreign & Sport, VII; News article	Tennis (Hewitt and Henin reach finals in Sydney); "(...) the Spaniard beat South Africa's Wayne Ferreira 6-2 6-1."	Belgium, Netherlands, Australia, U.S.
Sweden		Sweden	
131 15/01	Foreign & Sports, I News article	Trial for the assault of the Swedish Foreign Minister (Lindh murder trial starts, defendant denies intent); "An undated Swedish police handout file photo shows Mijailo Mijailovic, the man being held for the murder of Swedish Foreign Minister Anna Lindh who is on trial in Stockholm.", "The man who has confessed to stabbing to death Swedish Foreign Minister Anna Lindh in a Stockholm department store in September denied to intend to kill when his trial for murder began yesterday.", "Mijailo Mijailovic, a 25-year high-school drop-out born in Sweden to Serbian immigrant parents, looked calm and serious when he entered the courtroom and retained his composure throughout a morning session lasting just over two hours.", "There is no jury in Swedish courts.", "In his confession last week Mijailovic said he knew whom he was stabbing, but that he had nothing personal against Lindh, a 46-year-old mother of two, tipped as Sweden's next prime minister.	'Serbia', former Yugoslavia
132 15/01	Foreign & Sports, V; News article	Study about internet-users (Internet 'geek' image shattered by new study); "The findings are derived from surveys of Internet and non-Internet users in 14 countries: the United States, Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Monaco, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, China and Chile."	U.S., Hungary, Germany, Italy, Spain, Britain, Japan, Monaco, South Korea,

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
			Singapore, Chile, Tai- wan, China
133 17/01	Front page + Adver- tisement, 4 News article, Pre- sidential speech	Presidential speech (Mkapa underlines peace in the Great Lakes region); "The President also thanked the United States, Japan, United Kingdom, Sweden and Ireland and the World Food Programme for responding to the appeal for food assistance due to severe and widespread drought last year.", "He also thanked governments of Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Canada, and the World Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) for helping Tanzania with seeds for the next season."	Tanzania, U.S., Japan, Canada, UK, Ireland, Nor- way, Finland
Switzer- land		Switzerland	
134 15/01 16/01 17/01	Ads, 9 'General' Adver- tisement	Watches; Metrolex Ltd: New arrivals from Switzerland, opp Salamender / Mkwepu Street – Tel: 2112031 / 0741 – 320598.	—
135 15/01	Foreign & Sports, IV; Analysis	Development in Poland (Banks target heroes of Polish market economy); Poland still lags the West in terms of accumulated funds and the quality of services of established private banking centers like Switzerland and Luxembourg.	Europe, EU, Italy, 'the West', Lux- embourg, Poland, Germany
136 16/01	Foreign & Sports, VII; News article	Tennis (Agassi blunts Federer at Kooyong event); Sports: Swiss players at Australian Open	Australia
Turkey		Turkey	
137 17/01	Foreign & Sports, III: News arti- cle	Business news; "The other five consortia are headed by: Kuwait's Telecommunications Co with Germany's Deutsche Telekom AG; Mobilkom, the mobile Arm of Austria's Telekom Austria; South Africa's MTN; Egypt's Orascom Telecom; and Turkey's Turkcell."	Europe, Af- rica, Middle East, Ger- many, South Africa, Egypt, Aus- tria, UK, Iran
Ukraine		Ukraine	
138 16/01	Foreign & Sports, IV; Feature	Grain shortage (Ukraine harvests crime after poor grain crop); Title; "Facing grain shortages not seen in more than 50 years, Ukrainian millers and traders are scrambling for wheat deals.", "Ukraine harvested less than four million tones of wheat in 2003, about four times less than it did in 2002.", "The govern-	U.S.

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
		ment said repeatedly that Ukraine has set fair and attractive rules on the grain market to allow local and foreign traders to supply grain to the republic.", "But facing the need to import at least four million tones of food grain to ensure its 48 million people to have enough bread this season, Ukraine has seen a jump in the number of people offering cheap, readily available grain.", "Traders said many had started to offer U.S.-origin wheat, trying to capitalize on Ukraine's confidence in American firms.", "But there is not one firm in Ukraine able to buy such a volume,' another trader said.", "Analysts said other have tried to get loans from commercial banks to buy grain for Ukraine, and there is no end to the different attempts to commit 'grain crimes'.", "We have already understood how to recognize primitive crimes, but now we are facing more sophisticated deceptions that use the banking system, false contracts, letters of credit,' said an official from a big Ukrainian state-run grain company."	
'West'		The 'West'	
139 15/01	Features, 10; Com- mentary	African Renaissance (Cursed Africa, the irredeemable continent?) see above "We have been colonized from head to toe. Worse, our brains are in chains of bondage, nicely decorated with the word West." "Do we want to show the generations to come 1000 years from now how useless we have been by handing them over an inheritance of our own servitude to the West and economic bankruptcy?" "Shamelessly we export the best of our raw materials like minerals to the West and in turn import from them thousand tones of used dolls made from recycled materials." "To follow suit the common man, young and old follows with more passion what is happening in the West than what is happening at home." "We view and understand our countries in despotic comparisons to West."	America, first world
Yugo- slavia		Yugoslavia	
140 15/01	Foreign & Sports, I; News arti- cle	Trial for the assault of the Swedish Foreign Minister (Lindh murder trial starts, defendant denies intent); "Mijailo Mijailovic, a 25-year high-school drop-out born in Sweden to Serbian immigrant parents, looked calm and serious when he entered the courtroom and retained his composure throughout a morning session lasting just over two hours."	Sweden, 'Serbia'

Region Nr. Date	Section, Page Type of article	Topic (Headline) Context (sentence)	Other regions mentioned
		"Inner voices had spoken to him in the language of his parents from former Yugoslavia, where he spent part of his childhood and early youth, he said."	
Migr.		Migration	
141 14/01 – 17/01	Ads, General', 9; Advertisement	Green card application in the USA; "Live and work in USA Dv-2005 Green card lottery application done professionally. Tel: 2182166/ 2182788."	—
142 14,16, 17/01	Ads, 'Education', 9; Advertisement	Studying abroad (USA); "Study abroad affordable higher education abroad suitable to budget in USA, apply enquiry-best@hotmail.com"	—

Tab. IV.1. Media Analysis by reported region, date, section, type of article, topic (headline), location in the newspaper, context in which the region or country is mentioned, and other regions mentioned.