Greenback 2.0
REMITTANCES CHAMPION CITIES

Migrants' Remittances from France

Findings of a survey on migrants' financial needs and remittance behavior in Montreuil

GREENBACK 2.0 MONTREUIL REPORT

WORLD BANK GROUP

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D I A L

Développement Institutions & Mondialisation

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FOREWORD

In recent years, global remittance flows to developing countries have received increased attention from policymakers and the international community. Remittance flows have grown steadily over the years: today, they represent about 1 percent of the World GDP and are the second largest source of external funding for the developing world. But more importantly, more than 700 million people depend on remittance flows, and they still pay an excessive price for sending or receiving their money, as the average global cost for sending remittances stands at 7.7 percent.

The efforts of the international community and the adoption by the G8 and G20 of the "5x5 objective"—reducing of the average cost of remittances by five percentage points in five years—have paid-off, as remittance prices have decreased by 2.3 percentage points over the last 5 years, but more can be achieved. Recently in Brisbane, the G20 have renewed their commitment towards the cost reduction objective.

Reducing the costs of remittances requires to take action on many fronts, but also to be innovative, and that is precisely what Project Greenback 2.0 is doing: being innovative by promoting change and increasing efficiency in the market inspired by the real needs of the ultimate beneficiaries of international money transfers, the migrants and their families. Project Greenback 2.0 is also testing and proving at a local level the efficiency of the best practices promoted by the World Bank for the achievement of the 5x5 objective, by working with the migrants and their families.

Turin, Italy has been the first home of Greenback 2.0, the first Remittances Champion City, and its first success story. The ideas developed in Turin included a whole range of activities which helped migrants make better choices for sending their money and meeting the needs of their families back home:

• financial education activities focused on remittance services;

• monitoring of the remittances market;

• supporting projects of migrant associations in order to promote information, awareness, education, and implementation of best practices on remittance behavior;

• facilitating and keeping an active dialogue between migrant citizens and market players, encouraging them to develop new services or new approaches that are better suited to migrants' needs.

Montreuil, France, has been inspired by the example of Turin and the Greenback's innovative approach. The first step involved carrying out a survey to collect data on the most representative migrant communities and the largest in terms of remittances sent to the country of origin. This survey, which was commissioned to a team (DIAL) from the French Research Institute for Development *(Institut de Recherche pour le Développement)* is the focus of this report. The research findings are the starting point for Project Greenback 2.0 activities aimed at promoting transparency and information in the market for remittances. The DIAL team included Flore Gubert (Deputy Director, DIAL),

Jean-Noël Senne (Research Fellow, DIAL), Sandrine Mesplé-Somps (Research Officer, IRD), and Lisa Chauvet (Research Officer, IRD).

In Montreuil, the project is led by Ceu Pereira (Senior Payment System Specialist, The World Bank) and supported by field coordinator Elodie Vitalis (Remittances Analyst, The World Bank). Marco Nicoli (Financial Sector Specialist, The World Bank) acts as the global coordinator for Project Greenback 2.0.

I would like to express our gratitude to all of the participating communities, groups, and associations, the City of Montreuil, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other local authorities and, most importantly, the interviewed migrants who gave us their time and their attention.

Massimo Cirasino
Practice Manager for Financial Infrastructure and Access
Finance and Markets
The World Bank

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Project Greenback 2.0—Remittances Champion Cities consists in identifying cities where a series of measures are implemented to foster the development of a sound remittance market. The objective of the Project is the promotion of transparency and competition in the market for remittances and, ultimately, the reduction of prices for remittance services. Montreuil, France is the second Remittances Champion City after Turin, Italy.

This report provides the results of a survey conducted by DIAL, a team of the French Institute of Research on Development ("Institut de la Recherche pour le Developpement") on a sample of migrants living in Montreuil and follows the same methodology as the report "Migrants' remittances from Italy, international remittances and access to financial services for migrants in Turin, Italy," undertaken in the framework of Project Greenback 2.0 in Turin. The survey constitutes the "baseline scenario" informing actions to be developed in Montreuil. Specifically, it investigates the socio-economic characteristics of migrants, as well as their financial inclusion and remittance behavior. Particular attention has been given to the channels used to transfer money abroad.

The three migrant groups selected for the survey—Algerians, Ivorians, and Malians—reflect their important share in the foreign-born population in Montreuil as well as contrasted patterns of migration. While Algerian migrants represent the largest group, Malians stood as a natural choice as Montreuil is well known for being one of the most popular destination cities for this nationality. With regard to Ivorian migrants, the determinant factor was their more recent history of migration to France, as this was considered to potentially lead to contrasted remittance patterns.

The survey highlights differences between the three communities based on sociological factors—such as size of family, length of stay in France, type of education—as well as economic integration factors, such as occupation type, legal status, etc. Algerians tend to be more educated, have better jobs and enjoy a slightly higher level of income than migrants in the other groups; their length of stay in France is also longer in average. The same goes for Malians with regard to length of stay, but their income is slightly lower and the size of their families larger, in average, as compared with the other groups. Ivorians are the group with shortest length of stay in France and hence tend to be slightly less integrated than the two other groups.

The survey confirmed that the three surveyed foreign-born groups are fairly well-integrated financially, with over 85% of individuals having one or more bank accounts. However, most migrants do not use their bank accounts to send money back home, which is consistent with the results of the Greenback 2.0 Turin Survey.

The three groups also show different remittance behavior. Malian migrants remit more, on average, than the two other communities, while Ivorians remit less. This suggests that remittances are not linearly correlated with income, as Algerian migrants in Montreuil are, on average, wealthier than Malian and Ivorian migrants, but remit less, on average, than Malian migrants.

The duration of stay in France does not seem to alter the intensity of the links migrants have with those left behind. Ivorians and Malians remit relatively small amounts of funds on a very regular basis (generally every month), whereas Algerians remit higher amounts of funds but much less frequently (two or three times a year). These contrasted patterns reflect different family structures—Malian and Ivorian migrants have much larger families in their origin country—but also a different use of remittances—Malian and Ivorian migrants contribute to the current expenses of those left behind, while remittances from Algerian migrants are more often used to buy durable goods or to invest.

Remittance channels are also radically different among those three communities. Algerian and Malian migrants overwhelmingly rely on hand-carried cash transfers, while a large majority of Ivorian migrants use money transfer operators (MTOs). Several factors may explain this pattern. Communities with a long-lasting history of migration to France rely on strong migrant networks and prefer using friends or other intermediaries to carry cash back home. In the case of Algeria, the presence of an informal market for foreign-exchange currency may also affect remittance behaviors. The survey shows that migrants in general have distorted perceptions about the real transaction costs and overall service conditions, especially as they generally do not consider the exchange rate factor as a cost.

INTRODUCTION

With USD 435 billion officially recorded remittance flows to developing countries in 2014, remittances are a critical source of national and families' income. However, high transaction costs and other inefficiencies in the process often adversely impact migrant workers and their families. The G8 and G20 have therefore set among their objectives the reduction of the average cost of remittances from 10 to 5 percent in 5 years (5x5 objective) by 2014. More recently, in Brisbane, the G20 have renewed their commitment towards the cost reduction objective, as the global average cost still stands at nearly 8 percent. Achieving the objective would save USD 16 million per year: these funds would simply remain with migrants and their families and could significantly contribute to improving the living conditions of the migrants themselves as well as reducing poverty in their countries of origin.

Project Greenback 2.0 consists in identifying Remittances Champion Cities, where a series of measures are implemented to foster the development of a sound remittance market. The objective of the project is the promotion of transparency and competition in the market for remittances and, ultimately, the reduction of prices for remittance services. Some of the key challenges in effective remittance services are users' access to information and healthy competition amongst remittance providers at the sending as well as the receiving end.

Activities carried out by the project cover multiple fields, following a comprehensive approach. It is designed to work at the local level, targeting both sides of the remittances market: supply and demand. On the one hand, the project promotes financial education and awareness campaigns locally; on the other, it interacts with remittance service providers, encouraging demand-driven best practices and promoting an active dialogue between migrant citizens and market players. Finally, the project is in constant communication with the relevant public authorities to report the findings of the work in the field and inspire possible reforms.

In 2014, the City of Montreuil became the second Champion City, after Turin in 2013. According to the latest population census, as of 2010, 26 percent of Montreuil's inhabitants were born abroad and 19 percent did not have French nationality. These shares vary from one location to another, ranging from 15 percent in the city center to 23 percent in the Northern part of the municipality (see Map 1 and Table 1). As part of the project, DIAL was tasked to conduct a survey among three migrant communities residing in Montreuil in order to explore both their level of financial inclusion and their remittance behavior. Malians, Ivorians, and Algerians were the three chosen groups.

This report presents the main results of the survey. It starts with an overview of migration from and remittances to the selected countries. It then presents the research objectives and describes both the survey design and sampling methodology as well as the challenges posed by the field work.[1] It is followed by a presentation of the main findings of the survey, based on a total sample of 428 migrants. After a brief description of the socio-demographic characteristics of the surveyed migrants, the discussion focuses on their financial inclusion and their remittance behavior. The last part of the report provides concluding remarks on the policy options for private and public actions to promote the objectives of Greenback 2.0.

[1]   A more comprehensive description of the methodology is provided in the Annex.

MAP 1: Montreuil by areas
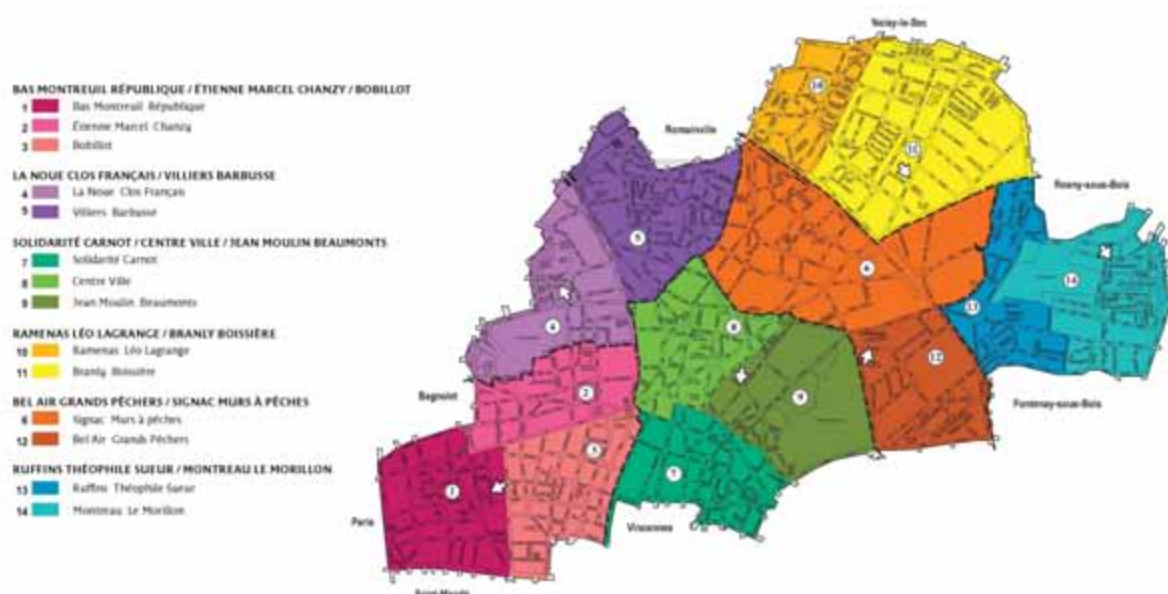
TABLE 1: Composition of Montreuil's population by area

	Population	Non-French Citizens %
Area* 1 (Bas Montreuil-République/Etienne Marcel-Chanzy/Bobillot)	23,923	21
Area 2 (La Noue-Clos français/Villiers Barbusse)	12,735	15
Area 3 (Solidarité - Carnot/Centre ville/Jean Moulin-Beaumonts)	21,864	15
Area 4 (Ramenas-Léo Lagrange/Branly-Boissière)	15,992	23
Area 5 (Bel Air-Grands Pêchers-Renan / Signac-Murs à Pêches)	17,175	23
Area 6 (Ruffins Théophile-Sueur/Montreau-le Morillon)	11,503	17
Total	**103,192**	**19**

Source: City of Montreuil. Figures computed using the 2010 population census.

*Secteur

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1 MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES: THE CONTEXT OF THE SURVEY

World outlook

Measuring international migration and remittances is not an easy task, especially due to the semantic debate about the exact definition of a migrant and the multiplicity of existing criteria (citizenship, place of birth, country of residence, length of stay etc.), poor records on in-kind remittances and/or remittances sent through unregulated channels, and a lack of reliable data at the country level. Yet, most international databases on worldwide migrant stocks have agreed to define a migrant as an individual aged 15 and over, living in a country where he/she was not born and/or from which he/she is not a national. As for remittances data, only money transfers that are channeled through regulated entities are generally recorded (mostly through banks, post offices, and money transfer operators).

Using this definition of a migrant, according to the United Nations, the total world stock of international migrants was estimated at 232 million in 2013.[2] This number increased by 20 percent over the last decade and has almost multiplied by three since 1960, growing at a significant pace during the 1980s and the 1990s. The United Nations and OECD jointly estimated that nowadays International migrants account for 3.2 percent of the world population, versus less than 2 percent in 1960.[3] The second half of the 20th century witnessed a concomitant boom in migrant remittances to the countries of origin.

According to the World Bank, global remittance flows were approximately USD 582 billion in 2014.

Flows to developing countries reached an estimated USD 435 billion in 2014—approximately equal to three fourths of total remittance flows worldwide and 1 percent of the world GDP. Remittances are the second largest source of external funding for developing countries, behind foreign direct investments (USD 703 billion in 2012) and are more than three times larger than official development assistance (USD 134,8 billion in 2013). Unlike other monetary flows, remittances remained quite stable after the 2008 crisis. They registered a slight decrease of 4 percent in 2009 but have started to grow again at an annual rate of 7 percent since then.[4]

Migration and remittances flows from/to the countries of origin of the three groups of migrants considered in the survey (Algeria, Mali, and Côte d'Ivoire) show quite similar patterns (Table 2). Approximately 1.5 million Algerian and 1 million Malian and Ivorian migrants were recorded worldwide in 2011, which represents 5.5 percent, 6 percent, and 5 percent of the population in the country of origin, respectively. Since 1990, the total international migrant stock for Algeria, Mali and Côte d'Ivoire has increased dramatically, by 23 percent and 29 percent for Algeria and Mali, respectively, while it has tripled for Côte d'Ivoire during the same time period, a trend which appears to be driven by the more recent emigration episodes of Ivorian nationals. At the same time, Algerian migrants are those who send back the highest amounts to their country of origin, with an estimated USD 2.1 billion in 2014 that accounts for 1 percent of the country's GDP. While remittance flows to Mali and Côte d'Ivoire are significantly lower (respectively, USD 815 million

2   http://esa.un.org/unmigration/documents/worldmigration/2013/Chapter1.pdf

3   Source: Trends in International Migrant Stock, United Nations database, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2012). Unless specified, migrant figures presented in this section are taken from this source. These figures include refugees but exclude irregular and internal migrants.

4   Source: Bilateral Remittances Database, World Bank (2013). Unless specified, remittance figures presented in this section are taken from this source.

TABLE 2: Migration and remittances to Algeria, Mali, and Côte d'Ivoire (1990–2010)

	Algeria			Mali			Côte d'Ivoire		
	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Migrants (thousand)	913	1,028	1,119	703	828	904	382	685	1,142
... Growth rate (%)	–	+12,6	+8,9	–	+17,8	+9,2	–	+79,3	+66,7
... in France (thousand)	789	840	894	49	52	56	41	44	46
Remittances (USD million)	352	790	2,044	107	73	473	44	119	373
... Growth rate (%)	–	+124,4	+158,7		–31,8	+557,9		+170,5	+213,4
... From France (USD million)	–	–	1 384	–	–	77	–	–	47

Source: United Nations (2012) and World Bank (2013).

and USD 380 million in 2014), they account for a larger share of these countries' GDP (respectively 7.2 percent and 1.2 percent the same year). In all three countries, remittance flows have considerably increased over the last two decades: they were multiplied by six for Algeria, more than four for Mali and more than eight for Côte d'Ivoire.

France

As the last census in France dates back to 2010, the most recent migration data date back to that year. In 2010, France hosted an estimated 6.7 million international migrants, mostly coming from other European countries (Portugal, Italy, and Spain) and former colonies in North-Africa (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia), South-East Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Lao PDR), and Sub-Saharan Africa (Senegal, Mali, and the Democratic Republic of Congo). The total number of immigrants in France increased by approximately 13 percent between 1990 and 2010, when remittance outflows from France were estimated at USD 14.4 billion. This number slightly decreased by 4 percent after the 2008 crisis, but reached again their pre-crisis level in 2010 and continued to steadily increase in the following years.

The geography of migration to France results from a long history that dates back to the colonial era, but also from recent changes due to fluctuating economic conditions and the gradual implementation of restrictive migration policies in a country that has a long-standing tradition of being receptive to immigration. Indeed, the number of migrants in France from the three countries under study remained rather stable over the 1990–2010 period (Table 2), and France still is by far the first destination country for Algerian migrants in the world in terms of stock: 894,000 were recorded in France in 2010, i.e. 80 percent of the total world stock.[5] At the time, Algerian people were the most numerous migrant group in the country; as a consequence, 68 percent (USD 1.4 billion) remittances flows to Algeria originated from France.

The picture is quite different for Mali and Côte d'Ivoire, since the bulk of migration from these countries takes place within the Sub-Saharan region. More than 90 percent of Malian and Ivorian migrants emigrated to another developing country in 2010, mostly to West Africa. However, the former colonial power remains the first destination country in the developed world: respectively 67 percent Malian (56,000) and 51 percent Ivorian (46,000) migrants living in a developed country were recorded in France in 2010.[6] Moreover, Malian migrants are the second most represented Sub-Saharan nationality in France, behind Senegalese. Ivorian migrants stand fourth, after the Congolese. In parallel, remittances flows from France in 2010 reached an estimated USD 77 million to Mali and USD 47 million to Côte d'Ivoire, respectively 16 and 13 percent of the total flows to these countries, but nearly 80 and 60 percent of the flows originating from a developed country.

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[5]   The second and third destination countries of Algerian migrants are Canada and Italy.

[6]   The top-3 destination countries of Malian and Ivorian migrants in the world are respectively Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Burkina Faso and Burkina Faso, Ghana and Nigeria. The second destination country in the developed world is Spain for Malian migrants and the United States for Ivorians.

2 THE GREENBACK 2.0 SURVEY: RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND SAMPLING METHODOLOGY

Research objectives

The main objective of the Greenback 2.0 survey is to investigate the banking and remittance sending behavior of migrants residing in the City of Montreuil with a view to identifying the main constraints or difficulties migrants encounter when they want to send money back home, and to design well-adapted products or services to better serve migrants and their families. The collection of specific information on the socioeconomic characteristics of the migrants (such as age, sex, date of birth, migration experience, date of arrival in France, marital status, household composition, level of education, type of occupation, type of accommodation, income, etc.) helps to understand those behaviors and is based on the methodology elaborated by the World Bank in collaboration with FIERI (Forum of International and European Research on Immigration) for the Greenback 2.0 Turin Survey.[7] The questionnaire used in the survey is composed of the following main modules:

- Socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample migrants (age, sex, date of birth, migration experience, date of arrival in France, marital status, household composition, level of education, type of occupation, type of accommodation, income, etc.);

- Access to and use of banking services (number of bank accounts, number and type of credit cards possessed, savings, borrowings, etc.);

- Remittance sending behavior (frequency and amount sent, channels used, number and identity of recipients, dedicated use, etc.); and,

- Access to and use of IT facilities and services.

Choice of migrant communities and eligibility criteria

Given the composition of the foreign-born population in Montreuil (Table 3), migrants from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Mali, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire were all potential candidates for being included in the survey. In order to reflect contrasted patterns with regard to history and modes of migration to France, socioeconomic conditions and remittance behavior, the following three groups were selected: individuals of Algerian origin within the North African community and individuals of Malian and Ivorian origins within the West African community.

Within the North-African population, preference was given to individuals of Algerian origin because they represent the largest group within Montreuil's foreign-born population. Additionally, the Algerian community is composed of both old and young migrants whose contrasted remittance behaviors (in terms of amount and channels used) are worth investigating. Lastly, the Algerians' remittance behavior has been comparatively less studied than Moroccans or Tunisians.

Within the West-African communities, Malian migrants appeared as a natural choice for being covered by the study. With a large share of its population being Malian or of Malian descent, Montreuil is sometimes referred to as "Bamako-sur-Seine." Malian migrants in Montreuil are known to keep strong ties to their country of origin, which translates into large remittance flows to Mali, notably to the Western part of the country (the Yelimané and Kayes districts, in the Kayes region) from which most Malian migrants in Montreuil come from. Moreover, it is well known that they send remittances both to their family

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7   Migrants' remittances from Italy—International remittances and access to financial services for migrants in Turin, Italy, a Greenback 2.0 report. https://remittanceprices.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/migrants_ remittances_italy.pdf

TABLE 3: Composition of the foreign-born population in Montreuil, by country of origin

	0–15	15–24	25–54	55+	All	%
Portugal	47	89	1,117	777	2,029	7.7
Italy	17	5	138	535	694	2.6
Spain	11	7	156	313	487	1.9
Other EU countries	202	196	1,244	328	1,970	7.5
Other Europe	27	70	517	281	894	3.4
Algeria	174	358	2,595	1,525	4,652	17.7
Morocco	55	170	1,498	534	2,258	8.6
Tunisia	31	97	1,006	523	1,656	6.3
Other Africa	217	699	5645	1,376	7,937	30.2
Turkey	11	34	430	103	578	2.2
Other	147	332	2,146	524	3,148	12.0
All	**938**	**2,055**	**16,491**	**6,821**	**26,305**	**100,0**

Source: INSEE, 2010 Population census.

and to their villages of origin via hometown associations (see, e.g., Chauvet et al, 2013)[8].

Finally, the third group to be surveyed was the Ivorian migrants. The alternative option could have been to survey Senegalese migrants, but their remittance behavior is known to be very similar to that of Malian migrants (in terms of amounts sent and frequency). Ivorian migration to France is more recent, thus Ivorians are much less informed and organized than the Malian or Senegalese migrants. It was considered that this fact could impact the channels used to remit funds.

To be included in the sample, the interviewed migrants had to comply with four eligibility criteria:

• Ages 18–65 years old;

• Born in one of the selected countries;

• Income source (from a regular or occasional activity, a declared or undeclared one, etc.); and,

• Sent remittances within the 12 months preceding the survey.

Sample methodology and approach strategy

The sample methodology adopted was aimed at surveying 150 individuals per migrant community,

and ensuring the representativeness of the collected data. Any survey of migrants could face challenges such as (i) international migrants represent a relatively small proportion of the population of a given location, (ii) undocumented and isolated migrants are likely to avoid interviewers, and (iii) that no comprehensive and reliable sampling frame is available. Indeed, although some official data existed on the distribution of migrants in the City of Montreuil (INSEE, 2008–2010 Population Censuses), it was outdated and incomplete and did not provide detailed information on the composition of the migrant population with respect to employment status and remittances behavior. Therefore, on the one hand, the size and boundaries of the target population was unknown, and on the other hand, the population was likely to be wary of researchers and hence hard to reach.

In this context, pure random or stratified cluster sampling would have been excessively time-consuming to implement as most primary sample units would have contained but a few targeted migrants, if any at all, and refusal rates would have been high among some (e.g. undocumented) subpopulations. To mitigate these concerns, a sampling technique derived from a combination of two standard procedures in migrants' surveys, namely the "center sampling technique" (Biao et al., 2011) and "respondent driven sampling" (Heckathorn, 1997) was used.

8   Chauvet L., Gubert F., Mercier M. et Mesplé-Somps S., 2013, "Migrants' HTAs and Local Development in Mali", DT DIAL 2013–11, 37p.

The "center sampling technique" consisted of primarily identifying "centers" (or "aggregation centers") in Montreuil, gathering large and various numbers of migrants, and potential key informants amongst them. To get as representative a sample as possible, in terms of community and individual migrant characteristics, a high number of "centers" was selected. Interviewers were then asked to randomly get in contact with migrants at each interception point.

Units from this initial representative sample served as "seeds" for an additional "respondent driven sampling" (RDS), which is a variant of standard snowballing techniques whereby each surveyed individual is asked to provide a fixed number of additional migrants to be contacted by interviewers. Yet, within the RDS procedure, initial respondents are additionally given incentives to recruit other interviewees themselves. To ensure representativeness, interviewers were asked to balance migrants' profiles, especially the "seeds'" profiles, in terms of gender, age, duration of stay, and professional occupation. A detailed description of the sampling and fieldwork procedures is provided in the Annex.

Following this mixed procedure, the survey was carried out by a team of 15 interviewers, divided into three groups, each covering one group, over a period of approximately two months.

Table 4 below provides the composition of the final sample. Overall, 973 migrants from all three groups were initially contacted to achieve a final sample of 428 surveyed individuals (approximately one refusal for one interview), 20 percent of whom are women.

TABLE 4: Sample composition by country of origin

	Number of Contacted Migrants	Number of Surveyed Migrants	Women %
Algerians	345	156	22
Ivorians	339	148	26
Malians	289	124	11
Total	**973**	**428**	**20**

3 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The demographic and economic profiles

Table 5 summarizes the average demographic characteristics of the final sample. It includes statistics on gender, age, educational level, marital status, and length of stay in France. The first observation is that the overall sample is not gender–balanced, as 80 percent of interviewed migrants are males. This gap is more significant for the Malian sample (89 percent) than for the Algerian and Ivorian samples (respectively 78 percent and 74 percent are men). The large proportion of men in the sample stems from the eligibility criteria as less women worked and sent remittances in the 12 months preceding the survey. The over-representation of men in the sample also reflects the fact that men, notably Malian men, tend to migrate more than women.

The Ivorian emigration to France is a more recent phenomenon than the Malian and Algerian migrations: 63 percent of the surveyed Ivorian migrants arrived in France before 2008, in comparison to the 83 percent and 77 percent of the Malian and Algerian migrants respectively. Not surprisingly, the Malian migrants were older than the other migrants in the sample: 29 percent of the Malian migrants were over 50 year-old (as opposed to the 19 and 16 percent of the Algerian and Ivorian samples).

Regarding education, the number of migrants with no qualifications or who had only attended primary school is very high (39 percent) for the Malians, compared to the Algerian and Ivorian migrants (respectively 4 and 20 percent). The Algerian migrants are the most educated migrants, with more than 40 percent of them achieving a tertiary level of education (10 percent with a short-cycle tertiary level, 17 percent with a bachelor level, 15 percent with a master level, and 2 percent with a PhD level). Finally, the majority of Ivorian migrants attended secondary school (30 percent have the lower secondary level and 24 percent with the upper secondary level). It is worth noting that 27 percent of Algerian migrants achieved their highest educational level in France, as did 15 percent of Ivorians and 17 percent of Malians.

At the time of their first entry in France, 26.3 percent of the sample migrants had a tourist visa, almost 20 percent of them were undocumented, 11 percent had a student visa and only 7.7 percent a visa for work (see Table 6). A large share of Malian migrants entered in France without any documentation (42.7 percent). Ivorians have the highest proportion of asylum seekers (12 percent), while many Algerians came to France to pursue their studies. The situation of the migrants interviewed seems to have changed since their arrival in France, as shown by Table 7: in 2014, most of the interviewees had a visa for work (27.6 percent), long-term residency (24.3 percent) or have in the meantime acquired French nationality (18.9 percent).

On average, 46 percent of the interviewees are married. However, this percentage is higher for Malian migrants (63 percent) than for Algerian and Ivorian migrants (46 and 42 percent respectively). Single people are the second most important category. They constitute respectively 38, 33, and 26 percent of the Algerian, Ivorian, and Malian sub-samples (see Table 5).

Table 8 presents the composition of migrants' families and Figure 1 the distribution by number of relatives residing in the country of origin. Interviewees were asked to list all their first grade relatives (parents, siblings, spouse, and children) residing with them in France, in the country of

TABLE 5: Main characteristics of the migrants' sample, by country of origin

		Algerians		Ivorians		Malians		Total	
		Freq.	Col %	Freq.	Col %	Freq.	Col %	Freq.	Col %
Sex	Male	121	78	109	74	110	89	340	80
	Female	35	22	39	26	13	11	87	20
Arrival in France	After 2008	36	23	55	37	21	17	112	26
	Before 2008	120	77	93	63	103	83	316	74
Age category`	18–24	10	7	8	5	2	2	20	5
	25–29	27	18	22	15	13	11	62	15
	30–39	50	33	47	32	36	30	133	32
	40–49	37	24	47	32	35	29	119	28
	50–59	10	7	19	13	28	23	57	14
	60+	18	12	4	3	7	6	29	7
Education level	None	2	2	2	2	3	6	7	2
	Primary	3	2	23	18	18	33	44	14
	Lower secondary	20	16	37	30	10	19	67	22
	Upper secondary	45	35	30	24	17	31	92	30
	Post-sec., non ter.	3	2	5	4	2	4	10	3
	Short-cycle tertiary	13	10	13	10	1	2	27	9
	Bachelor	22	17	10	8	2	4	34	11
	Master	19	15	4	3	1	2	24	8
	PhD	2	2	1	1	0	0	3	1
	Married	72	46	62	42	79	63	199	46
Marital status	Married monogamous	64	41	56	38	65	52	185	43
	Married polygamous	0	0	0	0	14	11	14	3
	Separated	8	5	6	4	3	2	17	4
	Divorced	12	8	14	9	3	2	29	7
	Widow	4	3	1	1	1	1	6	1
	Single	59	38	49	33	32	26	140	33
	Cohabiting	8	5	22	15	6	5	36	8
	Other	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
French citizenship acquisition		12	8	38	26	12	10	62	15
	By gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	Age, avg	38.3	43.1	37.5	42.6	41.5	49.5	39.1	43.8
	Length of stay in France, avg	15.0	20.0	11.6	18.2	17.5	25.8	14.7	20.0
Total		**156**	**100**	**148**	**100**	**124**	**100**	**428**	**100**

* Education levels follow the ISCED international classification (UNESCO). The post-secondary non tertiary class includes all vocational or university courses after the high school diploma and which last no more than 1 year.

TABLE 6: Documents at the time of first entry in France

	Algerians		Ivorians		Malians		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Visa—work	13	8.5	31	6.0	8	8.9	52	7.7
Visa—student	29	19.0	17	11.3	1	0.8	47	11.0
Asked for asylum	0	0.0	18	12.0	1	0.8	19	4.4
Visa—tourism	37	24.2	37	24.7	38	30.7	112	26.2
Visa—not needed	13	8.5	9	20.7	11	6.5	33	12.2
Visa—other*	22	14.4	14	9.3	2	1.6	38	8.9
French nationality	13	8.5	2	1.3	0	0.0	15	3.5
Undocumented	11	7.2	19	12.7	53	42.7	83	19.4
Do not answer	15	9.8	3	2.0	10	8.1	28	6.6
Total	153	100	150	100	124	100	427	100

* Other type of visas includes: visa released by another EU Member State and visa for family reunification purposes.

TABLE 7: Legal status of interviewees in 2014

	Algerians		Ivorians		Malians		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Visa—work	41	26.8	29	19.7	47	37.9	117	27.6
Visa—student	6	3.9	2	1.4	0	0.0	8	1.9
Visa for family reunification	10	6.5	2	1.4	0	0.0	12	2.8
Asked for asylum	0	0.0	16	10.9	2	1.6	18	4.2
French nationality	33	21.6	34	23.1	13	10.5	80	18.9
Long-term residence visa	40	26.1	35	23.8	28	22.6	103	24.3
Undocumented (documentation to be renewed)	1	0.6	4	2.7	1	0.8	6	1.4
Has never had visa	10	6.5	19	12.9	25	20.2	54	12.7
Other	5	3.3	5	3.4	7	5.7	17	4.0
No response	7	4.6	1	0.7	1	0.8	9	2.1
Total	153	100	147	100	124	100	424	100

TABLE 8: Average number of relatives in France or elsewhere, by country of origin

	Total	In the Origin Country	In France	In Other Countries
Algerians	6.37	3.85	2.43	0.08
Ivorians	6.35	3.84	2.27	0.24
Malians	8.20	6.11	1.87	0.22

origin and elsewhere. Not surprisingly, as this has been put in evidence by other studies, the average Malian household is larger than the Ivorian and Algerian households: on average, 8.2 relatives as compared to 6.3 for the Ivorians and Algerians. These differences in average household size between communities are consistent with those observed in national household surveys. Malians can also distinguish themselves from the other migrants by the number of their relatives that do not live in France. They have, on average, six relatives that reside in Mali, whereas Ivorian and

FIGURE 1: Distribution by number of relatives residing in the country of origin
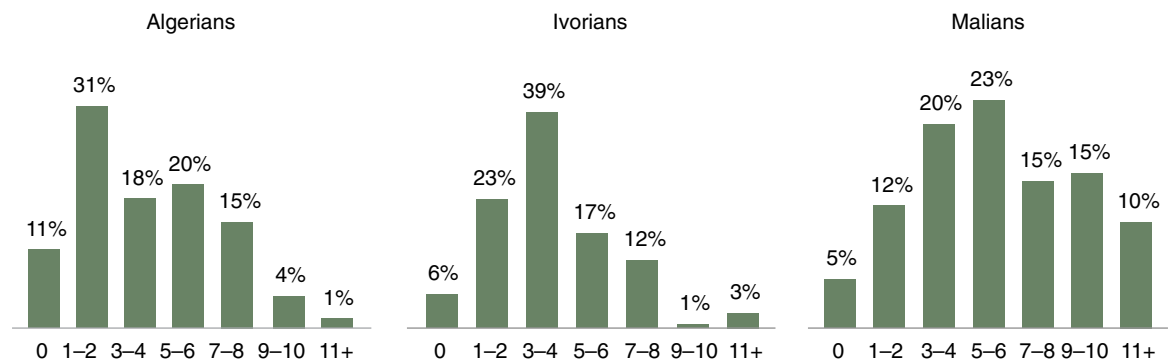

FIGURE 2: Distribution by number of children left in the country of origin (percentage of migrants with children)
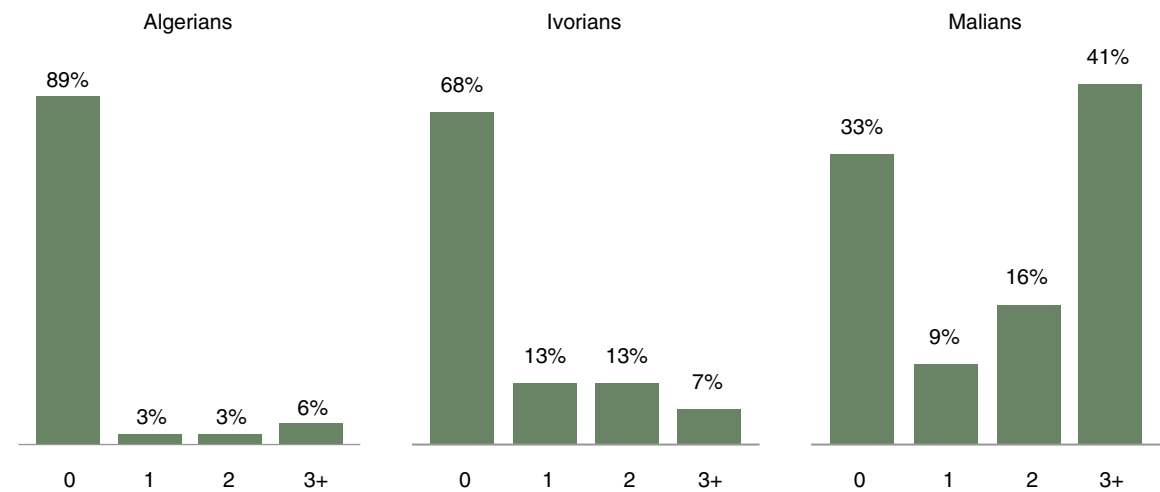
Algerian migrants have only 3.8 relatives in their country of origin. Amongst the migrants with children, 89 percent of the Algerian migrants live with their children in France, 68 percent of the Ivorians, and only 33 percent of the Malian migrants. 66 percent of Malian migrants with children have their children in Mali (amongst them, 62 percent with three children and more).

JOB TYPE, OCCUPATION AND SECTOR

Having an income (regardless of the source, from a regular or occasional activity, a declared or undeclared one, etc.) was one of the eligibility criteria for being part of the survey. Migrants were asked to describe their main occupation (i.e. the occupation they consider as being the most important one) and to report their earnings.

The majority of migrants in the sample, whatever their country of origin, are employed. This is notably true for migrants who arrived in France more recently: among the migrants who arrived after 2008, 76.9 percent are employees, while the percentage is only 49.1 for those who arrived before 2008. The most frequent alternative to being an employee is to have an occasional job (37.5 percent before 2008 and 8.9 percent after 2008). Very few migrants were self-employed (10.7 percent before 2008 and 7.0 percent after 2008) or are employers themselves (1.8 percent before 2008 and 3.2 percent after 2008). Most employees also have a formal written contract (see Table 9).

As shown in Figure 3, half of the interviewed migrants benefits from good working conditions.

TABLE 9: Job distribution by type of contract for those who arrived in France before and after 2008

| | Before 2008 | | | | After 2008 | | | |
| | Formal Written Contract | | | | Formal Written Contract | | | |
	No	Yes	Total	Tot %	No	Yes	Total	Tot %
Dependent	17	38	55	49.1	14	227	243	76.9
Occasional	40	1	42	37.5	15	13	28	8.9
Autonomous—employer	0	0	2	1.8	0	0	10	3.2
Autonomous—Liberal profession	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	3	0.9
Autonomous—own	0	0	12	10.7	0	0	22	7.0
Autonomous—family firm	0	0	0	0.0 t	0	0	4	1.3
Autonomous—Coop member	0	0	0	0.0 t	0	0	1	0.3
Coop member and employee	0	1	1	0.9	0	0	0	0.0
Did not respond	0	0	0	0.0	0	1	5	1.5
Total	57	40	112	100,0	29	241	316	100,0

FIGURE 3: Average hours worked per week (percentage)
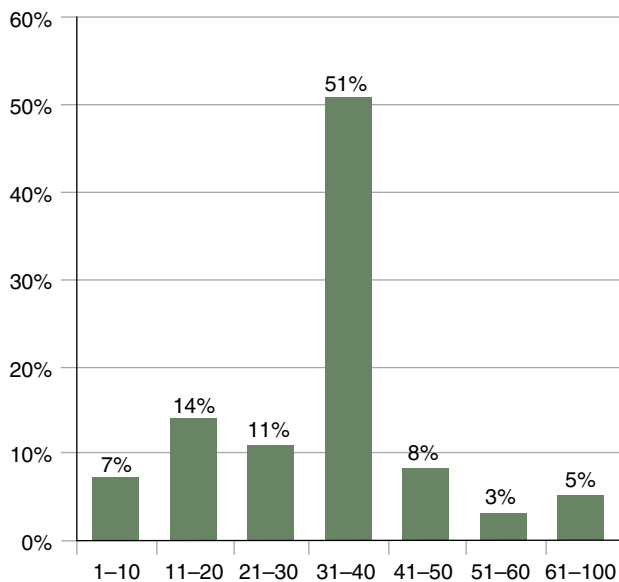
They work the official number of hours per week (around 39 hours) and most of them have only one job. This category contrasts with those who declare having a part-time job (32 percent) especially since 25 percent of them have more than one job. Among those who have more than one job, few of them work more than 39 hours per week and succeed in earning above the legal minimum wage.

Following the official classification of professions provided by the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies in France (*Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques,* INSEE), which distinguishes occupations in terms of their content (tasks, responsibilities) and their level of qualification, we observe that half of the male migrants and around 40 percent of the female migrants are qualified workers (mainly technicians, and shopkeepers) (see Table 10). However, differences appear with regard to the type of occupation between the three migrant communities and gender. Roughly 39 percent of interviewed women are classified as workers in the "services to individuals" sector. Most of them take care of children or elderly persons. Malian males seem to be more numerous as unqualified workers than the other migrants. A non-negligible proportion of Algerian and Ivorian males have highly-qualified occupations within the service sector (around 13 and 9 percent respectively).

Service activities cover 65 percent of the declared occupations, with a high proportion of services to individuals (maid, cleaner, nanny, elderly care, etc.) categorized under the "other service activities" (29 percent), followed by hospitality and catering (16 percent), retail trade (14 percent) and health care services (6 percent). Manufacturing and construction represent only 3 percent and 11 percent respectively. Female migrants are more prone to work in the services sector and males in the construction sector. The proportions of males and females in the manufacturing sector, as well as in the retail trade and hospitality and catering sector, are quite similar.

TABLE 10: Distribution by type of occupation,* by gender

	Algerians				Ivorians				Malians				Total			
	M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Highly qualified workers**	16	13.2	3	8.6	10	9.3	0	0.0	3	2.7	1	7.7	29	8.6	4	4.6
Qualified workers in trade & services***	74	61.2	10	28.6	55	50.9	22	56.4	40	36.4	4	30.8	169	49.8	36	41.4
Unqualified workers	12	9.9	5	14.3	24	22.2	0	0.0	56	50.9	7	53.8	92	27.1	12	13.8
Drivers of machines & transp.	10	8.3	0	0.0	8	7.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	18	5.3	0	0.0
Services to individuals	4	3.3	16	45.7	8	7.4	17	43.6	4	3.6	1	7.7	16	4.7	34	39.1
Missing	5	4.1	1	2.9	3	2.8	0	0.0	7	6.4	0	0.0	15	4.4	1	1.1
Total	121	100	35	100	109	100	39	100	110	100	13	100	339	100	87	100

* Occupation categories follow international classifications and INSEE codes, in the table above at the lowest level of disaggregation (1 digit).
** Highly qualified workers include lawyers & managers, highly qualified technicians, executive officers.

FIGURE 4: Sector of occupation (in percentage, full sample)

Legend:
- Manufacturing
- Construction
- Trade, repair of cars or motorcycles
- Transport & storage
- Hospitality and catering industry
- Scientific & technical activities
- Social & health care
- Other services
- Other
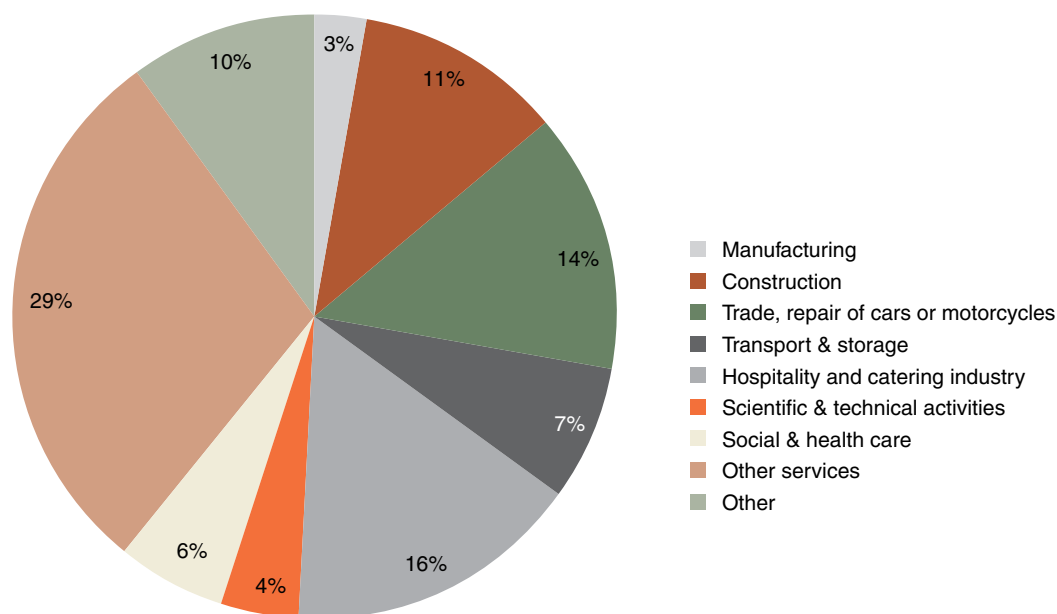
INDIVIDUAL INCOME

Table 11 shows average individual incomes for the three communities of migrants disaggregated by gender. Amongst male migrants, Algerians declare the highest individual monthly income on average (€1,402) while the lowest individual monthly income is declared by the Ivorians (€1,108). Malian migrants earn, on average, €1,185 per month. These observed differences in earnings are linked to differences in qualifications (Algerians were more educated on average) and experience (Malians were early migrants and older than Ivorians on average). Except for the Algerian community, there was almost no gender difference in average

TABLE 11: Individual income (mean and standard error[9])

	Men		Women	
	Mean	Standard Error	Mean	Standard Error
Algerians	1,402.13 €	50.0	1,060.42 €	100.2
Ivorians	1,108.55 €	52.5	1,143.30 €	68.5
Malians	1,185.33 €	48.4	1,155.38 €	124.3
Total	1,236.10 €	29.8	1,112.24 €	53.4

9   The standard error of the mean (SE) is the standard deviation of the sample-mean's estimate of a population mean. It shows how close to the population mean the sample mean is likely to be. SE is used to calculate the confidence interval of an estimate.

FIGURE 5: Household income by country of origin
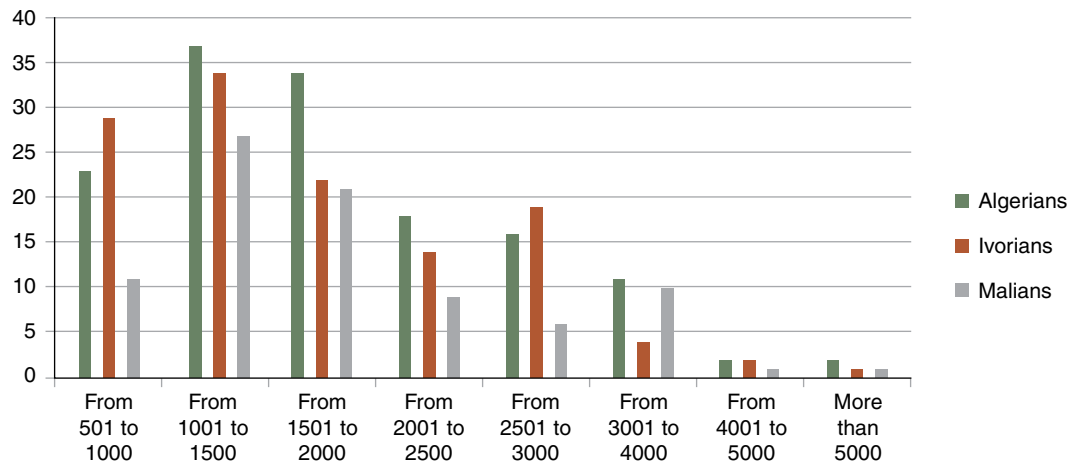
income. On average, Ivorian women actually earn €35 more than men. It is worth noticing that for all sub-samples standard errors of average incomes are very low. This means that most individuals of each group earn similar income whatever their qualifications and experience. All of them earn at least the minimum French legal salary (SMIC, Salaire Minimum Interprofessionnel de Croissance) that is equal to €1,136 per month, one exception being male Algerians who earn higher incomes on average.

Figure 5 shows the average *household* income for each target group. It confirms that Algerians enjoy higher incomes than Ivorians or Malians. This difference is even more important when considering income per capita, at least between Algerian and Malian migrants since the latter have larger households.

As a consequence of their improved legal status since their arrival in France, the majority of migrants declare that their income has increased since they arrived (52 percent of the whole sample, 63 percent of Algerians and 56 percent of Malians), with the exception of the Ivorians. In this last group, only 38 percent of interviewees declare that their income has increased, 26 percent that it has decreased and 33 percent that it has not changed. Likewise, most Algerians and Malians have the feeling that their income is more stable than when they arrived whereas for the Ivorians, income seems to be uncertain or

unchanged for 36 percent and 25 percent of them respectively.

Savings and financial inclusion

SAVINGS

A large majority of the interviewed migrants were not able to save over the six-month period preceding the survey: 60 percent of the Algerian migrants, 65 percent of the Ivorian migrants, and 70 percent of the Malian migrants declare that they could not save part of their earnings (Table 12). This also reveals that they do not consider remittance money as a form of savings, which is consistent with the findings of other studies, including in Turin.

Those who managed to save part of their earnings have very specific characteristics (Table 12). They tend to be more educated, married, and belong predominantly to the 30–49 years cohort. They are also strongly over-represented among those migrants who arrived in France before 2008. This suggests that financial inclusion in a new country takes time, and that there is a lag between the date of arrival and the moment the migrants can start saving money. Those characteristics are similar across communities. One striking difference is the role of women in saving. While Algerian women declare less often than men that they could save money, the exact contrary happens for Ivorian and Malian women.

TABLE 12: Savings behavior of migrants, and characteristics of the migrants who saved money

	Algerians %	Ivorians %	Malians %	Total %
percent of migrants who saved	39.9	34.7	29.5	35.0
Share of savers among . . .				
. . . female migrants	29.4	39.5	30.8	34.1
. . . migrants with higher education	52.7	32.1	100[a]	48.3
. . . married migrants	47.5	44.6	32.1	40.5
. . . migrants aged 30–49 years	45.9	43.0	34.3	41.5
. . . early migrants (before 2008)	74.3	84.6	100[b]	82.8

[a] Out of 4 individuals only.
[b] Out of 13 individuals only.

BANKING PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

On average, 85 percent of the interviewed migrants hold at least one bank account. Some differences appear across the three migrant communities (Figure 6). Overall, the Ivorians seem to have a lower rate of access to the banking system, 21.6 percent of them declaring that they have no bank account at all. Conversely, 21 and 38 percent of the Algerians and Malians respectively declare that they have two or more bank accounts. The fact that the Ivorian migrants have a lower access to bank accounts mainly stems from the fact that they arrived more recently in France. This is illustrated by Figure 7. On

FIGURE 6: Bank account ownership

average, only 6 percent of migrants who arrived in France before 2008 do not have a bank account. This percentage increases up to 29 percent for those who arrived after 2008. This percentage is nearly twice as big for Ivorians (51 percent), which illustrates the difficulty of more recent migrants to get access to the formal banking system. This is also true, but in a smaller proportion, for migrants from Mali and Algeria who arrived after 2008: respectively 43 percent and 25 percent of them still have no bank account.

Amongst those who arrived in France before 2008, 68 percent have a bank account either in a commercial bank or at the Banque Postale (Figure 8). This percentage drops to 40 percent for the migrants who arrived after 2008, who tend to have no account (41 percent) and 4.4 percent of them keep an account in their country of origin (mainly the Ivorian migrants). The vast majority of migrants who have no bank account in France declare that this is because they cannot have one, due to their inability to provide the required documentation (Figure 9).

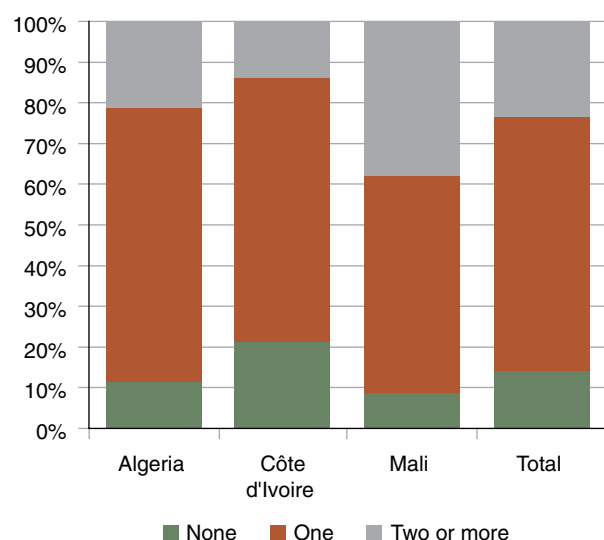Figure 10 presents the bank financial products and services used by migrants. A large majority of respondents have their wages directly deposited into their personal bank account (68.7 percent). A similar proportion uses their personal account to make regular payments for electricity bills, rent, etc. (68.4 percent). Other uses include bank transfers (55.5 percent), insurance products (34.9 percent),

FIGURE 7: Bank account ownership, before and after 2008
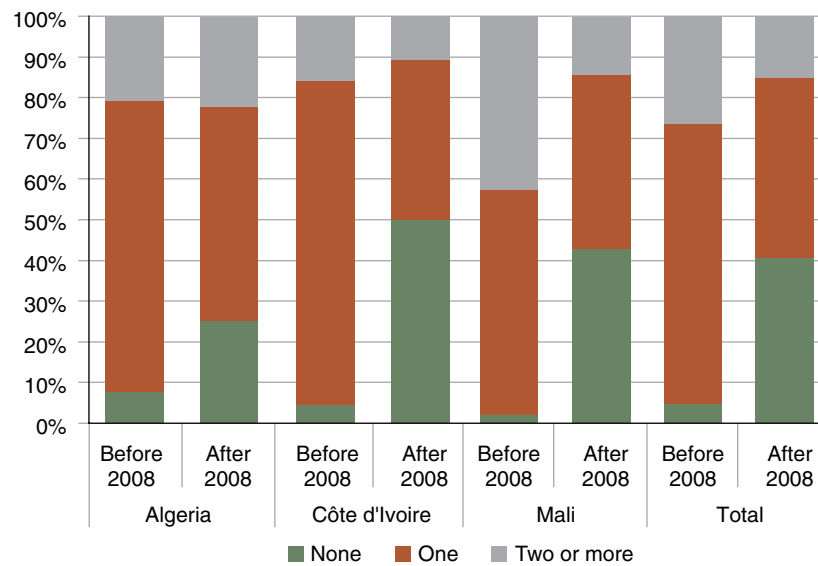
FIGURE 8: Type of bank account, before and after 2008
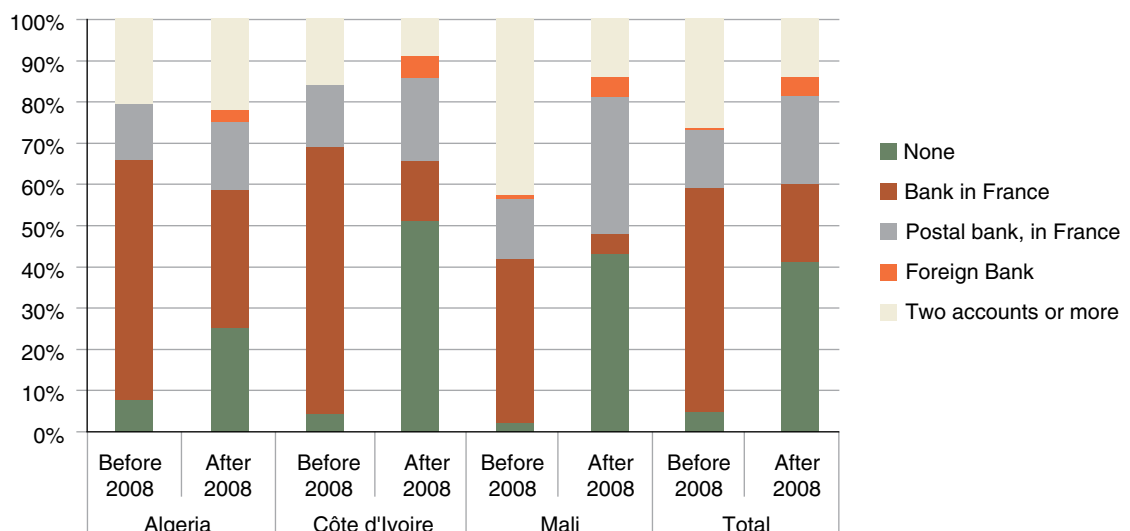
and on-line services (23.6 percent).[10] There are only minor differences between migrant communities, except for insurance products (less than 10 percent of Malian migrants declare using this service), and on-line services (for which Algerian migrants are over-represented). Figure 10 also suggests that the use of credit facilities is quite rare in the sample of interviewed migrants: less than 5 percent of the sample migrants declare having a mortgage and only 11.3 percent declare benefiting from a consumer credit loan.

As suggested by Figure 11, most migrants who have a bank account also have a debit card, which is linked to that bank account (78 percent of them). Figure 11 also shows that credit cards are much less common than debit cards: only 5.6 percent of the migrants declare holding one, most of them belonging to the Algerian community (as comes out from Figure 12).

Figure 12 shows some disparities among migrants depending on their community of origin. While Malian migrants in particular tend to use debit

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[10]   The questionnaire used a broad definition of on-line services, including any type of activity made via internet banking, from checking the movements' list to ordering payments and transfers.

FIGURE 9: Reasons for not having a bank account in France

- I can't have one
- My partner has one/I don't need
- I don't earn enough
- I don't trust/other
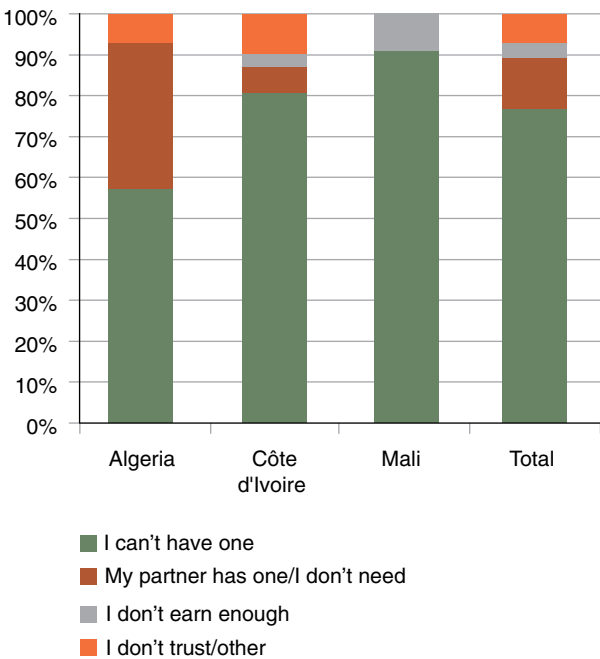
cards which require on-line authorization (for 50 percent of them),[11] this is not so much the case for Algerians or Ivorians.

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11   This means that any payment by a debit card systematically triggers a request for authorization to debit. The request is rejected if the amount of disposable funds in the cardholder's account is not sufficient. In France, debit cards can be categorized into three groups or tiers, depending on the customer profile: 1) on-line authorization required for each transaction

FIGURE 11: Type of cards held, all migrants (percent)
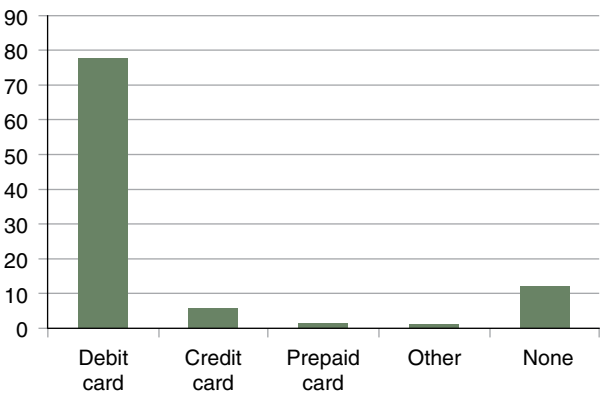
Note: This is a multiple response question, so that responses may sum to more than 100 percent.

ACCESS TO CREDIT

Only 16.2 percent of the sample migrants declare having a loan. Despite the fact that Ivorian migrants seem to have a lower access to banking, almost 23.7 percent of them declare having a loan, versus only 12.1 percent of the Malian and 12.3 percent of Algerian migrants. However, Ivorian migrants seem to hold smaller loans in value.

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to check for availability of funds in the account, even for small transactions; 2) on-line authorization above a certain threshold and debit from the account within 2 days; 3) no pre-authorization and differed debit from the account at a fixed date every month.

FIGURE 10: Services and products used by migrants (percentage)
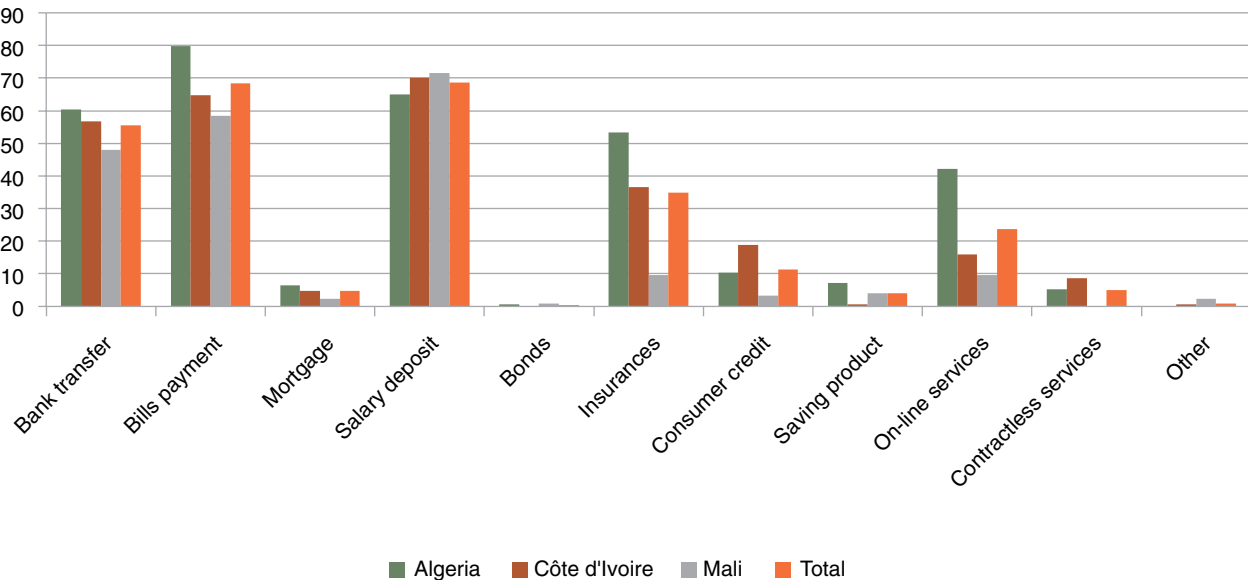
Algeria   Côte d'Ivoire   Mali   Total

Note: This is a multiple response question, so that responses may sum to more than 100 percent

FIGURE 12: Type of cards held, by target group (percent)

Note: This is a multiple response question, so that responses may sum to more than 100 percent.

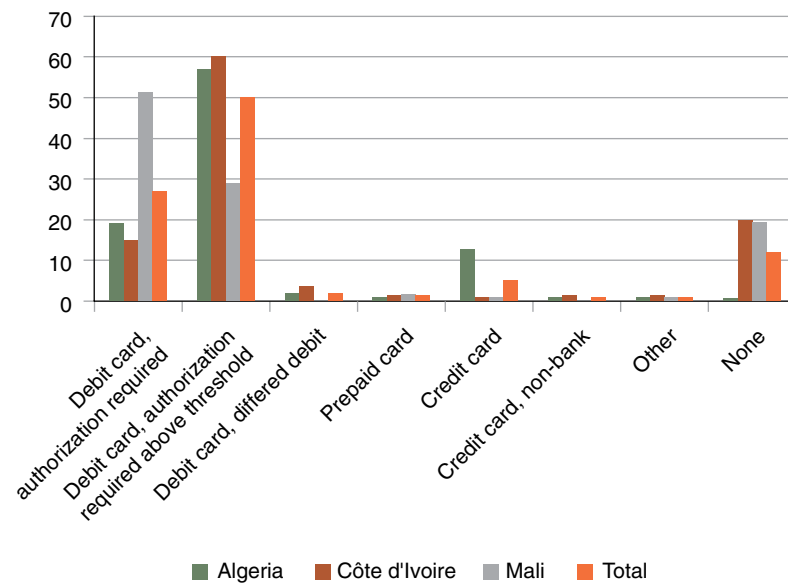**FIGURE 13:** Distribution of loan by size (in percentage of the 60 migrants who declare having a loan)
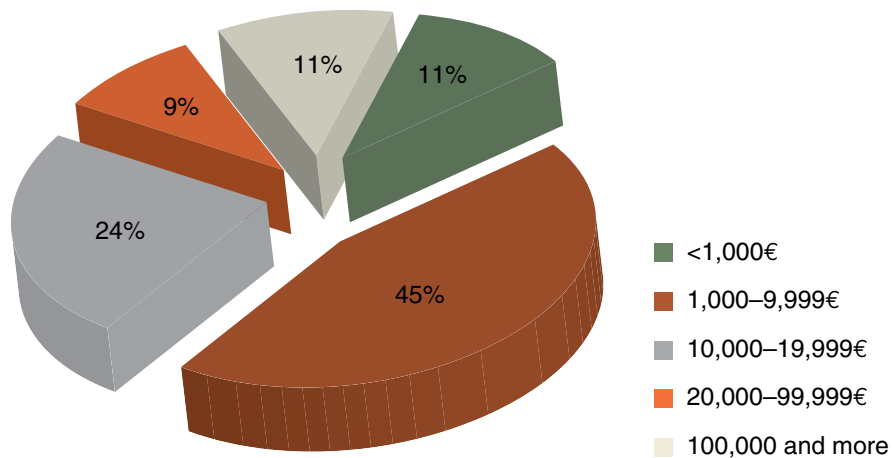
Figure 13 shows that 45 percent of the sample migrants who declare having a loan (less than 60 individuals), hold a loan of less than €10,000. Two-thirds of them are from Côte d'Ivoire. 24 percent of all migrants have borrowed an amount ranging from €10,000€ to €20,000—again two-thirds of them coming from Côte d'Ivoire. Finally, 11 percent of all the migrants have a loan of less than €1,000 and 11 percent have a loan of more than €100,000. This latter figure only includes Algerian migrants.

Around 70 percent migrants who have a loan have contracted it with a commercial bank or

the Postal bank: 73.7 percent of Algerians, 68.6 percent of Ivorians, and 66.7 percent of Malians. Parents and family are the main alternative for contracting a loan (respectively 17.1 and 13.3 percent of Ivorian and Malian migrants who have a loan).

Although data on actual loans demonstrate a clear preference for formal financial institutions among migrants who already have access to credit, less than 40 percent of them would turn to a financial institution if they would need a loan (Figure 14). A large majority of them would ask

FIGURE 14: To whom would you ask for a loan if you needed one?

■ Algeria ■ Côte d'Ivoire ■ Mali ■ Total

other estimates computed using different sources of data.[13]

WHO ARE THE MAIN REMITTANCE RECIPIENTS AND WHAT ARE REMITTANCES SENT FOR?

When asked to list the number of individuals they usually send remittances to, migrants cited between one and two persons (Table 13). While most Algerians usually send funds to only one person, Malians are found to remit to two persons on average. This reflects the fact that the size of the households back home is larger in Mali than in Algeria (Figure 2). Recipients are not necessarily the (sole) beneficiaries of the remitted funds: they may only be those who receive the funds for convenience purposes.

In all three migrant communities, the majority of remittance flows is directed towards parents or siblings (Table 14). Partners and children of the migrants are recipients only in a minority of cases, albeit in a higher percentage for the Malian sample, where partners are found to represent nearly a quarter of all remittance recipients. This specific feature for Malians may reflect the fact that, whilst a significant share of Malians are married, most of them have their spouse living in the home country. In all three samples, friends and partner's relatives represent a very minor share of recipients.

In terms of amounts, remittance recipients are found to have received an average amount of €1,129 over the 12 month period preceding the

their family and friends (few of them would however ask French friends/family). Only 31 percent of the Algerians would have recourse to a bank including the Postal bank, or another financial institution, against 45 percent of the Ivorians, and 35 percent of the Malians.

As illustrated by Figure 14, microcredit is hardly seen as an alternative by the migrants who would consider contracting a loan.[12] This appears to be linked to a lack of knowledge of migrants about the possibilities offered by microcredit, as only 50 percent of them know about it. In addition, only seven out of the whole sample (1.6 percent) confirm having contracted a loan with a microcredit institution (none of them were Algerians).

Remittances behavior

Overall, data reveal contrasting remittance patterns and behaviors between Algerians, Ivorians, and Malians. Malian migrants rank first in terms of the average amount sent per individual migrant per year (€1,894), before Algerians (€1,269), and Ivorians (€1,150). These figures are consistent with

TABLE 13: Number of recipients per migrant

	Algerians	Ivorians	Malians	Total
Number of recipients per migrant	1.25	1.42	1.93	1.51
Number of migrants who did not fill in the module on recipients	3	3	0	6

[12] Microcredit is the provision of credit services for people lacking access to banking and related services either because they have no physical collaterals or because of their poor historic credit records. The European Commission defines as "micro" a credit that is below the threshold of €10,000 for individual and family reasons and below €25,000 for entrepreneurs. See http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/finance/borrowing/microcredit.

[13] In the report of the African Development Bank ("Migrant remittances. A development challenge," 2007) on Morocco, Mali, Senegal and the Comoros, for e.g., annual remittances sent by Malian migrants were estimated at €1,925.

TABLE 14: Link with the remittance recipients (as a percentage of all transactions)

	Algerians		Ivorians		Malians		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Parents	73	38	82	40	75	31	230	36
Siblings	60	31	66	32	64	27	190	30
Spouse/partner	4	2	11	5	55	23	70	11
Children	3	2	7	3	15	6	25	4
Other relatives	22	12	24	12	19	8	65	10
Partner's relatives	3	2	5	2	0	0	8	1
Friends	10	5	9	4	4	2	23	4
Other	16	8	2	1	7	3	25	4
Total	**191**	**100**	**206**	**100**	**239**	**100**	**636**	**100**

TABLE 15: Average amount sent per year, by recipient

	Algerians		Ivorians		Malians		Total	
	Mean	Obs	Mean	Obs	Mean	Obs	Mean	Obs
Parents	879 €	67	1,064 €	74	1,303 €	55	1,068 €	196
Siblings	906 €	54	872 €	61	1,194 €	45	974 €	160
Spouse/partner	8,667 €	3	922 €	9	1,707 €	42	1,963 €	54
Children	4,767 €	3	793 €	7	2,219 €	9	2,096 €	19
Other relatives	695 €	22	634 €	20	761 €	14	690 €	56
Partner's relatives	550 €	2	1,950 €	5			1,550 €	7
Friends	495 €	10	110 €	9	423 €	3	328 €	22
Other	1,895 €	15	463 €	2	1,940 €	3	1,758 €	20
Total(*)	**1,124 €**	**176**	**910 €**	**187**	**1,373 €**	**171**	**1,129 €**	**534**

(*) Because of missing values on remittance amounts (accounting for absence of response), the number of observations is smaller than in Table 13.

survey (Table 15). After disaggregating the sample by migrant community, Malians are not only found to send remittances to more persons, they are also found to send more on average to each one of them. However, the figures reveal substantial variations in the amounts sent, depending on the identity of the recipients: Malian spouses tend to receive higher amounts than parents and siblings. The same seems to be true for children, but it should be noted that they represent a very small minority among remittance recipients. Strong variations are also observed in the Algerian and Ivorian samples, but the small number of observations for spouses and children casts some doubt about the validity of the estimated figures.

A focus on the frequency of remittances also reveals highly contrasting patterns between samples (Table 16). Whilst the majority of recipients receive remittances on a regular, monthly

basis in the case of Mali and, to a lesser extent, Côte d'Ivoire, most remittance recipients in Algeria receive remittances only occasionally or with a frequency never more than two or three times a year. The results for Mali and Algeria are again strongly consistent with those from other studies using different sources of data.[14]

As Malians and Ivorians send remittances more often than Algerians, the average amount sent per transaction is significantly lower for those two samples (Table 17). Malians and Ivorians respectively send €151 and €122 on average per

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14   In a recent paper based on the data collected through the MIREM ("Migration de Retour au Maghreb") project, for e.g., the percentage of Algerian migrants remitting either occasionally or once a year was estimated at 38.3 percent (against 38.8 percent in our case) Gubert, F., & Nordman, C. J. (2011). Return migration and small enterprise development in the Maghreb. In World Bank, Diaspora for development in Africa, pp. 103–126.

TABLE 16: Frequency of remittances by recipient

Algeria	Frequency							
	Less Than Once a Year	Once a Year	2–3 Times a Year	More Than 3 Times a Year	Every Month	Other	Don't Know	Total
Parents	6	10	20	26	6	3	2	73
Siblings	9	15	12	9	5	7	3	60
Spouse/partner	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	4
Children	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3
Other relatives	8	7	4	1	1	1	0	22
Partner's relatives	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
Friends	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	10
Other	4	6	2	1	3	0	0	16
Total	36	38	43	38	19	12	5	191
%	18,9%	19,9%	22,5%	19,9%	9,9%	6,3%	2,6%	100,0%

Côte d'Ivoire	Frequency							
	Less Than Once a Year	Once a Year	2–3 Times a Year	More Than 3 Times a Year	Every Month	Other	Don't Know	Total
Parents	0	5	12	19	46	0	0	82
Siblings	2	4	12	20	24	4	0	66
Spouse/partner	0	1	2	1	7	0	0	11
Children	0	0	3	1	3	0	0	7
Other relatives	2	2	6	7	6	1	0	24
Partner's relatives	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	5
Friends	1	4	2	1	1	0	0	9
Other	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Total	5	17	37	50	92	5	0	206
%	2.4%	8.3%	18.0%	24.3%	44.7%	2.4%	0%	100.0%

Mali	Frequency							
	Less Than Once a Year	Once a Year	2–3 Times a Year	More Than 3 Times a Year	Every Month	Other	Don't Know	Total
Parents	0	5	7	13	48	2	0	75
Siblings	0	1	14	22	25	2	0	64
Spouse/partner	0	1	5	2	47	0	0	55
Children	0	1	1	0	13	0	0	15
Other relatives	0	1	6	6	5	1	0	19
Partner's relatives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Friends	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
Other	1	2	0	0	1	2	1	7
Total	1	11	35	45	139	7	1	239
%	0.4%	4.6%	14.6%	18.8%	58.2%	2.9%	0.4%	100.0%

TABLE 17: Mean amount sent per transaction (in euros)

	Algerians	Ivorians	Malians
Amount sent per transaction			
Mean	532.0	122.3	150.7
Standard deviation	1,248.9	84.1	178.0

transaction, whilst Algerians send €532 on average. Given that remittance costs are generally digressive, it is likely that Malians and Ivorians are potentially paying higher transaction costs than Algerians. This point is further investigated in the next section.

The high frequency of remittances sent by Malians and Ivorians suggests that they contribute to the current expenses of their families back home. This is confirmed by Figure 15 which shows, for each sub-sample, the final use of the remitted funds as declared by the migrants. Again, contrasted patterns emerge between Malians, Ivorians, and Algerians. In the Malian and Ivorian samples, most remitted funds are sent for food consumption, health or education purposes, while a significant share of remitted funds are directed towards

durable goods or other types of investment in the Algerian sample. By contrast, the contribution of Algerian migrants to current expenses is much lower. Migrants generally do not have a direct control upon how their families back home use remittances; consequently, those families may in fact be using the remitted funds for purposes different from those declared by the senders. Only a mirror survey amongst remittance recipients would make it possible to evaluate the size of the gap between the expected and actual use of remittances.

REMITTANCE CHANNELS AND ASSOCIATED TRANSACTION COSTS— REGULATION OF THE REMITTANCE MARKET IN FRANCE

The regulation of the remittance market in the European Union falls under Directive 2007/64/CE[15] (PSD), whose objective is to establish common rules for a Single Payments Market in the EU. With regard to remittances, the PSD has removed

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[15]   Directive 2007/64/CE of the European parliament and of the Council of 13 November 2007 on payment services in the internal market amending Directives 97/7/EC, 2002/65/EC, 2005/60/EC and 2006/48/EC and repealing Directive 97/5/EC.

FIGURE 15: Use of remitted funds (percent)
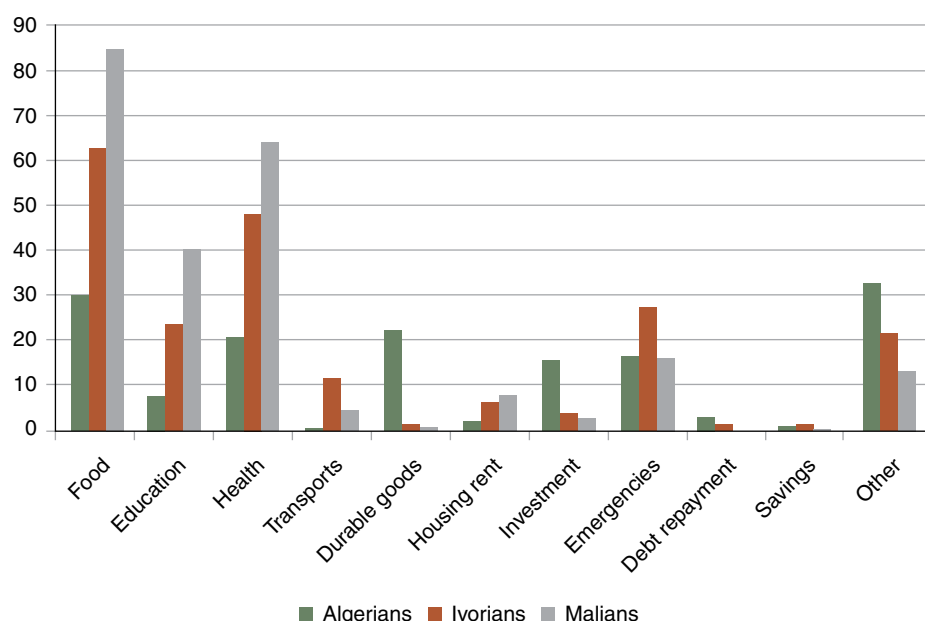
Note: This is a multiple response question, so that responses sum to more than 100 percent.

the legal obstacles for the provision of remittance services by non-banks, by creating a lighter regime for Payment Institutions (PIs). In France in particular, the transposition of the Directive in 2009 had a significant impact on the remittances market, as in 2011, there were 662 PIs licensed, whereas before the Directive came into force, only commercial banks could provide remittance services.

Another aspect of the PSD which is relevant for the remittances market relates to transparency provisions. In the Directive, the transparency provisions, which require the payments service provider to provide to the payer and to the payee certain types of information (in particular concerning the amounts of fees, execution time, etc.) only apply to EU transfers, both for occasional and account-based transactions. However, several EU Member States have decided to adopt, for transactions originating in the EU to be paid to beneficiaries located outside the EU, the same provisions or similar ones as for intra-EU transactions. France is one of them, but the French regime is nevertheless less protective than the PSD regime or the regime in other EU countries. The applicable legislation in France ("Code Monétaire et Financier"—Article L314-15, supplemented by « Arrêté du 29 juillet 2009[16] ») in fact requires the payment service provider to supply information to the sender (both for occasional

transactions and account-based transactions), but only after receiving the payment order. The information that should be supplied relates to the amount of the transaction and date of reception of the payment order, as well as the total of fees (without discriminating the various elements pertaining to the fees, like the exchange rate used), but no mention is made of the transfer speed (time span between the moment the payment order is accepted and the moment the funds are available to the recipient). This leads to conclude that, according to current French legislation, 1) there is no obligation for the payment service provider to supply information on costs before the payment order is received; and 2) there is no obligation for payment service providers to supply to their customers information about all the elements of the cost of a transfer, including the exchange rate or the execution time.

MAIN CHANNELS USED BY REMITTANCE SENDERS

Table 18 describes the main channels used by the three groups surveyed and shows the very low usage of bank accounts to transfer funds. The differences between the groups appear to be related to the usage of unregulated channels versus regulated ones: Ivorians typically transfer funds using regulated channels, Malians to a lesser extent, while Algerians mostly use unregulated channels (cash carried by hand by friends, family members or other persons).[17] However, caution

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[16] Arrêté du 29 juillet 2009, relatif aux relations entre les prestataires de services de paiement et leurs clients en matière d'obligations d'information des utilisateurs de services de paiement et précisant les principales stipulations devant figurer dans les conventions de compte de dépôt et les contrats-cadres de services de paiement.

[17] See "WB-CPSS General Principles for International Remittance Services," January 2007, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPAYMENTREM-MITTANCE/Resources/New_Remittance_Report.pdf

TABLE 18: Type of channel used (percentage)

	Algerians		Ivorians		Malians		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Bank transfer	8	4.2	3	1.5	3	1.3	14	2.2
Bank account to cash	1	0.5	0	0.0	2	0.8	3	0.5
Money transfer	5	2.6	183	88.8	86	36.0	274	43.1
Twin bank accounts	1	0.5	0	0.0	1	0.4	2	0.3
Hand-carried cash to cash	176	92.2	19	9.2	141	59.0	336	52.8
Other	0	0.0	1	0.5	1	0.4	2	0.3
Did not answer	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	2.1	5	0.8
Total	191	100.0	206	100.0	239	100.0	636	100.0

should be taken with regard to this data as in this particular module of the questionnaire a significant number of migrants refused to answer. The team of interviewers reported difficulties with this module because many migrants, amongst which a majority of Algerians, were very reluctant to give detailed information regarding the channels they use to remit funds. The main reason seems to be that many of them do not use regulated channels in order to benefit from the more advantageous exchange rates on the black market and fear being reported. As a result, the collected information on this module relates to a sub-sample of migrants in which Algerians are under-represented. In the case of Algerians, the strong prevalence of unregulated channels is confirmed by other studies (see, e.g., Mouhoud et al, 2014),[18] and is reported to be mainly due to the difference between the official and black market exchange rates. It also results from the lack of trust of Algerian migrants in the Algerian banking system. In the case of Malians, for which a black

market premium does not exist,[19] the relatively high percentage of remittances that do not go through the regulated service providers can be partly attributed to the weakness of the payments infrastructure in Mali (such as the low density of distribution points and agencies within the money transfer and banking networks, lack of Automated Teller Machines, banks branches, etc.). It may also be attributed to the strength of the community ties and the existence of community-based channels that are commonly used to remit funds (see AfDB, 2007 and Ponsot, 2011).[20]

Société Générale and Postal bank are the most frequently used bank operators (Figure 16).[21] As for MTOs, Western Union is by far the most frequent choice (78 percent of flows via MTO), followed by MoneyGram (9 percent).

As reported in Figure 17, most transactions are performed through regulated channels, regardless

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[18]   Mouhoud E. M., Margolis D., Miotti L., and Oudinet J. (2014). "To Have and Have Not": Migration, Remittances, Poverty and Inequality in Algeria, DT DIAL 2014-02, 47p. Another reference is also provided by the website envoidargent.com: (http://envoidargent.solidairesdumonde.org/archive/2011/10/27/transferts-d-argent-la-predominance-des-voies-informelles-l.html)
[19]   As Mali belongs to the WAEMU, where the common currency is CFA, which exchange rate is fixed against the euro.

[20]   AfDB (2007, op.cit.) provides a detailed description of the channels used by Malians (see in particular pp.32–37). Their figures on the distribution of remittances by channel are very close to ours. Another detailed description of the remittance channels used by Malians is provided by Frédéric Ponsot in his chapter on France that is part of the book edited by Sanket Mohapatra and Dilip Ratha entitled "Remittance Markets in Africa" (see Mohapatra S. and Ratha, D. (eds.), 2011,Remittance markets in Africa, World Bank Publications, 352p.)
[21]   Again, this last finding should be taken with caution given the very small number of migrants using bank operators.
[22]   With regard to the "foyer" (workers' hostels) observations, these should in fact belong to the category "none," as they relate to cash that is hand carried.

FIGURE 16: Names of bank and money transfer operators and frequency[22]
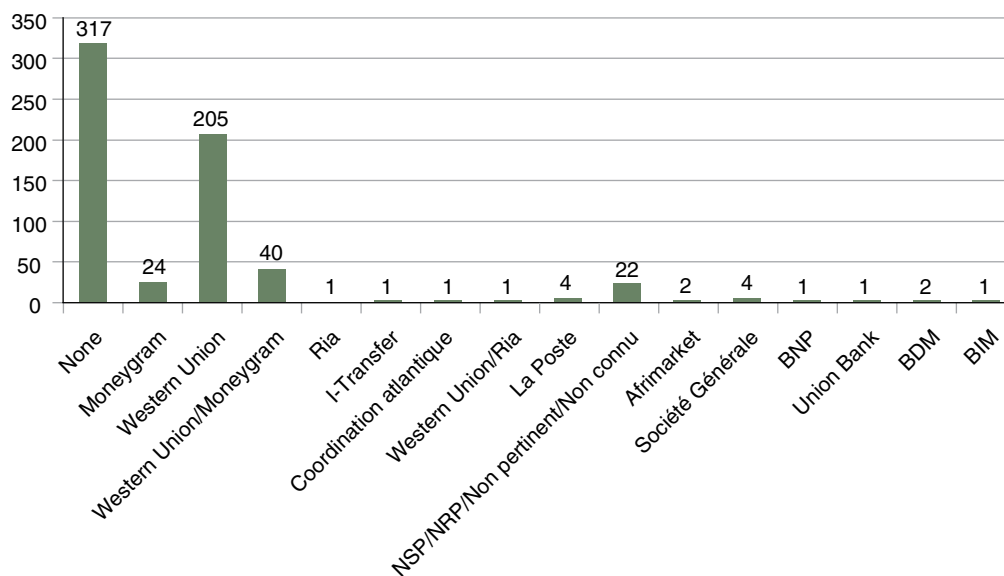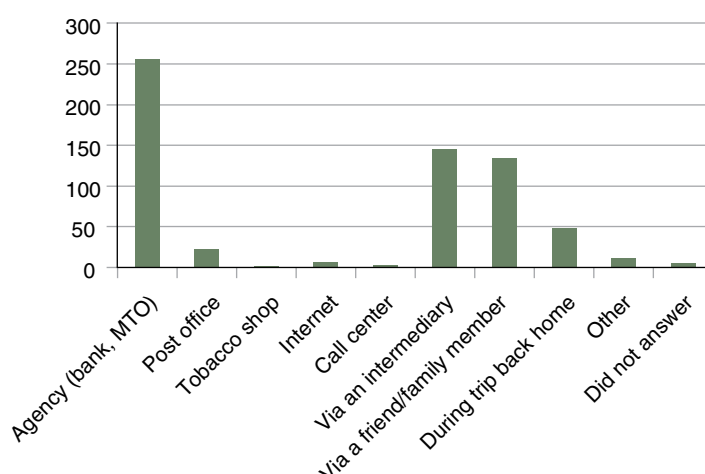
FIGURE 17: Where (or how) did the transaction take place?

TABLE 19: How did the transaction take place (for those who used hand-carried cash) ?

	Algerians %	Ivorians %	Malians %	All %
Via an intermediary	21.0	31.6	70.2	42.3
Via a friend/family member returning home	53.4	42.1	23.4	40.2
During own trip back home	23.9	21.1	0.7	14,0
Other	1.7	5.3	5.7	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of observations	176	19	141	336

of the specific channel used, and take place at a dedicated agency. With regard to transactions where cash is carried by hand, those are mainly performed by an intermediary (mostly for Malians) or a friend/relative (Table 19).

When asked to indicate the main advantage of the channel they use, interviewees responded that bank transfers and MTOs are faster (in respectively 37 and 42 percent of cases) and safer (respectively, 26 and 34 percent) (see Table 20). In only a minority of cases, are they considered to be cheaper and easier to use. By contrast, hand-carried cash is considered cheaper (36 percent) and easier (23 percent); according to the interviewed sample, it also appears to be easier to collect and more accessible for recipients in comparison to remittances sent by banks or MTOs.

The speed of delivery by remittance channel is shown in Table 21. Overall, the figures confirm that banks and MTOs allow faster transfers: in respectively 63 and 87 percent of cases: respondents declared that it takes less than one day to deliver

TABLE 20: Main advantage of channels used (all migrants) (*)

	Bank Transfer %	MTOs %	Hand-Carried Cash %
Cheaper	16	7	36
Faster	37	42	8
Easier	16	6	23
Safer	26	34	17
Closer	0	5	3
Accessible to family back home	0	3	6
Opening hours convenient	0	0	2
Lack of documents	0	1	1
Other	5	2	4
Don't know	0	1	0
Total	100	100	100
Number of observations (**)	19	186	212

(*) Answer given to the question "*What is the main advantage of the channel you mostly use?*"
(**) The number of observations is not the same as in Table 18 since the information on the pros and cons of channels used comes from a different roster in the questionnaire.

TABLE 21: Time required for the money to be available at destination (all migrants) (*)

	Bank Transfer	MTOs	Hand-Carried Cash	Total
Less than 1 hour	21.1	54.3	13.2	31.5
Same day	42.1	33.0	31.6	33.1
1 day	10.5	6.5	14.1	11.0
2 days	15.8	2.7	16.5	10.1
3 to 5 days	0.0	0.5	4.7	2.6
6 days or more	10.5	0.0	2.4	1.6
No guaranteed delivery time	0.0	0.0	14.6	7.3
Other	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.0
Did not answer	0.0	1.1	0.9	0.9
Did not know	0.0	2.2	0.5	1.2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Number of observations	**19**	**186**	**212**	**426**

(*) Answer given to the question "*How long it would take for the recipient to get access to the funds?*"

the funds via a bank or MTO, while this proportion is only 45 percent in the case of remittances transferred through unregulated channels.

As for the weaknesses and disadvantages of the channels used, respectively 53 and 59 percent of the migrants who use bank transfers or unregulated channels report no weaknesses (Table 22). This number decreases to 33 percent for those using MTOs. The main reported disadvantages of bank transfers and MTOs are their costs. By contrast, the hand-carried cash option is considered to be cheaper, but slower and less secure.[23]

THE COSTS

The average cost of remittance transfers declared by migrants, expressed as a share of the amount sent, is higher for transactions via MTOs than via bank transfers or hand-carried cash transfer (Table 23). The result is similar to the one found in Turin.

Migrants seem to have a distorted perception of the actual cost of remitting funds, as highlighted by Figure 18. This table compares the cost per transaction as perceived by the interviewed migrants with that recorded by the World Bank Remittance Prices Worldwide database.[24] Even

TABLE 22: Main disadvantages of channels used (all migrants) (*)

	Bank Transfer %	MTOs %	Hand-Carried Cash %
More expensive	42	39	1
Slower	0	0	16
Hard to use	0	1	1
Less secure	0	1	11
Far from home	0	1	2
Not accessible to family back home	0	3	0
Opening hours not convenient	0	4	2
No inconvenient	53	33	59
Other	0	5	6
Did not answer	0	8	0
Don't know	5	6	0
Total	100	100	100
Number of observations (**)	**19**	**186**	**212**

(*) Answer given to the question "*What is the main inconvenient of the channel you mostly use?*"
(**) The number of observations is not the same as in Table 17 since the information on the pros and cons of channels used comes from a different roster in the questionnaire.

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[23] Within the Malian sample, the money was lost in 3 transactions out of 79 (3.8 percent).
[24] https://remittanceprices.worldbank.org/fr

TABLE 23: Average cost per transaction as a percentage of the amount sent, by channel*

		Bank Transfer	MTOs	Hand-Carried Cash
Algerians	Mean	5.1	9.2	0
	Obs.	8	3	63
Ivorians	Mean	3.3	8.9	3
	Obs.	2	109	8
Malians	Mean	1.9	10.6	5.6
	Obs.	1	28	58
All**	Mean	4.5	9.2	2.7
	Obs.	11	140	129

* Only the main channels are reported in this table. It excludes transfers from a bank account to cash (1 observation), pre-paid cards (1 observation) and other channels (2 observations).
**There are much fewer observations than expected due to the fact that 102 interviewees did not answer to this question and 42 additional migrants were not able to answer to it.

TABLE 24: Cost composition (percentage, per channel)

	Bank Transfer %	MTOs %	Hand-Carried Cash %
Fees	27	63	36
Exchange rate costs	0	1	0
Other costs	0	0	1
All of the listed above	60	34	37
None of the listed above	0	1	6
Missing or don't know	13	3	20
Total	100	100	100

though the figures are not fully comparable since the cost per transaction varies with the amount sent, the table shows that migrants tend to overestimate the cost of sending funds through money transfer operators. By contrast, they underestimate the cost of sending funds through banks. With regard to hand-carried cash, the perceived cost is low (less than 3 percent on average).

Finally, Table 24 shows that a majority of migrants interviewed do not realize that transaction costs includes different components—fees, exchange rate costs and other hidden costs, in particular

with regard to MTOs and hand-carried cash. Beyond this misperception, 20 percent of respondents state that they do not know the cost composition. It should also be noted that—as expected—the degree of awareness is higher with regard to fees than exchange rate costs.

REPORTED LEVEL OF SATISFACTION

Overall, 93 percent of surveyed migrants report never having had any problem with the chosen operator (Figure 19). Among the 7 percent who experienced problems with regard to failure to deliver the money, delays, or errors in registering the account of the recipient were the most frequently reported ones. When the reported problem occurred, only one third did complain to the manager or the director of the service provider.

FIGURE 18: Comparison of cost between data sources (Greenback 2.0 survey vs. RPW)(*)

Algerians   Ivorians   Malians
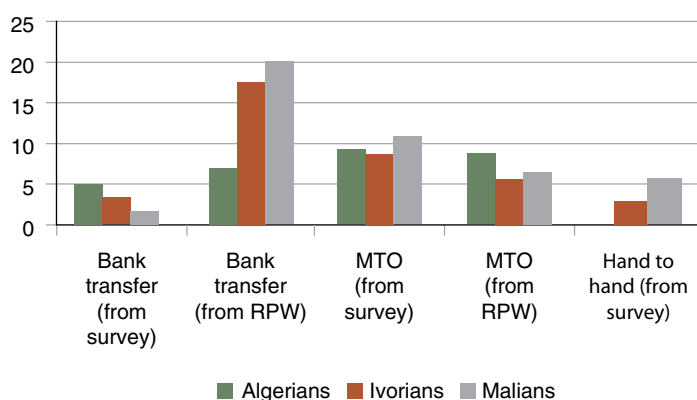
(*) RPW: World Bank Remittance Prices Worldwide. It should be noted that RPW data refer to sending 345 EUR with regard to Algerians (against an average of 532 EUR for the survey) and 140 EUR for the Malians and Ivorians (against respectively 150 EUR and 122 EUR for the survey). Reference period of data: March, 31st to May, 19th 2014.

FIGURE 19: Problems with the channel used?
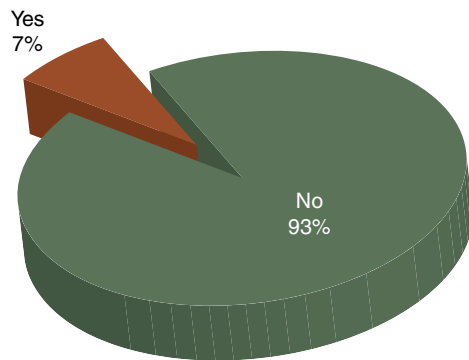
FIGURE 21: Change in the remittances channel?
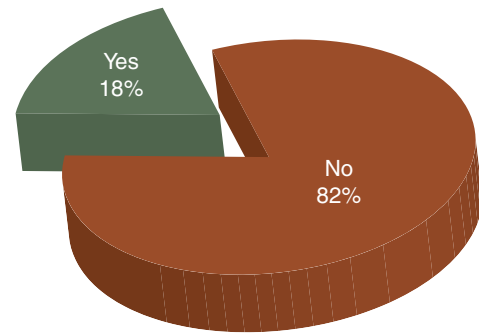
FIGURE 20: How did you choose your main remittances channel?
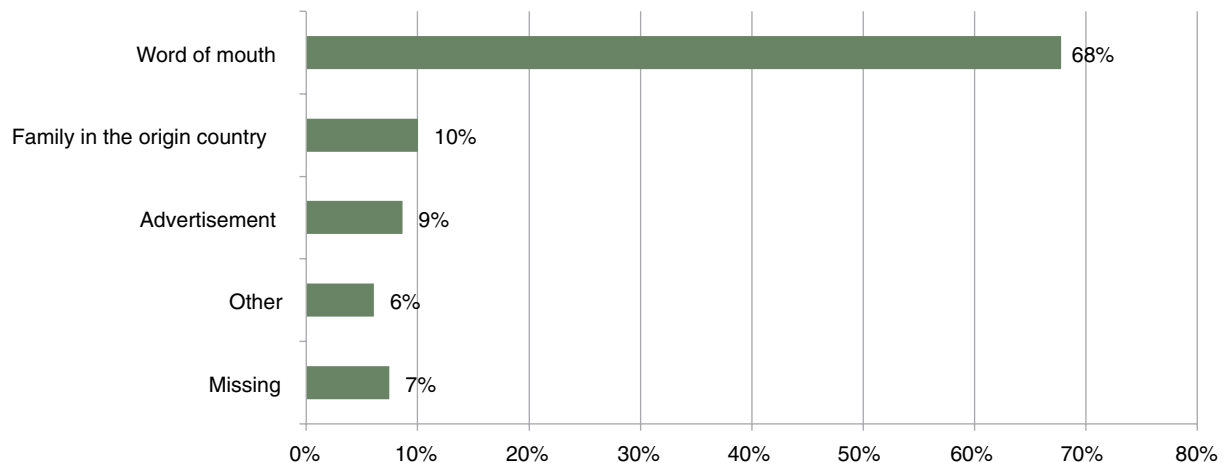
As to the choice of the remittance channel, surveyed migrants overwhelmingly responded that it was mostly based on word-of-mouth (68 percent, see Figure 20). Only 10 percent resorted to family contacts in their country of origin (mostly Algerians), and 9 percent were influenced by advertisements in public spaces, on internet or in the media (mostly Malians), suggesting a less intense circulation of information within the Ivorian community, partly due to more recent and less dense migrant networks. Other channels of information include associations, groups or religious meetings (6 percent). A vast majority of migrants (91 percent) additionally declared that they had no difficulties in finding the relevant information on existing remittance channels.

Finally, a rather remarkable feature is the relatively high stability over time of the channel used to send remittances. Since their arrival in France, 82 percent of respondents have been using the same channel (Figure 21). However, it is interesting to note that, when changes occurred, the shift has been mostly in favor of regulated channels in the Malian community, while the reverse is true for the Ivorian community.

TRENDS IN REMITTANCE FLOWS

Migrants were asked if the amount of remittances they send back to their countries of origin has changed over the course of their stay in France. As suggested by Table 25, remittances decreased for a small number of migrants within each group (from 16 to 23 percent) while remittances

TABLE 25: Evolution of remittance amounts since arrival, by country of origin

Remittance Amounts . . .	Algerians %	Ivorians %	Malians %
Increased	39	32	58
Decreased	23	20	16
Remained stable	38	48	26

increased the highest in the Malian community, followed by the Algerians. Among Ivorians, remittances have remained stable over time in a majority of cases.

Symmetrical reasons for an increase or a decrease in remittances amounts since their arrival were put forward by interviewees, whatever their country of origin (Figure 22). An increase of remittances amounts is explained by an increase in income, in the needs of recipients or in their number in the country of origin for respectively 66, 19 and 9 percent of them. Alongside, a decrease in income, in the needs, or in the number of recipients were the reasons provided by respectively 55, 13 and 15 percent of interviewees as the reasons for a decrease in remittances amounts. An increasing cost of living in France is another reason provided by the migrants who had to reduce the amount of their remittances.

It is worth noting that a vast majority of the migrants who reported a decrease in their remittance flows arrived in France before 2008 and

64 percent of them declared that they have reduced these amounts since then, which may lead us to conclude that most of the reductions can be attributed to the economic crisis. This is consistent with migrant's perception of an increasing precariousness of their economic situation. Indeed, whereas over one third of the surveyed migrants declared that their job has become less secure and their income has decreased since 2008, this proportion increases to two thirds within the subsample of migrants who subsequently reduced the amount of money they send back home.

REVERSE REMITTANCES

To conclude this section on the channels, the costs and the evolution of remittance flows, it is worth investigating "reverse remittances," i.e. remittances received by the migrants themselves (Figure 23).They account for a small but non-negligible share of Ivorian migrants (12 percent) and to a lesser extent of Algerian and Malian migrants (respectively 7 and 5 percent). Remittances received by Algerians mostly come from their parents in the country of origin (82 percent), they equally come from family members, close relatives or friends in both the countries of origin and destination for Ivorian and Malian migrants. These observations are consistent with the role played by migrant networks, mostly for recent immigrant groups, such as Ivorians.
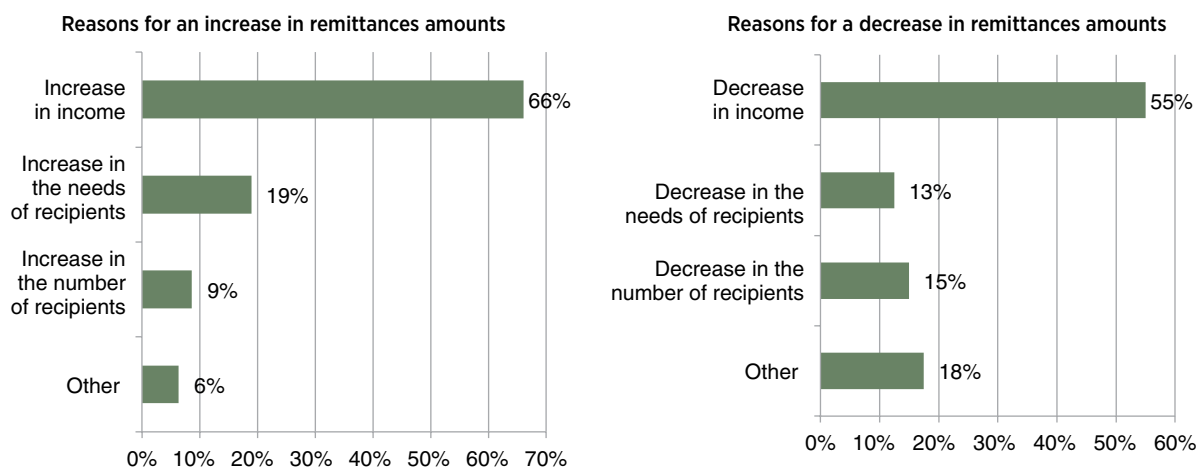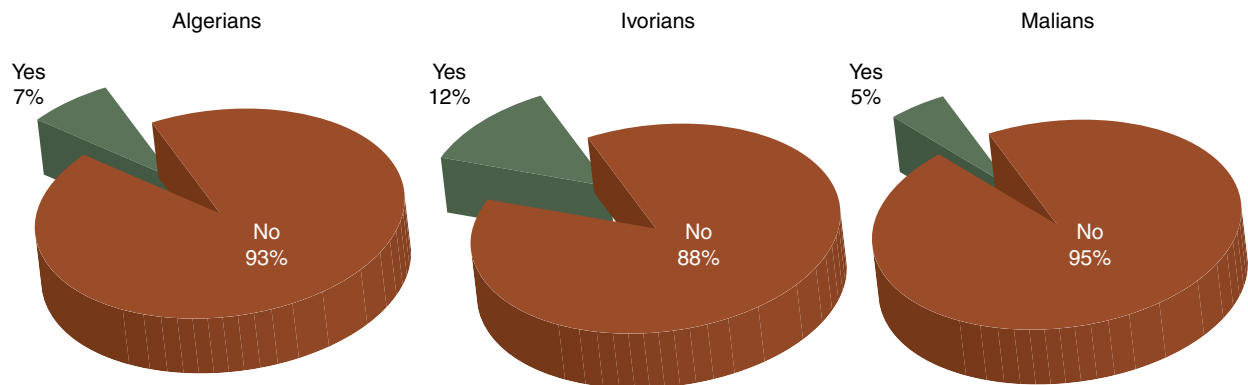
FIGURE 22: Reasons for an increase or decrease in remittances amounts

Reasons for an increase in remittances amounts

Reasons for a decrease in remittances amounts

FIGURE 23: Reverse remittances, by country of origin

Migrants' use of Information & Communication Technologies

The questionnaire included detailed questions on migrants' access to and use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). Those questions reveal that a large majority of migrants have access to ICTs. On average, 50 percent of migrants declare using a computer at least once in a day (Table 26). There appears to be some significant differences across the three groups, which may be linked to education and living standards: only 15 percent of the Algerians declare never using a computer, while this proportion increases 23 percent for the Ivorians and 38 percent for Malians. The frequency of computer use confirms that Malian migrants have more restricted access to computers: only 28 percent of the Malian migrants use a computer once in a day, this number is higher than 50 percent for Algerians and Ivorians. The same proportion of migrants in the three communities uses a computer at least once in a week (around 20 percent).

Table 26 displays the proportion of migrants who use internet. It is worth noting that most—but not all—of those who declare that they do not use a computer also declare never using internet (some of them access internet using smartphones, for example). As much as 66% of Algerians and 58 percent of the Ivorians declare using internet at least once in a day. Again, this proportion is lower for Malian migrants, who seem to have a less frequent access to the web, as only 40 percent declare using internet once in a day. Up to 30 percent of the Malian migrants declare never using internet.

Among the migrants who declare using internet, the vast majority of them (70 percent on average) access it from home using a computer (Figure 24). Fifty percent of them also declare using a smartphone at home to access internet. Some striking differences appear across the three communities: Ivorians and Malians access internet using computers in Internet-cafes or at friends and family much more than Algerians.

Interviewees were also asked whether they knew the website *envoidargent.com*, the French national remittance price database published by the Agence Française de Développement (AFD). Most of them did not know of this website, (only seven Algerians, two Ivorians, and three Malians had heard of it). Amongst the few migrants who knew about the website, 92 percent were not satisfied with its services and declared that it has had no impact on their way of remitting money.

As shown by Table 27, almost all of the interviewees declare using a mobile phone and half of them have a smartphone. Migrants seem to have quite intensive contacts with their family at home: 47.4 percent have phone calls every week, 17 percent every day, and 26 percent every month (see part one of Table 28). In addition to phone calls, a significant number of Algerians and Ivorians communicate by email and Skype with their family back home (see part 2 of Table 28). By contrast, Malians do not really use internet to communicate with their family.

Except for calls and text messages, 83 percent of migrants who have a smartphone use it to surf on the web, 25 percent to communicate via social networks and 11 percent to send or receive pictures. They do not frequently download applications, except the Algerians (10 percent).

TABLE 26: Use of New Information and Communication Technologies

	Algerians	Ivorians	Malians	Total
Do you—or another member of your household—use a computer? (in % of the total)				
. . . Never	15.38	22.97	37.90	24.53
. . . At least once in a day	57.05	52.03	28.23	46.96
. . . At least once in a week	20.51	19.59	21.77	20.56
. . . At least once in a month	3.85	4.05	6.45	4.67
. . . Less than once in a month	1.92	1.35	5.65	2.80
. . . No answer	1.28	0.00	0.00	0.46
Number of observations	156	148	124	428
Do you—or another member of your household—use internet? (in % of the total)				
. . . Never	12.82	14.19	30.65	18.46
. . . At least once in a day[a]	67.31	58.11	40.32	56.31
. . . At least once in a week	15.38	20.95	18.55	18.22
. . . At least once in a month	1.92	5.41	4.03	3.74
. . . Less than once in a month	1.28	1.35	4.84	2.34
. . . No answer	1.28	0.00	1.62	0.93
Number of observations	156	148	124	428

[a] On average, 97.5 percent of the migrants who declare using a computer once in a day also declare using internet once in a day (with minor differences across communities).

FIGURE 24: Where and using which device do migrants access internet? (as a percentage of the number of migrants who access internet). Multiple answers possible
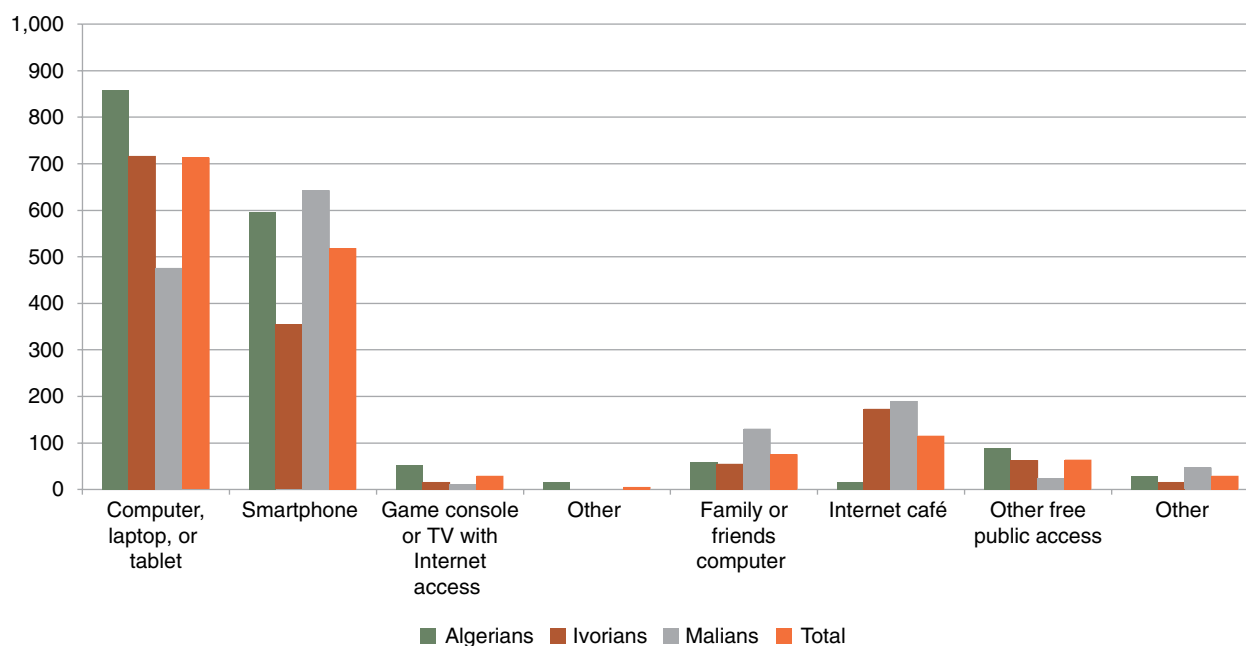
Note: The percentages relate to the total number of migrants in each group, who have access to the internet: 136 Algerians, 127 Ivorians, and 86 Malians, for a total of 349 migrants.

TABLE 27: Use of mobile phone

	Algerians %	Ivorians %	Malians %	Total %
Use of mobile phone	99.3	99.3	99.2	99.3
Use of a smartphone	60.4	52.0	51.6	54.9
Smartphone use*				
To call and send/receive texts	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
To have access to internet	93.6	75.6	78.1	83.4
To download music, games, videos . . .	4.3	20.5	25.0	15.3
To receive/send photos	14.0	11.5	7.8	11.5
To connect to social networks	20.4	35.9	20.3	25.5
To use diverse applications	9.7	3.8	3.1	6.0
To pay for goods and services	0.0	9.0	3.1	3.8

* Amongst the 428 interviewees, 235 have a smartphone.

TABLE 28: Frequency of phone calls with family living in the country of origin and use email or Skype to communicate

	Algerians %	Ivorians %	Malians %	Total %
Frequency of phone calls with family living in the country of origin				
No contact	1.9	0.7	0.0	0.9
Every day	11.0	13.4	27.4	16.6
Every week	48.4	46.3	47.6	47.4
Every month	23.2	30.9	23.4	25.9
Every quarter	2.6	4.0	0.8	2.6
Every six months	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.70
Every year	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.5
Other	7.7	2.0	0.8	3.7
Not pertinent (no family back home)	3.9	0.7	0.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Use of emails or skype with family living in the country of origin				
Send emails but don't use Skype	3.4	8.8	2.4	5.0
Use Skype but don't send emails	18.2	6.8	6.5	10.7
Send emails and use Skype	41.2	26.3	5.7	25.5
No emails no Skype	35.1	57.4	84.5	57.5
Missing	2.0	0.7	0.8	1.0

CONCLUSIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE ACTIONS

The results of the survey undertaken in Montreuil confirm the pertinence of the analysis of the socio-economic profile of migrants as well as the related patterns of financial inclusion for a better understanding of their remittance behavior.

The three selected groups of migrants—Algerians, Malians and Ivorians—are well represented in Montreuil's migrant population. France is also chosen by a majority of migrants from these three countries as their destination country. The survey illustrates the diversity of socio-economic profiles of the three groups and how this diversity impacts on remittance behavior.

Such diversity has several dimensions. Algerian and Malian immigrants are on average longer-term immigrants than Ivorians; Algerians are on average more educated and earn slightly higher incomes than the two other groups (in particular the Malians), even though those differences appear to be minimal and not strongly correlated with education patterns. Size of families is larger for Malians (including in the country of origin) than for the other groups—they have on average 8.2 relatives (six residing in Mali) unlike 6.3 (3.8 residing respectively in Côte d'Ivoire or Algeria) for the Ivorian and Algerian migrants. As much as 89 percent of the Algerian migrants live with their children in France, 68 percent of Ivorians, and only 33 percent of Malians. A total of 66 percent of Malian migrants have their children in Mali (among them, 62 percent with three or more children).

The survey also sheds light on the level of financial inclusion of the three target groups, which usefully complements the analysis of socio-economic characteristics. The most striking result is that, on average, 85 percent of individuals surveyed have access to one or more bank accounts, with a non-negligible share of migrants (slightly more than 20 percent) having more than one account. For more recent immigrants access is more difficult, as for more recent immigrants—like Ivorians—close to one third do not have access to a bank account due to lack of required documentation.

Overall, the survey confirms the importance of the remittance flows, in terms of amounts, frequency, and needs in the country of origin. Remittance flows represent an average of one month's salary per year for Ivorians and Algerian migrants and 1.6 for Malians. With the exception of Algerians, funds are remitted every month, and are mostly destined to cover subsistence expenses at the receiving end.

Against this simplified picture, it clearly appears that the socio-economic characteristics highlighted by the survey are useful to explain remittance patterns: in particular, the need to support families back home seems to be one of the most relevant. Indeed, Malian migrants tend to remit more money than the other groups, and more frequently, as they tend to have bigger families back home, with immediate subsistence needs. Remittance flows do not appear to be linearly correlated with income—Algerian migrants in Montreuil are on average wealthier than Malian and Ivorian migrants, but remit less, on average, than Malians. Algerians migrants are found to mostly remit money to buy durable goods or to invest. The duration of stay in France does not seem either to be a strong determinant, as it does not alter the intensity of the links migrants have with those left behind, in particular if one takes the example of the Malians.

Remittance channels are also radically different among the three communities. Algerian and Malian migrants rely to a large extent on friends, family and other intermediaries to carry cash back home. This pattern seems to be influenced by factors other than the real cost of transfers. For a majority of surveyed migrants from the Algerian and Malian groups, easiness, convenience, and the high perceived cost of regulated remittance service providers all seem determinant factors in the choice of unregulated channels. In reality, this choice has its roots in factors such as lack of trust by Algerians in their banking sector, the existence of a black market for foreign currency in Algeria, or the existence of strong community networks in the Malian case. Those factors do not seem to be pertinent for Ivorians, who appear to be less organized as a community than Malians, taking into account that their immigration is more recent. As a result, they overwhelmingly use MTOs to remit funds.

Beyond sociological factors or factors related to lack of appropriate financial infrastructure in the destination countries, a lack of transparency with regard to the real costs of transfers also appears to be determinant. In fact, the results of the survey clearly show that migrants have distorted perceptions of the real transaction costs and overall service conditions. This in addition may be amplified by the context of lack of regulations promoting total transparency, as well as lack of voluntary initiatives from the private sector. In the face of this, it is indeed unlikely that migrants choose their remittance channel on the basis of the real costs.

The results of the survey shed light on four main promising avenues for actions to be undertaken in the framework of Project Greenback 2.0 in Montreuil and that would deserve further investigation.

Firstly, **there is a blatant need for more transparency in the market**. This would allow for a better understanding of all the various elements of the cost, and also for a better comparison of the

conditions offered by different types of remittance providers. Related to this need, it appears that financial education actions could also greatly help in educating migrants about the real costs of transfers, which do not only include the cost paid to the provider on the sending side (in addition to any hidden costs related to the exchange rate, etc.) , but any costs on the receiving side, including costs incurred to receive the money (time spent to collect the money, travel costs, waiting time to collect the money at destination, money lost, hidden costs charged by intermediaries, etc.). Taking into account the fact that for two of the three groups money is sent monthly, it would also be beneficial to focus on how to reduce the total cost per year by better planning the remittance periodicity.

The inclusion of questions related to the knowledge and usage of new information and communication technologies allows to build on the fact that a great majority of the inquired actually use ICT and this could be a powerful vehicle for both initiatives promoting transparency and promoting services built on those new technologies.

Secondly, as the survey has illustrated, **there are several factors which encourage the use of cash in remittance flows**. Beyond considerations about the factors impacting on the choice of the most efficient channels, it would also be important to consider the differentiated impact on financial inclusion at the receiving end, which is determined by the selected remittance channel. This is especially relevant for the three selected groups, as financial inclusion rates are very low in Western Africa, and also, albeit to a lesser extent, in Algeria. This would also allow to connect remittance issues to broader economic development issues.

Thirdly, as the survey has also highlighted **the issue of lack of appropriate financial infrastructure in the destination countries**, it would be useful to further investigate how this specifically impacts on the choice of remittance channels in particular, but also more broadly on all the dimensions of remittance behavior. As the

Malian example illustrates, remittance channels have mostly remained stable over time or have even switched from unregulated to regulated providers, it would be interesting to investigate how various factors in Mali (including the existence of adequate financial infrastructure, but also socio-economic factors such as the lack of financial education) may influence remittance patterns from France to Mali. Taking into account the strong links between Montreuil and certain villages in Mali, this route could be further explored maybe with the help of relevant partners.

Activities carried out by Project Greenback 2.0 could consider all of the three proposed dimensions, crystalizing efforts directed both at the demand and the supply sides, following a comprehensive approach, in close consultation and synergy with the relevant public authorities and potential partners.

ANNEX—A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE SURVEY DESIGN AND THE FIELDWORK

The questionnaire

The research presented in this report was undertaken following the methodology developed by the World Bank in collaboration with FIERI for the Greenback 2.0 Turin Survey.[25] The questionnaire however was adapted to the French context and the targeted groups (Algerians, Malians, and Ivorians). For example, some of the response modules related to access to financial services were slightly modified to take into account specificities of the French banking system, as well as those related to the marital status of migrants (some Malian and Ivorian migrants being potentially polygamous). Moreover, a new section on Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) was added.

The structure of the questionnaire is as follows:

- **Section A**: Filter questions
  - To be in France since at least one year;
  - To be aged 18 to 65 years-old;
  - To reside in Montreuil (or in some neighboring cities);
  - To earn an income (whatever its source);
  - To have sent remittances at least one over the last 12 months;
- **Section B**: Personal information (sex, age, citizenship at birth and current citizenship, marital status, religion, education, training);
- **Section C**: Information on household and other family members (place of residence, relationship to the migrant, sex, age);
- **Section D**: Individual and household incomes;

- **Section E**: Financial inclusion (savings behavior, use of bank services and bank account, access to credit and microfinance);
- **Section F**: NICT use;
- **Section G**: Remittances (intensity, frequency, operators, cost, direction and use) and received remittances;
- **Section H**: Occupation (occupation status, type of job, productive sector, type of work contract);
- **Section I**: Legal status (entry documents and residence permits at arrival and at time of survey);
- **Section J**: Impact of the economic crisis (change in remittances and income since 2008)
- **Section K**: Post interview comments

The structure of the questionnaire was designed so as to (1) make sure that the interviewee belongs to the target population through four filter questions and (2) to address each specific section—demography, income and earnings, financial inclusion, ICT, remittances, job and occupation, legal status—in a logical sequence for the interviewee. The questionnaire was intended for face-to-face interviews lasting around 20–30 minutes each and administered by trained interviewers in French.

Training of interviewers

The fieldwork team composed of 15 qualified interviewers supervised by the DIAL research team in charge of the project. As a preliminary phase to the fieldwork, the interviewers attended a specific training on the project objectives and on the overall structure and logics of the survey, on the specific content of each question of the questionnaire, and on the strategies for the

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25   See Greenback 2.0 (2014), *Migrants' Remittances from Italy: International remittances and access to financial services for migrants in Turin,* the World Bank, 48 p.

sample definition and the interview process. During the training session, a draft of the questionnaire was given to the interviewers along with the related documentation for the fieldwork:

- A leaflet on the project to be distributed to interviewed migrants;

- A preliminary list of entry points and key informants of the three groups;

- A guide (20 pages) to support interviewers during the fieldwork phase, with practical insights on interviewing and data collection techniques and with a detailed description of each section of the questionnaire, to reduce problems of interpretation and formulation;

- Privacy statements to be signed by migrants to guarantee the anonymity of the interview;

- Follow-up forms through which interviewers collected contacts information (name, telephone number and/or email addresses) of migrants interested in taking part in the activities of Project Greenback 2.0;

- Personal access to the online platform Survey Monkey, for the registration of questionnaire data; and,

- USB keys to be offered to the interviewed migrants as an incentive/reward for their participation.

Interviewers were trained on the most effective ways to convince migrants to complete the entire questionnaire, on how to offer an incentive and how to obtain consent to the use of sensitive data (privacy statement).

Sampling strategy

The implemented sampling procedure was derived from a combination of two standard procedures in migrants' surveys, namely the "center sampling technique" (Biao et al., 2011) and "respondent driven sampling" (Heckathorn, 1997). The "center sampling technique" consisted in primarily identifying "centers" or aggregation centers in Montreuil, gathering large numbers and diversified types of migrants, and potential key informants within them. Within each aggregation center, interviewers were asked to randomly get in contact with migrants.

Units from this initial representative sample served as "seeds" for an additional "respondent driven sampling" (RDS), which is a variant of standard snowballing techniques where each surveyed individual is asked to provide a fixed number of additional migrants to be contacted by interviewers. Within the RDS procedure, initial respondents are given incentives to recruit other interviewees themselves. The process primarily relies on a "dual incentive system," which consists of a primary reward for being interviewed and a secondary reward for recruiting others. Secondly, it can also be a way to recruit individuals who may not respond to material incentives but are sensitive to non-material prestige or glow of helping a peer. Thirdly, subjects are not asked to identify their peers to the interviewer, but to recruit them into the study, thereby getting around the privacy concerns of snowballing. Finally, the problem of recruiting only the most cooperative subjects is reduced by combining primary and secondary incentives as recruiters may exert "social pressure" in order to obtain the secondary reward.

To summarize, concrete implementation of the procedure was as follows:

1. Identification of significant and representative "centers," and key informants for the target groups;

2. Recruitment of a random and representative sample of "seeds," i.e. first respondents. Seeds received a compensation for participating in the survey;

3. Seeds were incentivized to "recruit" new participants and promised a reward for each peer recruited;

4. All new recruits that came to be surveyed received similar "dual incentives"; and,

5. Sampling ended either when the targeted population was saturated or when minimum sample size was reached and sample composition was stable.

Fieldwork and feedback

The survey was conducted from March, 31st to May, 19th 2014. It was carried out by a team of 15 interviewers, divided in three groups, each one focusing on a targeted migrant group and

supervised by a member of the DIAL research coordination team. This subdivision aimed at improving and optimizing communication and coordination between them at each "center" and avoiding overlapping. Each interviewer was asked to send a daily report registering the number of contacts, the selected key informants, and the number of completed interviews. A biweekly or weekly meeting gathering all interviewers was organized with the supervision team in Montreuil in order to debrief and solve specific issues, particularly concerning the way to convince migrants to share information with regard to the places where migrants were more or less reluctant to answer the survey, but also to adjust the sample composition when necessary.

Each interviewers' group was given a detailed map of Montreuil divided by district and indicating each migrant group concentration areas on the basis of the census, and an initial list of entry points in each targeted district. To get as representative a sample as possible in terms of group and individual migrant characteristics, their number was significant and their characteristics diverse: work places, entertainment locations, care and social services, public offices, parks, religious centers, "foyers" (workers' hostels), Hometown Associations offices, as well as banks, post offices, and MTOs locations. The full range of locations was selected in order to capture the variety of remittance behaviors for the specific objective of this survey. The list was yet constantly updated by the interviewers themselves and then communicated to other groups. Interviewers had to select five aggregation centers/ entry points within which they were to randomly identify four key informants or "seeds." To ensure representativeness, interviewers were additionally asked to balance migrant seeds' profiles in terms of gender, age, duration of stay, and professional occupation. Each seed was then allowed to provide a maximum number of four peer contacts to be surveyed and further turned into new seeds to continue the RDS process.

Yet, this specific snowballing technique proved quite unsuccessful, because most of the time the surveyed migrants refused to provide any contact, and because the USB key was perceived as a mere reward for participating to the survey rather than a real incentive to further recruit additional participants. As a result, most of the interviews were conducted thanks to pure random sampling at the entry points.

One third of the interviews were conducted in a cafe, one third in a public space (inside or outside), and one third at the interviewee's home. Even if the interviewers did not manage to survey some specific migrant populations, this quasi-pure random sampling finally achieved reasonable representativeness of the sample. Additional consistency of the final sample can be attributed to a good allocation of timing and hours of fieldwork between weekdays and weekends.

The interviewees encountered particular difficulties during the fieldwork among which: (i) the stronger reluctance of women from all groups to be part of the survey, mostly due to the language barrier or their perception of having an inferior position within the household; (ii) the eligibility criteria for the Algerian group, which proved to be much too restrictive due to the irregularity of remittances or the prevalence of regular transfers at retirement age; (iii) the relatively smaller size and geographic dispersion of the Ivorian group; and, (iv) the strong reluctance of the Malian group to be interviewed due to the recurrence of surveys in the City of Montreuil and the recent war in the country. Therefore, the survey area was somewhat enlarged to neighboring municipalities of the Seine-Saint-Denis region, especially for the Ivorian group. Besides, interviewers sometimes found it easier to conduct interviews at workplaces within Paris for migrants living in Montreuil. These fieldwork constraints should be kept in mind to further assess the representativeness of the sample with respect to some characteristics such as gender, age, and the duration of stay.

Data entry, cleaning, and analysis

Interviews were conducted through Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI), i.e. using digital questionnaires that were administered face-to-face and entered simultaneously. This procedure proved efficient to minimize entry errors, due to the well-designed software that allowed to pre-program filters and warnings and report inconsistencies during the interview. Secondly, the entered data was uploaded regularly to an online survey tool that allowed the supervision team to check the structure of the sample in real time and make adjustments if needed. At the end of the survey, the whole dataset was clean and could immediately be exported and processed by the research team, using STATA as statistical software to produce descriptive statistics and data analysis.

Migrants' Remittances from France

Findings of a survey on migrants' financial needs and remittance behavior in Montreuil