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Challenges on migration routes within West and Central Africa

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GLOBAL COMPACT FOR
MIGRATION OBJECTIVES



VULNERABILITIES



TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

Abstract: This chapter examines the challenges that migrants face while travelling within West and Central Africa on those routes intersecting with the Central Mediterranean Routes to Europe, and the risk factors that make them vulnerable. The findings show that the most frequently reported challenges were financial issues, hunger or thirst, and no shelter. Aggravating factors were: (a) lack of formal education (42–61%); (b) being divorced or widowed (55%); (c) leaving home country due to war, conflict, violence, persecution, or to gain access to services (60–63%); (d) intention to travel within West and Central Africa (41%); and (e) long journeys (53%). Finally, salient similarities were identified in the risk factors predicting challenges in West and Central Africa, with the risk factors predicting incidents indicating abuse, exploitation and human trafficking for migrants in Europe.

11.1. Introduction and research question

Since 2015, in particular, much has been written on the dangers and risks migrants face while travelling on the Mediterranean migration routes. The Central Mediterranean Route (CMR), with migrants transiting through Libya, is widely reported as one of the most dangerous migration routes worldwide (IOM, 2017, 2019a). Less well covered to date is the portion of those routes located in West and Central Africa, and the challenges migrants face, prior to travelling, in arriving into North Africa and Europe .

Within West and Central Africa, the routes to the Central Mediterranean significantly overlap with intraregional migration routes and routes to North Africa. Indeed, the vast majority of people travelling on these routes have destinations within the free movement area of the Economic Community of West African States. Also, the number of people reporting Europe as their intended final destination is also relatively small compared with those intending to migrate to North Africa (IOM, 2019b). These routes are relatively dynamic, with people making journeys for a wide variety of reasons, including search for work, opportunities and livelihoods; fleeing conflict, persecution, generalized violence and human rights violations; escaping environmental degradation and/or food and water insecurity; and joining family members. Regardless of their destinations or reasons for leaving, migrants will often be sharing the same

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means and modes of travel, the same routes, and often travel in the same cohorts at these earlier stages of the journey (IOM, 2019c).

Bartolini and Zakoska-Todorovska (Chapter 15 of this volume) focus on experiences indicating abuse and exploitation of migrants who reached Italy. The majority of these experiences were reported to take place following arrival in or transit through North Africa.

This chapter aims to contribute to a relatively unexplored area of research by examining the challenges that migrants face while travelling within West and Central Africa on those routes intersecting with the CMR to Europe, in addition to the risk factors that make them vulnerable .

Section 11.3 describes the profile of interviewed migrants and different aspects of their journeys. Second, a multivariate analysis is conducted to estimate the association between different possible risk factors and the probability of respondents to report challenges.

Do the individual and journey-related risk factors that make migrants more likely to experience challenges upstream on the migration route in West and Central Africa make them more vulnerable to trafficking, abuse and exploitation downstream on the migration route, through North Africa and across the Mediterranean (ibid.)? Does experiencing challenges such as financial difficulties, hunger, thirst or being attacked upstream make migrants yet more vulnerable to trafficking, abuse and exploitation downstream on the migration route? Do risk factors “snowball” and accumulate as the journey continues, making migrants increasingly vulnerable and less able to protect themselves?

A lack of longitudinal data sets and directly comparable data makes it challenging to provide definitive answers to these questions. However, the final section of this chapter aims to shed some light on these questions through a comparison of individual and journey-related risk factors predicting challenges in West and Central Africa, on the one hand, with risk factors for migrants reporting incidents indicating abuse, exploitation and human trafficking in Europe, on the other. However, it should be noted that the two groups are different migrant cohorts who find themselves at different stages of their journeys. Furthermore, the structure and questions of the surveys conducted in West and Central Africa differ from the ones conducted in Europe.

11.2. Methodology

The data used in this analysis stem from flow monitoring surveys, one of IOM’s Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) components.² Flow monitoring surveys are designed to capture the demographic and socioeconomic profiles of respondents, information on migration journeys, challenges and respondents’ needs. The surveys are structured interviews that are conducted with individual respondents at flow monitoring points (FMPs), which are set up in places of entry, transit or exit in each survey country.³ Data on the CMR collected in West and Central Africa include information on migrants who reported their intended destinations lying within West and Central Africa, North Africa or Europe.

In this analysis, the main filter question is a binary variable indicating whether or not a migrant had experienced challenges throughout the journey. This binary variable is used as the dependent variable in the analysis. Migrants could also report on different types of challenges they were facing at the time of the interview by choosing from different answer options,⁴ such as (a) hunger or thirst; (b) no shelter, or nowhere to sleep; (c) financial issues; (d) attacks or assaults; (e) held against will by persons other than the relevant government authorities; (f) injuries; (g) sickness; and (h) mental issues. All the standard demographic explanatory variables—age, sex, education and civil status — as well as journey-related aspects—such as length, intended destination and travel mode — were included in the regression model.

² Displacement Tracking Matrix. Available at <https://dtm.iom.int/about>.

³ The surveys did not collect personally identifying information.

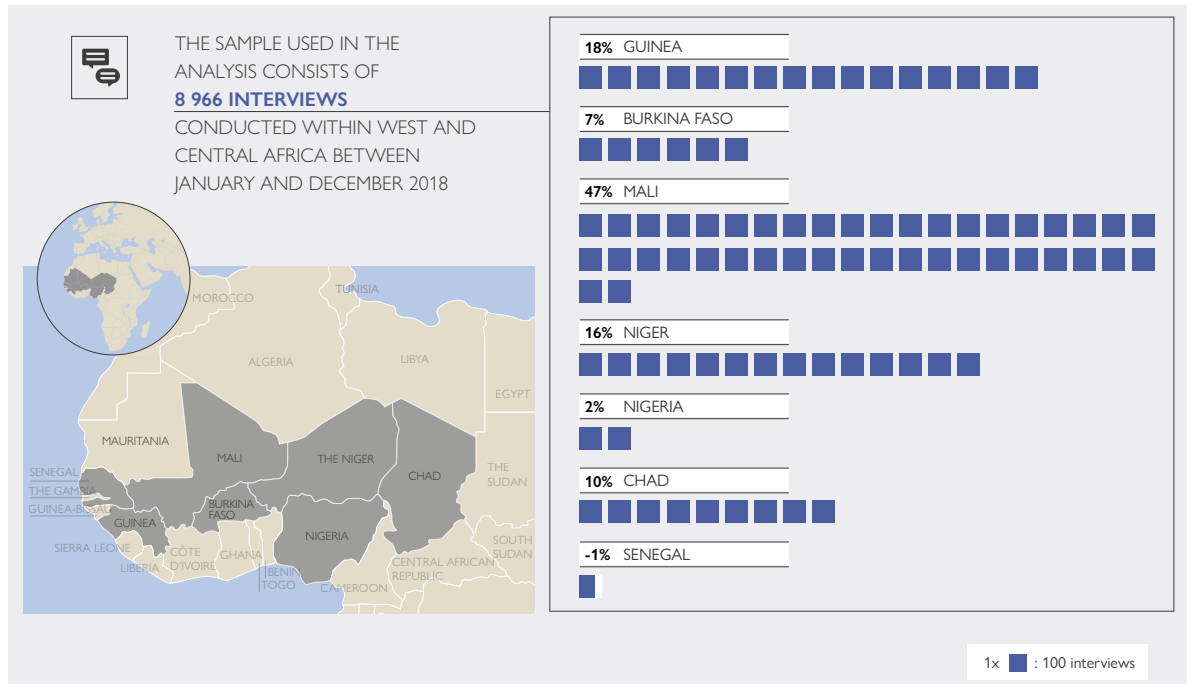
⁴ Question: “What are the three main difficulties you are facing at the moment? (Three answers are possible)”

Sampling limitations

Participation in the interviews was voluntary and respondents were approached in an ad hoc manner, creating possible selection bias. Population data are unavailable to determine the extent of this bias. In addition, data were collected in a dynamic and challenging environment, so it was not possible to obtain a probabilistic sample. This means that the assumptions of some tests of statistical confidence to facilitate generalization of findings from the sample to the population are not met. Nevertheless, the sample is relatively large, and some strong patterns are found within the data. This is also a relatively unique data source in its ability to shine a light on the issues explored in this chapter. The accuracy of respondents' answers cannot be verified; therefore, aspects such as self-reported nationality cannot be ascertained beyond doubt and may be a possible source of error. In some survey locations, migrants were not asked whether or not they were facing challenges at the time of the interview, which reduced the sample size considerably.⁵ Women (11%) and children (2%) are underrepresented in the sample compared with average shares of interviewed women (23%) and children (14%) at FMPs within West and Central Africa.⁶ If children travel with adults, IOM data collectors tend to interview the adult accompanying the child.⁷ Due to ethical and practical reasons, children under 14 years of age were not interviewed. This means that children are likely to be significantly underrepresented in the sample. It may also lead to the underreporting of challenges experienced by children.

11.3. The sample and profiles of migrants interviewed

Figure 11.1. Survey countries



Note: This map is for illustration purposes only. The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration.

⁵ Questions on challenges were only asked if relevant protection and support services that migrants could be referred to were in place. A total of 33,823 migrants interviewed at FMPs did not answer the question on whether they had experienced challenges during their journeys. Nationals from Benin (32 observations), Mauritania (15 observations) and the Sudan (38 observations) had been excluded from the analysis as the number of observations on challenges was below 50 observations. Furthermore, respondents reporting challenges not directly related to basic needs or the involvement of a perpetrator have been excluded (1,993 observations). This includes those who reported (a) identify document issues, (b) lack of information, (c) arrest/detention by authorities, (d) deportation, and (e) troubles at sea.

⁶ Displacement Tracking Matrix: DTM monthly regional update. West and Central Africa. Available at <https://displacement.iom.int/reports/west-and-central-africa-%E2%80%94-monthly-regional-update-september-2019?close=true>.

⁷ Interviews with children from 14 to 17 years of age were conducted after obtaining permission from either the parents or the legal guardians or the manager of the reception facility whenever possible.

The sample used in this analysis consists of 8,966 interviews conducted within West and Central Africa between January and December 2018. Almost half of interviews were conducted in Mali (47%), and more than a third took place in Guinea (18%) and the Niger (16%).⁸ Furthermore, interviews were held in Chad (10%), Burkina Faso (7%), Nigeria (2%) and Senegal (<1%). Around two thirds of interviewed migrants were nationals from Guinea (32%), Mali (17%) and the Niger (11%).⁹ Furthermore, the sample included respondents from Chad (10%), Burkina Faso (6%), Senegal (5%), Nigeria (5%) and Côte d'Ivoire (5%).¹⁰

Around 89 per cent of respondents in the sample were male and 11 per cent were female. The average age of male respondents was 27 years and of female respondents 28 years. More than a third of the respondents had completed secondary education (37%), almost one third possessed a primary education degree (28%) and 5 per cent had completed a tertiary degree. Around one fifth of respondents did not receive any formal education (19%). Eight per cent went to Koranic Islamic school (4%) or completed other forms of education (4%). Three per cent said that they had completed professional training. Most of the respondents reported being single (67%) or married (31%). Women reported less often being single than their male counterparts.

The majority of respondents (80%) reported economic reasons as the main reason for their journeys, followed by family reunification (14%). Around 3 per cent of respondents stated that they had left their home countries due to targeted violence, persecution, war or conflict, and 2 per cent said that they travelled to gain access to services. Among women, family reunification (41%) and access to services (6%) were frequently reported as main reasons for their journeys. More than half of the overall sample (53%) and the vast majority of women (85%) reported West and Central Africa as their final intended destination. More than three quarters of respondents had been travelling for less than two weeks at the time of the interview; thus, most interviews were conducted quite recently after migrants had left their last place of residence.

11.4. Challenges along the journey

One third of respondents reported that they were facing challenges during their journeys. Among respondents who also reported the type of challenges that they experienced (N= 3,700 migrants),¹¹ financial issues (47%), hunger or thirst (41%) and no shelter (38%) were the most frequently reported challenges. Six per cent of respondents said that they experienced attacks and 2 per cent said that they were being held against their will during their journey¹² (Figure 11.2). The prevalence of these kinds of acts of violence during the journey is concerning and may be indicative of an environment where perpetrators can act with impunity and where other serious human rights violations may occur.

⁸ Percentages throughout the analysis are rounded and do not always add up to 100 per cent.

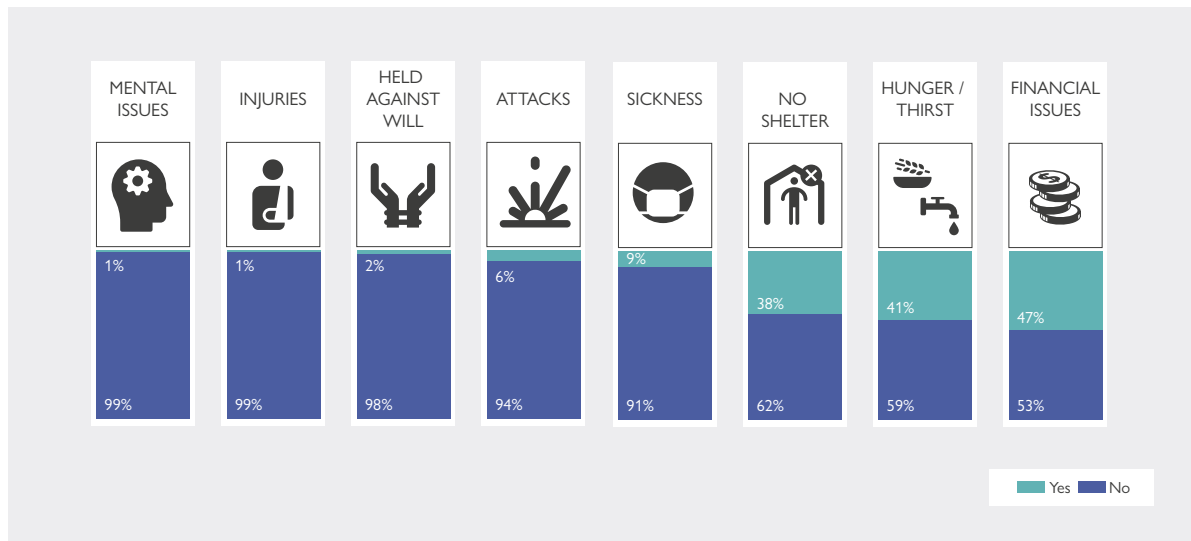
⁹ The information on nationality is self-declared by respondents.

¹⁰ Remaining respondents reported nationalities from one of the following: the Gambia (4%); Sierra Leone (2%); Liberia (1%); and Ghana, Cameroon, Togo and Guinea-Bissau (<1% each).

¹¹ Around 40 per cent of the respondents reported what type of challenge they experienced.

¹² By persons other than the relevant authorities. This definition applies throughout the analysis.

Figure 11.2. Share of different types of reported challenges by interviewees (N=3,700)



The descriptive findings of the different types of reported challenges suggest that some may constitute serious rights violations and that they occur early on migrants' journeys, taking place on parts of the CMR that still lie within the Economic Community of West African States area of free movement.

11.5. Risk factors associated with challenges reported on the route

This part of the chapter analyses the association between individual level and journey-related risk factors, and the probability to report experiencing challenges during the journey. A multivariate analysis was conducted to estimate the association between the different risk factors and the probability of reporting challenges¹³ (see regression table in the Annex to this chapter). By holding the control variables constant, it is possible to estimate the effect of individual risk factors on the probability of reporting challenges. In the following, the average predicted marginal effects of the different independent variables on the dependent variable are presented by holding all other independent variables at their mean.

¹³ Dependent variable: Experienced challenge? Yes/No; Independent variables: sex: male/female; age categories: 14–20 years/21–24 years/25–29 years/30–35 years/36–40 years/41–49 years/50+ years; educational level: none/primary/secondary/tertiary/Koranic-Islamic-school/professional training/other; civil status: divorced/widowed/do not want to answer/single/married; nationality: Burkina Faso/Côte d'Ivoire/Cameroon/Ghana/Guinea/the Gambia/Guinea-Bissau/Liberia/Mali/the Niger/Nigeria/Senegal/Sierra Leone/Chad/Togo; reason for migration: war_conflict_targeted violence_persecution/economic reasons/rejoin family/access to services/other; length of travel: <2weeks/2 weeks–3 months/3–6 months/>6months; travel destination: West and Central Africa/ Europe/ North Africa; travel mode: alone/group.

11.5.1. Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics

Controlling for other possible risk factors, men and women were predicted to have the same probabilities to report challenges (33–34%).¹⁴

Migrants aged 30 to 40 years were predicted to have significantly higher probabilities than younger or older migrants to report challenges (41% versus 31–35%). No significant difference between other age groups was predicted. The model might be missing some relevant variables that play a significant role in determining whether age increases or decreases migrants' chances of experiencing challenges.¹⁵

Migrants with no formal education (42%) were predicted to report challenges more often compared with migrants with primary, secondary or tertiary degrees (28–32% each). Furthermore, migrants who said that they completed Koranic Islamic school (61%) and migrants with professional training (57%) had high chances of facing challenges during their journeys. It is likely that these two categories are also proxy categories of low levels of formal education. It is also possible that these two groups share other characteristics, not included in the model, that render them more likely to face challenges.

Respondents who were divorced, widowed or who did not want to indicate their civil status were predicted to have higher probabilities (55%) to report challenges than respondents who were married or of single status (32–37% each). These results align with findings of other analyses (Bartolini and Zakoska-Todorovska, 2020; Galos et al., 2017), but it is unclear what the underlying causes may be. Civil status could be a proxy for social status or possible societal stigmatization, which could co-vary with migrants having more limited means to cover their needs and to address their own vulnerabilities throughout their journeys. However, the data are not able to speak to this hypothesis, and further investigation is needed to examine possible explanations.

Respondents from Guinea-Bissau were predicted to have the highest probability to report challenges (85%). Furthermore, respondents from Ghana (59%), Liberia (56%), Nigeria (55%), Côte d'Ivoire (48%) and Burkina Faso (46%) had higher chances of experiencing challenges throughout their journeys than the sample average (43%).

Leaving the home country due to war, conflict, violence or targeted persecution (63%), and to gain access to services (60%), was associated with a higher predicted probability of experiencing challenges.

Crisis contexts such as war and conflict can exacerbate pre-existing risk factors to experience challenges and rights violations, as well as give rise to new ones. Travelling to access services might indicate migrants' inability to address their basic needs in their former places of residence, something that is often associated with increased protection risks and vulnerabilities. Migrants who travelled due to economic reasons (33%) or to rejoin their families (29%) had lower predicted probabilities to report challenges.

11.5.2. Journey characteristics

Migrants who intended to travel within West and Central Africa, or to North Africa, both had higher predicted probabilities to face some challenges during their journeys (38–41% each) compared with respondents planning to travel to Europe (21%). It has been shown that migrants interviewed in Europe often report high costs for their journeys (see, for example, IOM, 2018; Galos et al., 2017). These findings could then be indicative of the fact that migrants who intended to travel to Europe had more means to cover their basic needs and address their own vulnerabilities at the beginning of their journeys than respondents who intended to travel within the continent. If this is the case, it also suggests that migrants who did not intend to travel to Europe at the outset of their journeys but ended up travelling there may be particularly vulnerable. This might be the case, for example, for migrants who did not experience what they were expecting and hoping for at their destination, or who were pushed to migrate onwards but with limited means to cover their needs.

¹⁴ Women (11%) are underrepresented in the sample compared with average shares of interviewed women (23%) at FMPs within West and Central Africa. Please refer to sampling limitations above.

¹⁵ The assumptions of some tests of statistical confidence to facilitate generalization of findings from the sample to the population are not met. Please refer to sampling limitations above.

Migrants travelling between two weeks and three months, and between three months and six months or more, were more likely to report challenges than migrants who had been travelling for less than two weeks (49–57% versus 30%). The fact that the longer the travel period the more likely a challenging event is reported does not necessarily mean that the probability of any event at a given point in time is higher if the journey length is longer. Unfortunately, the ordinal nature of the variable does not allow us to look at whether or not the relationship is linear. However, migrants who report an inability to meet their most basic needs at early stages of their journeys may continue to struggle and may become more vulnerable and less able to protect themselves as the journey progresses.

Migrants who travelled in groups were more likely to report challenges (38%) than migrants who travelled alone (29%). This might seem surprising, as numerous analyses have shown that travelling alone increases migrants' vulnerability to abuse and exploitation (IOM, 2017; IOM and UNICEF, 2017). While the data cannot speak to the issue, one possible explanation could be that migrants who experienced a challenge during their journeys joined groups to protect themselves against further challenges, counting on each other's support to make the journey.¹⁶

11.5.3. Risk factors of migrants interviewed in West and Central Africa, and in Europe

As shown above, certain individual and journey-related risk factors are predicted to lead to higher probabilities to report challenges while travelling within West and Central Africa on those routes intersecting with the Central Mediterranean Routes to Europe. This section compares these findings and the findings in Bartolini and Zakoska-Todorovska (Chapter 15 of this volume) to shed light on whether individual and journey-related risk factors predicting challenges in West and Central Africa are similar to those of migrants reporting incidents indicating abuse, exploitation and human trafficking in Europe.

In both samples, respondents who were widowed, divorced or did not want to disclose their civil status were more likely to report challenges in West and Central Africa and incidents in Europe than respondents who were single or married.

Among migrants interviewed in both West and Central Africa and Europe, respondents travelling to rejoin their families were less likely to report challenges than migrants who did not have family members at the intended destinations.

In both samples, the length of the journey was positively associated with reporting risks and challenges. As mentioned above, the fact that the longer the travel period the more likely a challenging event is reported does not necessarily mean that the probability of any event at a given point in time is higher if the journey length is longer. However, the findings suggest that migrants who report an inability to meet their most basic needs at early stages of their journeys may continue to struggle and may become more vulnerable and less able to protect themselves as the journeys progress.

Among migrants interviewed in Europe, respondents from West Africa had high chances of reporting incidents. In the West and Central African sample, respondents from Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Liberia and Nigeria had the highest predicted probabilities to give a positive answer to the question on challenges.

This comparison shows that certain individual and journey-related risk factors are common across the two data sets, predicting both reported challenges in West and Central Africa, and reported incidents indicating abuse, exploitation and human trafficking in Europe.

However, while the respondent's sex was an important risk factor in the European sample, it did not have predictive value in the West and Central African sample.¹⁷

In West and Central Africa, age had a predictive power for older age groups, while among respondents in Europe, young migrants (14–24 years of age) had higher chances of reporting incidents indicating abuse and exploitation.

¹⁶ The data did not include information on coping or travel strategies; therefore, it is difficult to verify these assumptions.

¹⁷ Being male was positively associated with reporting incidents in Europe.

Among respondents in Europe, there was no significant association between education and the probability to report incidents. In West and Central Africa, migrants without formal education were more likely to experience challenges throughout their journeys.

11.6. Conclusion

This chapter provides strong evidence of challenges that migrants face while travelling within West and Central Africa on those routes intersecting with the CMR to Europe.

The most frequently reported types of challenges were financial issues, hunger or thirst, and not having shelter. A considerable share of respondents also reported being attacked or held against their will. While the rates of reporting these kinds of incidents are lower than among migrants who have arrived in Europe having transited through North Africa, as detailed in Bartolini and Zakoska-Todorovska (Chapter 15 of this volume), the prevalence of these kinds of acts of violence during the journey is still relatively high and concerning. These findings may be indicative of an environment where perpetrators can act with impunity and where other serious human rights violations may occur, but which the survey was not able to capture for ethical and security reasons.

Furthermore, the analysis presented in this chapter provides strong evidence of the individual and journey-related risk factors that make migrants more likely to experience the kinds of challenges captured by the survey during their journeys.

Not having completed formal education, as well as being divorced or widowed, were found to be positively associated with migrants' probability of reporting challenges. Respondents originating from Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Liberia or Nigeria were predicted to have high chances of reporting challenges. Migration drivers such as war, conflict and violence, and insufficient access to services, were associated with higher probabilities of reporting challenges. Migrants who reported their intended destinations to lie within West and Central Africa and North Africa were more likely to experience challenges than respondents who intended to travel to Europe. This might show that migrants who intended to travel to Europe had more means to cover their basic needs and address their own vulnerabilities at the beginning of their journeys than respondents who intended to travel within the continent. It can be assumed that migrants who report an inability to meet their most basic needs at early stages of their journeys may continue to struggle and may become more vulnerable and less able to protect themselves as the journeys progress. Some of these findings are intuitive and expected; others—such as why belonging to a certain nationality, or being divorced or widowed, is positively associated with experiencing challenges—require further exploration. This shows that early identification and support for migrants should not be prejudiced by assumptions that certain groups of individuals are always more vulnerable than others. As migration is a dynamic process, the journey itself may be a risk and migrants may find themselves in challenging situations regardless of their demographic profiles. Programmatic interventions should be age- and gender-sensitive, and consider different challenges and risks that men, boys, women and girls may face during their journeys.

Finally, the chapter has identified some salient similarities between the risk factors predicting challenges in West and Central Africa, and those predicting incidents indicating abuse, exploitation and human trafficking for migrants in Europe, as reported in Chapter 15 (Bartolini and Zakoska-Todorovska, 2020). This suggests that many migrants are already vulnerable upstream, at earlier stages in their journeys, and that their vulnerability may increase as they continue their journeys, as challenges and journey-related risk factors accumulate.

These findings demonstrate the importance of there being adequate capacity along the entire CMR to identify human rights violations and vulnerabilities early in the journeys and to provide support services for the most vulnerable and those with protection needs.

11.7. Annex

Multivariate logistic regression

Variable	Odds ratio	Average predicted probabilities
Sex (Reference category female)		0.33 (0.29–0.37)
Male	1.04 (0.86–1.25)	0.34 (0.33–0.35)
Age categories (Reference category 14–20 years)		0.35 (0.31–0.34)
21–24 years	0.88 (0.73–1.05)	0.32 (0.30–0.34)
25–29 years	0.82** (0.68–0.99)	0.31 (0.29–0.33)
30–35 years	1.30** (1.04–1.62)	0.41 (0.38–0.44)
36–40 years	1.33* (0.99–1.77)	0.42 (0.36–0.47)
41–49 years	0.97 (0.68–1.38)	0.34 (0.27–0.41)
50+ years	1.63 (0.84–3.15)	0.47 (0.31–0.62)
Civil status (Reference category divorced/widowed/NA)		0.55 (0.46–0.63)
Married	0.48*** (0.34–0.68)	0.37 (0.34–0.39)
Single	0.40*** (0.28–0.57)	0.32 (0.31–0.34)
Country of origin (Reference category Burkina Faso)		0.46 (0.41–0.52)
Côte d'Ivoire	1.06 (0.78–1.45)	0.48 (0.42–0.54)
Cameroon	0.71 (0.37–1.37)	0.38 (0.24–0.53)
Ghana	1.63* (0.96–2.78)	0.59 (0.46–0.71)
Guinea	0.65*** (0.50–0.85)	0.36 (0.33–0.39)
Gambia	0.66** (0.47–0.93)	0.36 (0.30–0.42)
Guinea-Bissau	6.7*** (3.18–14.14)	0.85 (0.76–0.94)
Liberia	1.49 (0.88–2.54)	0.56 (0.44–0.68)

Variable	Odds ratio	Average predicted probabilities
Mali	0.34*** (0.26–0.44)	0.23 (0.20–0.25)
Niger	0.54*** (0.40–0.73)	0.32 (0.27–0.37)
Nigeria	1.40* (0.96–2.07)	0.55 (0.47–0.63)
Senegal	0.66** (0.48–0.91)	0.36 (0.31–0.42)
Sierra Leone	0.45*** (0.29–0.70)	0.28 (0.20–0.36)
Chad	0.34*** (0.18–0.66)	0.23 (0.13–0.33)
Togo	0.77 (0.43–1.41)	0.40 (0.27–0.54)
Educational level (Reference category none)		0.42 (0.39–0.45)
Primary	0.65*** (0.55–0.76)	0.32 (0.30–0.34)
Secondary	0.52*** (0.45–0.62)	0.28 (0.26–0.30)
Tertiary	0.66*** (0.50–0.87)	0.32 (0.27–0.38)
Koranic Islamic school	2.18*** (1.62–2.95)	0.61 (0.55–0.68)
Professional training	1.87*** (1.36–2.58)	0.57 (0.51–0.65)
Other	0.67 (0.50–0.90)	0.33 (0.27–0.39)
Intended destination (Reference category West and Central Africa)		0.41 (0.39–0.43)
Europe	0.38*** (0.32–0.45)	0.21 (0.19–0.23)
North Africa	0.87* (0.73–1.02)	0.38 (0.35–0.41)
Length of travel (Reference category < 2 weeks)		0.30 (0.29–0.31)
2 weeks–3 months	2.68*** (2.15–3.35)	0.54 (0.48–0.59)
3–6 months	3.09*** (2.32–4.11)	0.57 (0.50–0.64)
>6 months	2.21*** (1.76–2.78)	0.49 (0.43–0.54)
Unknown	2.16*** (1.46–3.18)	0.48 (0.39–0.58)

Variable	Odds ratio	Average predicted probabilities
Travel mode (Reference category alone)		0.29 (0.27–0.31)
Group	1.49*** (1.32–1.69)	0.38 (0.36–0.40)
Reason for migration (Reference category war/violence/ persecution)		0.63 (0.55–0.70)
Economic reasons	0.29*** (0.21–0.41)	0.33 (0.32–0.35)
Rejoin family	0.24*** (0.17–0.35)	0.29 (0.26–0.32)
Access to services	0.90 (0.56– 1.48)	0.60 (0.52–0.69)
Other	0.52** (0.31–0.87)	0.46 (0.36–0.57)
N	8,921	8,921
Fixed effects (survey country)	Yes	Yes

Notes:

1. Standard errors in parentheses.
2. The assumptions of the test of statistical confidence to facilitate generalization of findings from the sample to the population are not met (see above in sampling limitations).
3. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

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