

THEMIS – Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems

Metadata Phase 2

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Note on availability of data collected during Phase 2:

Data collected during Phase 2 can be made available upon request. Any researcher or institution interested in any transcription of the qualitative interviews collected during Phase 2 is kindly asked to submit a request to the Co-Applicant of the relevant countries (cf. Table below). Please provide a title, abstract, and plan for analysis (not longer than one page). The request detail mention the aims, research questions and methods of analysis.

| Qualitative dataset in (country) | Co-Applicant | Email address | Phone no. |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| United Kingdom | Dr. Oliver Bakewell | oliver.bakewell@qeh.ox.ac.uk | +441865271902 |
| Netherlands | Prof. Godfried Engbersen | engbersen@fsw.eur.nl | +31104082084 |
| Portugal | Prof. Maria Lucinda Fonseca | fonseca-maria@campus.ul.pt | +351919205546 |
| Norway | Dr. Cindy Horst | cindy@prio.no | +4722547749 |

I Research outline

1 Introduction to the research

To fill the theoretical and empirical gaps in scientific knowledge on migration, the THEMIS project explores the conditions under which initial moves by pioneer migrants to Europe result in the formation of migration systems, when this does not happen, or migration systems are in decline. This is achieved through a substantially improved theorization of migration system dynamics by integrating theories on the initiation and continuation of migration; and a comparative, multi-sited, and longitudinal study of the evolution of heterogeneous migrant groups following different settlement trajectories from three origin countries (Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine) to eight European cities in the UK, Norway, the Netherlands and Portugal.

The THEMIS project began in January 2010 and is funded through to 2013 by the NORFACE Migration Research Programme. There are four project partners: the Department of Sociology of the Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR), the Netherlands; the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford, UK; the International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway; and the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon (IGOT-UL), Portugal.

2 Research questions

The three main research questions of THEMIS are:

1. Under what conditions does initial (pioneer) migration establish precedents for the establishment of migration systems?

In other words, when does migration of pioneers lead to a system that generates more migration?

2. Which factors explain why many initial migration movements might be followed by limited chain migration of immediate family and friends but do *not* start processes of expanding network migration leading to network formation and the establishment of migration systems?

In some cases pioneer migration might lead to some migration of family members and close acquaintances but not to migration of others. We cannot speak of a migration system in such a case. What factors determine the start of a migration system?

3. Under what conditions do migrant networks and migration systems weaken or decline, or does 'spontaneous' (pioneer) migration to *new* destinations occur?

Migration systems can start, grow and stabilise, but they can also decline. How does such a decline come about? Does this have to do with the fact that people migrate elsewhere (new pioneers have migrated to new destinations and this had led to a system).

These questions are concerned with the conditions under which initial moves of pioneer migrants to Europe result in rapidly expanding network migration and the formation of migration systems, and the conditions under which this does not happen.

3 Central concepts

Migration system and migration system dynamics

By framing our research questions around the concept of migration systems, we take existing migration systems theory – with all its shortcomings – as our starting point. A fundamental aim of

THEMIS is to refine and reshape migration systems theory, which has hardly moved forward since Mabogunje's work in the 1970s. Mabogunje saw migration systems (1970) as a 'set of places linked by flows and counter flows of people, goods, services, and information, which tend to facilitate further exchange, including migration, between the places'. This definition remains quite open and general. It focuses on the ways in which systems run (either expanding or declining, or simply self-sustaining) and makes no claim to explain the genesis and decline of migration systems. Mabogunje's approach assumes that the system is already in place: it cannot explain why a system comes into being in the first place.

It is precisely such an existential question that THEMIS aims to address: under what conditions does the initial movement of pioneers result in an establishment of a migration system? Unfortunately, since Mabogunje, no systematic attempts have been made to further advance and refine migration systems theory drawing on later advances in general social theory. Migration systems theory remains unable to explain the **heterogeneity** of migration system formation (the existence of different trajectories), **change** (growth, decline, stagnation) within existing migration systems, or **the role of agency¹ (vis-à-vis structure)** in explaining such change. It is the ambition of THEMIS to address these gaps.

Migration systems are not steady phenomena, but flexible. Different migration flows develop, then change, and destinations and places of origin also change. In short, dynamics are at work within migration systems. We conceptualise migration system dynamics as *the ways in which the migration system changes in relation to: i) external (to the system) factors, which in turn re-shape the initial conditions under which migration takes place, ii) feedback mechanisms (within the system), and iii) the exercise of the agency of social actors within the system.*

These dynamics occur in different ways. Firstly, changes occur in relation to factors outside the system. One could think of climate change or a natural disaster that pushes people to move, but also an improvement in living conditions in the origin country. Secondly, feedback mechanisms encompass feedback that is given through the system, it can be both negative and positive. One can think of stories that encourage people to move to a certain place as apparently life is better there, or migrants may also communicate to non-migrants their discontent with their situation. Lastly, the agency of social actors refers to the capacity of people to act independently and to make their own free choices (within the system).

Pioneers

THEMIS address pioneer migrants in establishing precedents for further migration to follow (and the possible establishment of a migration system), and the conditions under which it would not happen. The question here is the role of the pioneer migrants in influencing who from the origin community, and to what extent, might follow their footsteps, and who would not?

Pioneers are not necessarily the first migrants who arrive in a certain country. Migration from A to B can be divided in different waves, for instance, Moroccan migration to the Netherland could be distinguished between labour migrants and family (reunification or formation) migrants. Pioneer labour migrants are interesting, but we also focus on the first female migrants who arrived after 1974 for family reunification. The term pioneer should not be understood too strictly.

¹ Agency refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices. Structure, by contrast, refers to the recurrent patterned arrangements which seem to influence or limit the choices and opportunities that individuals possess.

Migration threshold

A migration threshold is a hypothesised critical level beyond which migration becomes partly self-sustaining – in other words, it gains its own momentum. Today, this concept is rather unexplored. It is based on the idea that a ‘critical mass’ of migrants is needed to generate certain effects that create more migration. For example, the creation of associations, religious institutions, or special businesses that make the country in question a more attractive destination for migrants from a certain country. It is unclear whether such a threshold level really exists and it is one of the central aims of THEMIS to further theorise and investigate this matter.

Migration systems decline

The focus on migration dynamics in contemporary migration literature evolved around the assumption that once started, migrations would continue and self-perpetuate. New conditions arising in the course of migration would in turn make additional migration more likely. This implies theoretically limitless new flows, further growth and expansion ad infinitum. Clearly, this circular logic is a naïve assumption.

Studies of network migration usually ignore counterfactual cases in which initial moves by pioneer migrants do not set in motion self-reinforcing migration dynamics. A second weakness of these theories is their largely circular nature, according to which migration goes on forever. Little account is taken of factors that may weaken migration systems over time.

THEMIS pays special attention to the possible decline of migration systems or waves. People might stop offering help to new migrants, negative rumours could spread within the system discouraging people to move or the changing conditions on the labour market could influence a possible decline.

Factors

We also focus on macro-, meso- and micro-level indicators of structural conditions facing migrants. Examples of these are visualised in the following table.

| Macro-level | Meso-level (partly affected by migration processes) | Micro-level |
|---|---|---|
| <i>Socio-economic indicators e.g.</i> | <i>Socio-economic indicators e.g.</i> | <i>Personal characteristics e.g.</i> |
| Income levels per head | Remittances | Household structure |
| Income stability | Community income inequality | Civil status |
| Employment levels | Socio-ethnic hierarchies | Gender |
| Labour market structure | Labour market segmentation | Age |
| Literacy / School enrolment | Economic growth | |
| Access to health care / health status of family members | Migration culture (migration-proneness) | <i>Micro-level socio-economic, e.g.,</i> |
| Access to social rights (social security) | | Household income |
| | <i>Political indicators, e.g.</i> | Ownership of land and other productive assets |
| <i>Political indicators e.g.</i> | Local implementation of migration policies | Ownership of residential property |
| Political freedoms and rights (voting, citizenship) | | Education and skills |
| Migration policies | <i>Mobility indicators, e.g.</i> | Employment status |
| | Labour recruitment | |
| | | <i>Socio-cultural</i> |

| Macro-level | Meso-level (partly affected by migration processes) | Micro-level |
|---|---|--|
| Access to human rights | Access to migrant networks | Social status |
| Economic rights (property rights, shareholding) | 'Migration industry': Travel agents, smugglers, document forgers, traffickers, etc. | Ethnicity, religion |
| Conflict | Access to migration-relevant information | Social networks |
| <i>Demographic indicators e.g.</i> | Labour demand in 'ethnic' niches | Access to information |
| Dependency ratios | <i>Environmental indicators e.g.</i> | <i>Mobility indicators</i> |
| Life expectancy | Agro-ecological risks (droughts, floods, etc) | Spatial distribution of family members |
| Fertility | Land degradation | Personal migration history |
| Gender ratio | | Transnational activities |
| <i>Environmental indicators, e.g.</i> | | |
| Climate | | |

Figure 1. Macro, meso and micro level indicators of structural conditions facing migrants

4 Target groups

The semi-structured interviews in the European research areas targeted people aged 18 or more born in Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine or with at least one of their parents born there, and living in the areas under study. In the areas of origin, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with return migrants and migrant's family members (up to the third degree of kinship), with links to the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal or UK, and mainly born in their country of residence. The research team aimed for diverse target groups in terms of gender, age, social class, motive of migration, and duration of stay in the case of migrants in Europe.

Quantitative data in the European cities was collected among migrants aged 18 or more born in Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine or with at least one of their parents born there, and living in the areas under study. The surveys in the research areas in Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine were collected among people aged 18 or more and living in the surveyed households.

II General guidelines for the semi-structured interviews

1 Recruiting respondents

1.1 Sampling

The semi-structured interviews are conducted with respondents meeting the criteria of our target population:

- Born in Brazil, Morocco, or Ukraine
- Has one parent born in the Netherlands
- Resides in the research area

We select our respondents strategically: aiming for a diverse group of respondents from each origin country in terms of gender, age, social class, motive of migration, duration of stay in the research area, region of destination and citizenship status.

1.2 Recruitment strategies

Recruitment of respondents is carried out in collaboration with the fieldwork co-ordinators. We conduct non-random sampling through the **snowball method**. Initial respondents are chosen strategically to reach a diverse group of migrants by asking whether they know other potential respondents to approach.

Initial respondents are recruited through **(migrant) organisations, churches/mosques, shops/companies** and our **personal networks**. It is important to ensure that the recruited respondents have diverse backgrounds – for instance if a respondent refers you to his brother that lives next door and migrated with him as another respondent, ask for other suggestions – to assemble a variety of migration histories.

1.3 Contacting respondents

The fieldwork coordinators should also be consulted when a possible respondent is contacted. They can check whether the respondent meets the criteria of the target population and monitor if they are a suitable addition in order to sustain sufficient variety in the sample.

As the ‘face’ or representative of the [research institute] conducting interviews with the (potential) respondent, it is important to **behave in a friendly and professional manner at all times**.

A short **introduction to the research** is given to every respondent, explaining:

- You are an interviewer associated with the [research institute]
- The aims and purposes of our research
- How you made contact with this respondent (did you meet this respondent earlier / were you referred by acquaintances?)
- The target population (clarify whether the respondent belongs to this population)
- That you wish to discuss the respondent’s migration history (elaborating the interview topics if necessary)
- That the respondent’s personal views and experiences are important to you
- Possible times and places for the interview to take place
- Any anonymity and confidentiality matters
- That a project booklet can be provided with more information

Some respondents will agree to participate directly. Other respondents may have some doubts, in which case they can be referred to the research website and be contacted again once they have had time to consider further. Some respondents may refuse to participate: ask for their reasons not to participate.

- If it is because they are **busy**, assure them that you can work around their schedules.
- If they are **not interested in the subject** of the research or state that they **lack knowledge on the subject**, assure them that the opinions of migrants less committed to the subject are valued. The questions are not likely to be hard to answer, and only involve the respondent's personal migration history.
- If they fear that the interview will be **too personal**, assure them that the information that they provide is strictly confidential and will be handled anonymously.
- If respondents still refuse to participate, you need to **respect their choice**. Their final reasons not to participate are still useful to the project, and should be shared with the fieldwork co-ordinators.

1.4 Interview location

If a respondent agrees to participate, pick a **convenient date, time** and **place** for the interview. Some respondents may wish to do the interview right away, while others will prefer to make an appointment. It is best to conduct the interview in a **quiet place**, for example the respondent's home, the respondent's work place, in a quiet café or at the [research institute].

Before meeting a respondent, **always inform the fieldwork co-ordinators where and who is being interviewed**. In general, the interview location should be carefully chosen, and it is unadvisable to go to homes of respondents not fully trusted or at night time.

2 Interview topics

2.1 Personal migration history

Begin the interview by asking about the personal migration history of the respondent. This provides a general picture of the respondent and their family in relation to migration. Be sure to capture all moves, and even if recording the interview, take notes to inform subsequent questions.

2.2 Migration threshold

The next questions relate to the concepts explained in the research outline (see page 5, central concepts), to understand if there is a point beyond which migration becomes partly self-sustaining. Questions concern the length of the respondent's stay, regions where they have lived and why, their activity within organisations, their legal status, and providing or declining help. It is important to let the respondent do the talking, as they may raise other significant factors.

2.3 Pioneers

Questions then focus on the pioneer migrants in [the country of destination]. These might be the very first migrants who arrived, but pay careful attention to how pioneer is defined: for THEMIS it also encompasses pioneers of a migration wave. THEMIS are not only interested in the pioneer labour migrants but also pioneer (female) family migrants. If the respondent is not a pioneer, ask them if they know about any pioneers.

2.4 Decline

The next questions are aimed to understand views about the changes in how people have been coming to [the destination country] from the respondent's origin country. Begin by asking about the personal experience of the respondent, and then about what they observe amongst fellow migrants. Migration flows (logically) have a starting and an ending point, here THEMIS are interested in the phase where a decline possibly comes about.

2.5 Questions related to Respondent Driven Sampling

Phase 4 of THEMIS uses Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) to recruit respondents. This method is not only about respondents recruiting respondents. When trying to study a complicated population consisting of different groups, often not members of these groups are registered, making it impossible to draw a random sample from a population register. THEMIS is interested in comparing data sets per country and per migrant group, so representativeness is important. Put simply, by assuring representativeness comparisons are possible, otherwise differences within data sets can be blamed on the ways in which respondents are recruited.

RDS, a new method originally designed for studying 'hidden populations' such as drug users and AIDS patients, ensures representativeness. Respondents will, without any pressure from the interviewer but with a monetary incentive, recruit new respondents. People are more likely to participate beyond the monetary incentive, as the respect of the recruiter is at stake. If a new respondent is recruited, both receive monetary compensation. By asking each respondent extensively about their network it is possible to estimate the likelihood of recruiting such respondents. A certain number of waves are needed to obtain a representative sample.² THEMIS uses a certain number of seeds (first respondents), and 'stretches' the recruitment phase until at least six waves are attained.

Questions under the heading RDS are asked to determine the network size of each respondent. **This information is absolutely necessary for RDS to function.** This system is piloted in THEMIS Phase 2 to ensure functionality in Phase 4.

3 The interview

3.1 Preparations

Once an interview is scheduled, it is important to ensure you arrive at the agreed time and place **in time**. If necessary, take an earlier train or bus. If uncertain whether the respondent will remember the appointment, **contact the respondent to remind** them earlier that day.

Bring along:

- the topic list;
- a pen and paper to take notes during the interview;
- a voice recorder with sufficient batteries; and
- the small gift for the respondents.

² A wave is when one respondent has recruited another respondent. Six waves means that six further respondents beyond the seed or first respondent need to be recruited, one at the time within a network.

3.2 Conducting the interview

Respondents generally have little knowledge about how qualitative interviews are conducted. It is important that the respondent to talk freely about the subjects you are interested in, so try to create a pleasant ambiance in which the respondent feels comfortable talking to you before commencing. This can be done with informal conversation and choosing somewhere private to talk.

If family members or roommates are present and it is not possible to go elsewhere, try to minimise their role in the interview. Ask the respondent for *his or her* opinion.

Always **ask the respondent's consent to record the interview** on your voice recorder. Explain that this is to ensure their answers are captured accurately, and confidentiality is guaranteed. If the respondent refuses, notes must be taken instead.

An easy way to begin the interview is to introduce yourself to the respondent and remind them of your research goals, the projected length of the interview, and the topics to be discussed. It is important to tell the respondent that are being interviewed as an expert or as a representative of a group of people or organisation.

3.3 General guidelines

- Start the interview with a general, open-ended question.
- **Ask as few questions as possible:** the respondent should do most of the talking.
- Making reference (anonymously, of course) to statements made in other interviews or to findings based on other data sources can be a good way to encourage respondents to express themselves. It is also useful for validating information already gathered.
- Respect the respondent's pace and **do not be afraid of pauses or silences**. The respondent might be thinking about elaborations on their answer: avoid interrupting.
- Interviewers should **not judge what respondents say**. The interviewer should remain neutral and listen to the respondent's story.
- Keep the interview focused on the topics.
- **Refrain from suggesting answers** and be careful not to ask leading questions.
- Use neutral signs and statements to encourage respondents to elaborate on their answers. For instance, nodding your head or saying: 'I understand' or 'Of course'.
- **Be careful not to ask closed questions** that leave respondents no room to elaborate and that can slow the pace of the interview.
- Do not easily accept yes/no answers or 'I don't know'. Motivate the respondents to answer extensively.
- Be sure to cover all of the pertinent topics included in the interview plan.
- Ask clear and direct questions such as: How? Where? When? Who? What? Why? How much? How many?
- If necessary, formulate questions so that informants answer on behalf of the people they represent.
- **Listen carefully to all answers and ask more questions to obtain additional information.** Make sure those questions are posed neutrally, e.g. 'Could you tell me more about this?'
- Ensure that key informants understand each question.
- Interviewers should **not talk too much**, but let the respondent talk. In some situations, giving an example about your own life might encourage the respondent to talk. You could for example tell about your own experience as a migrant (if this is the case). However, make sure you are not leading the respondent's answers.

3.4 Concluding the interview

It may be difficult to end a semi-structured interview as it does not consist of closed questions. When all topics have been discussed and the allocated time is over, ask the respondent if they have anything to add. Ask whether the respondent feels that all topics have been discussed, and if not, have the respondent talk about this subject before ending the interview.

After this, thank the respondent for participating, and explain how the rest of the project will proceed. If they are interested in the results, note the respondent's email address.

Never forget to **ask the respondent if they know any other migrants that could be interviewed** as part of the research. Write down any names and contact information. Preferably, the respondents will tell the acquaintances that they might expect a phone call from the [research institute].

Ask the respondent if we can get back in touch if we have remaining questions afterwards. Write down the respondent's name, email address and phone number.

Shortly after finishing the interview, summarise what the respondent said, and note impressions from the interview and anything that stood out. Describe the conditions in which the interview was conducted (ease of the respondent, environment, people around, other influences) to make transcribing and analysing the interview easier.

Record the answers to the following questions in the transcription:

- Full name of the respondent?
- Phone number of the respondent?
- E-mail address of the respondent?
- How did you find the interviewee? Write down the code of the respondent who provided this contact.
- Besides yourself and the respondent, were there any other people present during the interview? If so, who? Did they participate in the interview?
- How would you describe the atmosphere during the interview? E.g. easy, still, tense? Elaborate with one or two sentences.
- Do you think the respondent understood: almost all of the questions, most of the questions, or only a small proportion of the questions that he or she has been asked?
- In what language(s) was the interview conducted?
- Did the interview end before finishing the full topic list? If yes, what was the reason for this?
- Do you have any comments or concerns about the interview?

4 Transcription guidelines

Transcribe and translate the interview. It is important to have a standardised form of transcribing to facilitate the usage of the interviews by all research partners.

The title should include the research team, origin country of the respondent and respondent number.

On the first page, write down information about the interview, background information on the respondent, and their answers to the RDS questions. These questions do not need to be transcribed ad verbatim. An example of a transcription page is shown below.

[Acronym research institute] – [Country of origin] – Interview N° [XX] – Interviewer initials [e.g. RD]

General information

Interviewer: [Interviewers name]
 Description of contact: Contacted via XX
 Date interview: XXth of XX, 2011
 Duration and time: 00.00- 00.00
 Location: [Location of the interview]
 Language(s) of interview XX

Background information

Gender: XX
 Age: XX
 Civil status: [Married, single, widow etc.]
 Job/Profession in NL: XX
 Job/Profession in [country of origin]: XX
 Level of education: XX
 Religion: XX
 Place or region of birth: XX
 Date of arrival in NL: XXXX
 Ethnicity: XX
 Nationality: [Dutch, Ukrainian, Brazilian, Moroccan etc.]
 Legal status: [Type of residency permit, visa, Dutch passport etc.]
 Mother tongue: XX
 Language spoken at home: XX
 Consent for recording and using information confidentially: Yes/No

Questions on RDS

How many members of the target population are known by name: XX
 How many are in your mobile phone contacts or address book: XX

| | |
|--|----|
| With how many would you chat with in the street if you saw them: | XX |
| How many could you give a coupon: | XX |

On the second page, the actual transcription commences. Transcribe the interview according to the following rules:

- Clearly indicate who is talking each time and changes between the respondent or the interviewer. The person's initials can be noted underlined followed by a tab.
- Indicate the time as indicated on the voice recorder every 10 lines or when a new part of the interview starts. Times should be mentioned in an exact way e.g. 00.15.42.
- Indicate the questions asked in **bold**.
- Use Arial font, size 11, justified text alignment and single line spacing.
- Parts of the interview can be left off the transcription if an extended response is not relevant to the research. The skipped section should be briefly summarised in *italics* within brackets, and the start and ending time of the skipped part.

The transcription should look like the example below.

00.03.18

AM: **When did you move to the Netherlands?**

LK: Well, I moved to the Netherlands in 1986 [etc.]

00.20.50

AM: **What kind of work did you do in Ukraine?**

LK: Well, I worked in a factory for clothing. It was very heavy and difficult. We needed to wake up very early and go to the factory. I did not have any transportation and it was a long walk to get there. This one time I got lost and

[00.05.10 *The respondent used to work in a factory under harsh conditions, she elaborated 00.07.50*]

AM: **How did you become a nurse in the Netherlands?**

LK: The first years I worked as a cleaning lady in several households in Amsterdam. This job was oke for then but after a few years I wanted to do something else. A friend of mine was studying to become a nurse and often told me stories about her internships. Then I thought: I would like to become a nurse too. [etc.]

III Fieldwork report

1 Interviews in the destination countries

THEMIS conducted a total of 362 semi-structured interviews in Phase 2 from December 2010 to July 2011. The number of interviews per group in each country varied between 25 and 34, and the number of interviews with Moroccans was slightly lower than the other two groups (cf. Table 1).

| | Brazilians | Moroccans | Ukrainians | Total |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Netherlands | 29 | 30 | 32 | 91 |
| Norway | 30 | 29 | 31 | 90 |
| Portugal | 31 | 25 | 31 | 87 |
| UK | 30 | 30 | 34 | 94 |
| Total | 120 | 114 | 128 | 362 |

Table 1. Interviews Phase 2 per group in each country of residence

To be eligible respondents and at least one parent had to be born in Brazil, Morocco or Ukraine; and the respondent needed to reside the research area of the selected destination countries. To enhance respondent diversity, interviewers do not recruit too many respondents from any one place or source (internet, church, etc.).

The research areas in each destination countries were selected according to the higher presence of target groups (cf. table 2):

| | Country of origin | Research areas Phase 2 |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Netherlands | Brazil | Amsterdam |
| | Ukraine | Rotterdam |
| | Morocco | |
| Norway | Brazil | Oslo |
| | Ukraine | |
| | Morocco | |
| Portugal | Brazil | Lisbon |
| | Ukraine | Algarve region |
| | Morocco | |
| UK | Brazil | London |
| | Ukraine | |
| | Morocco | |

Table 2. Research areas in Phase 2

2 Preparing the fieldwork

2.1 Recruitment and training of interviewers

For THEMIS interviewers were recruited in various ways: by advertising (UK), through migrant associations (UK), using existing networks from previous projects or staff members of partner institutions (Norway), among students of the partner institutions, via key informants of Phase 1, or from team members (IGOT-UL team in Portugal).

The criteria for selecting interviewers included:

- Diversity of social networks
- Experience from other research projects
- Particular knowledge of and contacts in at least one target group
- Language knowledge of the target groups (Ukrainian, Russian, Arabic, Berber, Portuguese, etc.)
- Background knowledge in social sciences
- Previous experience conducting qualitative interviews

The main criteria varied slightly in each research area and fulfilling all the requirements was not always possible. For instance, some interviewers did not speak the native language of the informants.

Some timing issues arose occasionally with some interviewers, which were resolved by recruiting more interviewers to carry out the fieldwork within the established timeline. These issues were attributed to motivation or characteristics of interviewers. It was observed that over qualification of interviewers can be counterproductive, leading to a lack of motivation to perform some tasks.

Training materials for interviewers included a training guideline on conducting interviews (cf. Part II of this report). However training techniques varied in the different destination countries. In some cases role-play was used, in others trainers accompanied interviewers during their first interview, which was used as training (Portugal). In the latter, the first interview was monitored closely and feedback was provided. In Norway, three different sessions were organised with the interviewers: the first to explain the training guidelines, the second to hear about interviewer's first experiences and give feedback, and the third to discuss patterns and findings.

2.2 Recruitment of informants

Informant selection took into account criteria such as age, gender or migration experience. Religion was also considered when recruiting Brazilian informants due to the high variety of religious backgrounds among this group.

The research teams tried to reach a high diversity of profiles but also to capture particular trends in each research area, such as the migration of au-pair Ukrainian women and Brazilian brides to Oslo or the Brazilian student community in London. First arrived or pioneers migrants were also a targeted group.

Informants were recruited mainly using snowball sampling methods. Other recruitment techniques used included adverts in ethnic newspapers (used in London and found ineffective), and the use of personal contacts. Interviewers also went to locations frequented by target groups, including consulates and embassies, language schools, migrant associations or archives, restaurants and cafes, mosques and churches, and universities. Respondents were also recruited through employers, political parties, specific social events, or social media.

An over-representation of higher-educated Brazilians in Oslo is suspected whereas some resistance from the Moroccan groups was observed in Oslo and in London. In the latter case, this group has been over-researched which may explain their reluctance to be interviewed.

3 Fieldwork

3.1 Language and translation issues

In the Netherlands and the UK an English version of the interview guidelines were used; in Portugal, the guidelines were translated into Portuguese; and in Norway, English and Norwegian versions were used. Some additional questions were asked in different research areas according to THEMIS partners' research interests (cf. part 4 of this report for the different English versions used).

The language used in interviews was dependant on the language knowledge of informants and interviewers. The most common languages were Portuguese, Dutch, Norwegian, English, Arabic, Ukrainian or Russian. In some cases, the interview switched between languages of the origin and destination countries.

In Portugal the interviews were only conducted in Portuguese, and in some cases assistance was provided by the interviewees' children or friends. Linguistic barriers were more evident in the Moroccan group, especially in the Algarve (Portugal) and in Oslo. During the interviews of Moroccans in Portugal, interviewers and informants also switched to French and Spanish. Polish was also used with some Ukrainians in London.

One of the interviewers of Moroccans in London was Lebanese and used Classic Modern Arabic with informants (all of them high-skilled migrants) instead of using Darija. This was perceived positively by the informants who found it attractive.

In Oslo, the team had a Russian speaker, and a Russian and Ukrainian speaker to make sure that both Ukrainian and Russian ethnic groups were covered.

Thanks to the language knowledge of interviewers and informants, there were no language issues with the Brazilian group in any of the research areas.

3.2 Collection of interviews

Interviews were arranged between interviewers and respondents at a mutually convenient location. As a result interviews took place in various locations: THEMIS partners' meeting rooms, offices/sites of informants, migrant associations, informants' homes, and in public places such as parks, cafes, schools or shopping centres.

On some occasions, interviewers tried to organise several interviews in the same day. In London, an interviewer could conduct up to three interviews a day, but in some areas, two interviews a day was more manageable due to larger commuting distances. Interviews conducted in the Algarve with Moroccans were organised differently due to the geographic distance from Lisbon where the research team was located: the team of interviewers organised three rounds of interviews and each time stayed for several days in the research area. The first two rounds were also used to recruit informants for the following round of fieldwork. Interviews were conducted in different parts of the Algarve (Albufeira, Faro-Olhão and Silves) and the team rented an apartment where some interviews were also conducted.

Interviews in homes allowed very rich data gathering, especially in Oslo where it enabled interviewers to reach mothers with small children. However, this location and the many tasks those informants were performing during the interviews (shopping, cooking, etc.) also meant that interviewers had to plan and allow more time for the interviews.

For some informants, a public place such as a café was preferred, but the noise was problematic.

The interviews were mostly recorded on USB devices after the interviewer asked orally for the informants consent. Many informants agreed to be recorded but wanted that their voice files to remain unpublished. Reluctance to be recorded was particularly observed in the Netherlands among undocumented migrants and among Moroccans in London. In the latter case, respondents were especially reluctant to answer questions regarding their remittances and their links with the mosque, which could be due to a lack of trust in a context of terrorism surveillance from the UK Home Office.

Problems reaching Moroccan informants caused some delays in the timeline of the interviews in London and in Oslo.

4 Transcription and coding

Most of the interviews were translated into English and transcribed. The interviews collected in Portugal however, were directly transcribed in Portuguese without translation for budget reasons.

In some cases such as in the Netherlands, the recorded interviews were simultaneously translated and transcribed in English by the interviewers. This is considered as the best option as the interviewers know best how to interpret what informants meant in their discourses. In other cases, transcriptions were made both by interviewers and by other research assistants recruited only for the transcription tasks. In those cases, interviewers were asked to review the transcripts in order to correct mistakes in interpretation and to clarify any doubts.

In order to standardise the coding of the interviews and to facilitate the analysis, the international research team developed a common coding scheme and coded the interviews using Nvivo 9. The codebook to be used during the coding process contained detailed descriptions of each node and some examples. The coders were mainly members of the research team, interviewers or transcribers, and were familiar with the project and the interview themes. Before starting the systematic coding, three members of the team tested the codebook and checked if there were major inconsistency issues in the coding that could be improved.

The interviews collected in the Netherlands, Portugal and UK were entirely coded whereas in the case of Norway, for ethical reasons and due to PRIO's institutional requirements, the interviews were firstly summarised before being coded in Nvivo. These summaries are extensive interview reports based in interviewers' notes and on the voice recordings where only some relevant quotes were included.

IV Appendix: THEMIS Interview guides - Phase 2

Appendix 1: Interview guide in the Netherlands

1.1 Personal migration history

We start by asking questions about yourself and your history since you left your home country, and then move on to find out your views on some specific topics.

- In which countries have you lived during your life?
- If we look at the migration moves that you made during your life, could you please tell us about the decision making process of every move?
- Could you tell me about how you made your way here - the route you followed, stops along the way, length of time involved and dates?
- How did **[country of destination]** emerge as a destination?
 - When did you first think of it?
 - What information did you have about it?
 - Was this move your personal decision or have you made it together with your family?
 - Have your family come here as well?
- Why did you choose to migrate to this specific region in **[country of destination]**?

1.2 Migration Threshold

Now, when you look at your life in [country of destination] and the experience of your community.

- How long have you been living in **[country of destination]**?
- In what regions of **[country of destination]** have you lived? Why?
 - Availability of work?
 - Spouse?
 - Living close to your fellows from **[country of origin]**?
 - Businesses from **[country of origin]**?
 - Organizations concerning the community of **[country of origin]**? What type?
 - Churches/mosques?
- Are you involved yourself in any kind of organizations concerning your country of origin? (religious, social, political)
- What is your legal status?
 - Residency rights? Since when?
 - Citizenship? Since when?
 - (If so) Was it difficult to obtain it? How did you do that?
- Are people helping each other to come to **[country of destination]**? Does this happen often?
- Would you advise your fellow people to migrate to **[country of destination]**?
 - Why? Why not?
 - Have you ever done this?
- Were there people whom you declined help?
 - Why?

1.3 Pioneers

Besides your own migration history, we would like to find out more about the beginnings of migration amongst your fellow country men and women, people in your community.

- When you arrived, how many people from **[country of origin]** lived in **[country of destination]**?

- Do you know who were the first people, who migrated from your community to **[country of destination]**?
 - From what kind of families where they?
 - How did they travel?
 - Was this over a specific period of time?
 - Why did it happen?
- What were the reasons of the first migrants from **[country of origin]** to leave for **[country of destination]**?
- These people who came here first, would you say they helped others to come as well?
 - Would you say that they were interested in others following them? Or would you rather say that those first people who come here were rather discouraging others from coming?
- Do you know any people who came here before yourself?
 - Were they willing or unwilling to help you to migrate? Did you feel that people from your origin who came here before you were unwilling to help you? Or were unhappy about your arrival?
- Do you know whether those first people who came here kept in touch with home country?
- How did that happen?
- Are you sending gifts or money back to **[country of origin]**?
- •Do you invest in any way in **[country of origin]**?

1.4 Decline

We would like to find out your views about the changes in how people have been coming here from your home country. Let's start from your personal experience and then look at what you observe amongst fellow migrants.

- If you had a chance, would you move elsewhere?
 - If yes, Where? If no, why?
- Do you consider going back to **[country of origin]**?
 - Do you travel to see your family and friends?
 - How often?
 - Has this changed over time?
- Are people from **[country of origin]** still as much interested in coming to **[country of destination]** as before?
 - Why? What are their reasons?
 - (If yes) Who (if anybody) is still coming?
 - (If yes) What do you think prevents others from doing so?
 - (If no) Are people now more interested in migrating to other destinations?
 - (If no) Since when would you say you saw less people coming?
- Do you know others who left [country of origin] but moved elsewhere?
 - Where and why?

1.5 Concluding the interview

- Are there any other important events in your migration history that we have not talked about yet?
- Do you feel that all topics that were/are important for you have been discussed?

Inquire after and note down the following:

- Name
- Age

- Place or region of birth
- Language you speak at home
- Religion
- Job/Profession
- Civil status
- Since when in [country of destination]
- Job/profession in [country of origin]
- Telephone number
- Would you know any other migrants from your country of heritage that would like to participate in our research?

1.6 *Questions related to RDS*

- How many other people from [country of origin] do you know by name?
- How many do you have in your mobile phone contacts?
- With how many would you have a chat in the street if you see them?
- How many other [members of the target population] could you give a coupon?

Appendix 2: Interview guide in Norway

We start by asking questions about yourself and your history since you left your [country of origin], and then move to find out your views on some specific topics. First some general information about you:

1.1 Background information

- Respondent (number/ID):
- Gender
- Age:
- Place or region of Birth:
- Place or region of residence prior to moving to Norway:
- Ethnicity (when relevant):
- Language spoken at home:
- (with family in country of origin)
- Nationality:
- Citizenship status:
- (in country of destination)
- Religion:
- Current job/profession:
- Job/profession in Ukraine:
- Civil status:
- Since when in **[country of destination]**:

1.2 Personal migration history

- In which countries have you lived during your life?
- If we look at the migration moves that you made during your life, could you please tell us about the decision making process of every move?
- Could you tell me about how you made your way here - the route you followed, stops along the way, length of time involved and dates?
- How did **[country of destination]** emerge as a destination?
 - When did you first think of it?
 - What information did you have about it?
 - Was this move your personal decision or have you made it together with your family?
 - Have your family come here as well? [This can be to move or to visit]
- Why did you choose to migrate to this specific region in **[country of destination]**?

1.3 Migration Threshold

Now, when you look at your life in [country of destination] and the experience of your community.

- How long have you been living in **[country of destination]**?
- In what regions of **[country of destination]** have you lived? Why? (If the respondent needs further clarification of the question, the examples below can be given.)
 - Availability of work?
 - Spouse?
 - Living close to your fellows from **[country of origin]**?
 - Businesses from **[country of origin]**?
 - Organizations concerning the community of **[country of origin]**? What type?
 - Churches/mosques?

- Are you involved yourself in any kind of organizations concerning your country of origin? (religious, social, political)
- What is your legal status?
 - Residency rights? Since when?
 - Citizenship? Since when?
 - How difficult was it to obtain residency rights/citizenship? How did you do that?
- Have you helped others to come to Norway? [Please pay attention that people might be too quick to say “no”. They might say that they did not help “others”, but then they did bring a wife or husband, which also counts as providing help.]
- Are people helping each other to come to **[country of destination]**? Does this happen often?[Respondents being helped/helping others might be relevant]
- Are there other impersonal sources you are aware of that people from your **[country of origin]** use to come to **[country of destination]**? (Examples: Facebook/Orkut/other Internet websites)
- Would you advise your fellow people to migrate to **[country of destination]**?
 - Why? Why not?
 - Have you ever done this?
 - (If so) Who was this? When was it? What exactly did you do to help? What were the results of the advice you gave the person?
- Were there people whom you declined help?
 - Why?
- Are you sending gifts or money back to **[country of origin]**?
- Has what/how/how often you send gifts or money to **[country of origin]** changed over time?
- Do you invest in any way in **[country of origin]**?

1.4 *Pioneers*

Besides your own migration history, we would like to find out more about the beginnings of migration amongst your fellow country men and women, people in your community.

- When you arrived, approximately how many people from **[country of origin]** would you reckon were living **[country of destination]** at the time?
- Do you know who were the first people, who migrated from your community to **[country of destination]**? (If the respondent has no information on the very first migrants, ask the following questions about a next wave of migrants from the country in question.)
 - From what kind of families were they?
 - How did they travel?
 - Was this over a specific period of time?
 - Why did it happen?
- What were the reasons of the first migrants from **[country of origin]** to leave for **[country of destination]**?
- These people who came here first, would you say they helped others to come as well?
 - Would you say that they were interested in others following them? Or would you rather say that those first people who come here were rather discouraging others from coming?
- Do you personally know any of the first people who came here first from your **[country of origin]**? (If so) Which regions in **[country of origin]** are they from?
- Do you know any people who came here before yourself?
 - Were they willing or unwilling to help you to migrate? Did you feel that people from your origin who came here before you were unwilling to help you? Or were unhappy about your arrival?

- Do you know whether those first people who came here kept in touch with home country? [Pioneers/earlier waves of migrants if they know about them, otherwise people who came here before themselves.]
 - How did that happen?

1.5 Evolution

We would like to find out your views about the changes in how people have been coming here from your [country of origin]. Let's start from your personal experience and then look at what you observe amongst fellow migrants.

- If you had a chance, would you move elsewhere?
 - If yes, Where? If no, why?
- Do you consider going back to **[country of origin]**?
- Do you travel to see your family and friends?
 - How often? For how long each time?
 - Has this changed over time?
- Are people from **[country of origin]** still as much interested in coming to **[country of destination]** as before?
 - Why? What are their reasons?
 - (If yes) Who (if anybody) is still coming?
 - (If yes) What do you think prevents others from doing so?
 - (If no) Are people now more interested in migrating to other destinations?
 - (If no) Since when would you say you saw less people coming?
- Do you know others who left **[country of origin]** but moved elsewhere?
 - Where and why?

1.6 Concluding the interview

- Are there any other important events in your migration history/migrant community that we have not talked about yet? [Some informants might start talking extensively about a number of issues that might not be of relevance to our research. Try to direct them explicitly to the topic of migration history or the community in relation to migration.]
- Do you feel that all topics that were/are important for you have been discussed?
- Would you know any other migrants from your country of origin that would like to participate in our research?
- (Explain that, if interested, we would like to keep the respondent's name, e-mail address and telephone number for any further clarifications/sharing of project results/ getting in touch with others for future interviews) Inquire after and note down the following:
 - Name
 - E-mail address
 - Telephone number

1.7 Questions related to RDS

- How many other people from **[country of origin]** do you know by name?
- How many do you have in your mobile phone contacts? [Address book, if more relevant (e.g. has no mobile phone)]
- With how many would you have a chat with in the street if you saw them?
- As of today, if I were to ask you to contact others from **[country of origin]** to be interviewed for our research, how many people would you have access to?

Appendix 3: Interview guide in Portugal

1.1 Personal migration history

We start by asking questions about yourself and your history since you left your home country, and then move to find out your views on some specific topics.

- In which countries have you lived during your life?
- Before moving abroad, did you migrate internally in your country of origin?
- If we look at the migration moves that you made during your life, could you please tell us about the decision making process of every move (differentiate internal and external moves)?
- Could you tell me about how you made your way here - the route you followed, stops along the way, length of time involved and dates?
- How did **[country of destination]** emerge as a destination?
 - When did you first think of it?
 - What information did you have about it?
 - Was this move your personal decision or have you made it together with your family?
 - Have your family come here as well? When (information for different family members – wife, children, brothers, sisters, cousins...)?
- Why did you choose to migrate to this specific region in **[country of destination]**?

1.2 Migration threshold

Now, when you look at your life in [country of destination] and the experience of your community.

- How long have you been living in **[country of destination]**?
- In what regions of **[country of destination]** have you lived? Why?
 - Availability of work?
 - Spouse?
 - Living close to your fellows from **[country of origin]**?
 - Businesses from **[country of origin]**?
 - Organisations concerning the community of **[country of origin]**? What type?
 - Churches/mosques?
- Are you involved yourself in any kind of organizations concerning your country of origin? (religious, social, political) When did you get involved (when you arrived, sometime after)? Why? Did these organizations/worship places exist you when you arrived?
- Do you use shops owned by your countrymen? Of which kind? How often? Have these always been available? If not, when were they set up?
- If you have children, do they have Saturday/Sunday Schools or any form of education/activity that is related to the country of origin? Was this always available or when did it start?
- What is your legal status?
 - Residency rights? Since when?
 - Citizenship? Since when?
 - (If so) Was it difficult to obtain it? How did you do that?
- Are people helping each other to come to **[country of destination]**? Does this happen often? Did you notice any changes throughout time? (times when people more helping than others? Why do you think those changes occur – may refer also to before they arrived and perception of help that was given at that time)
- Would you advise your fellow people to migrate to **[country of destination]**?
 - Why? Why not? Has your opinion changed over time? How (were there any particular times when you thought it was more advisable to come than others)?

- Have you ever done this?
- Were there people whom you declined help?
 - Why?
 - When?

1.3 *Pioneers*

Besides your own migration history, we would like to find out more about the beginnings of migration amongst your fellow country men and women, people in your community.

- When you arrived, how many people from **[country of origin]** lived in **[country of destination]**?
- Do you know who were the first people, who migrated from your community to **[country of destination]**? Or When did you first hear of people migrating to Portugal from your network of contacts/village or other...
 - From what kind of families were they?
 - How did they travel?
 - Was this over a specific period of time?
 - Why did it happen?
 - Did they come directly from your country of origin or were residing in another country?
- What were the reasons of the first migrants from **[country of origin]** to leave for **[country of destination]**?
- These people who came here first, would you say they helped others to come as well?
 - Would you say that they were interested in others following them? Or would you rather say that those first people who come here were rather discouraging others from coming?
- Do you know any people who came here before yourself?
 - Were they willing or unwilling to help you to migrate? Did you feel that people from your origin who came here before you were unwilling to help you? Or were unhappy about your arrival?
- Do you know whether those first people who came here kept in touch with home country?
- How did that happen?
- Are you sending gifts or money back to **[country of origin]**?
- Do you invest in any way in **[country of origin]**?
- Are emigrants making a difference in your village/city of origin or in the country more broadly? How?
- How would you say emigrants are seen where you come from?

1.4 *Decline*

We would like to find out your views about the changes in how people have been coming here from your home country. Let's start from your personal experience and then look at what you observe amongst fellow migrants.

- If you had a chance, would you move elsewhere?
 - If yes, Where? If no, why?
- Do you consider going back to **[country of origin]**?
 - Do you travel to see your family and friends?
 - How often?
 - Has this changed over time?
- Are people from **[country of origin]** still as much interested in coming to **[country of destination]** as before?

- Why? What are their reasons?
- (If yes) Who (if anybody) is still coming?
- Do you personally know of people that have moved to this country in recent years?
Who were they?
- (If yes) What do you think prevents others from doing so?
- (If no) Are people now more interested in migrating to other destinations?
- (If no) Since when would you say you saw less people coming?
- Do you know others who left **[country of origin]** but moved elsewhere?
 - Where and why?

1.5 *Concluding the interview*

- Are there any other important events in your migration history that we have not talked about yet?
- Do you feel that all topics that were/are important for you have been discussed?
- Inquire after and note down the following:
 - Name
 - Age
 - Place or region of birth
 - Language you speak at home
 - Religion
 - Job/Profession
 - Civil status
 - Since when in **[country of destination]**
 - Job/profession in **[country of origin]**
 - Telephone number
- Would you know any other migrants from your country of heritage that would like to participate in our research?

1.6 *Questions related to RDS*

- How many other people from **[country of origin]** do you know by name? Where do they live?
- How many do you have in your mobile phone contacts?
- With how many would you have a chat in the street if you see them?
- How many other [members of the target population] could you give a coupon?

Appendix 4: Interview guide in UK

1.1 Personal migration history

We start by asking questions about yourself and your history since you left your home country, and then move to find out your views on some specific topics.

- In which countries have you lived during your life?
- If we look at the migration moves that you made during your life, could you please tell us about the decision making process of every move?
- Could you tell me about how you made your way here - the route you followed, stops along the way, length of time involved and dates?
- How did **[country of destination]** emerge as a destination?
 - When did you first think of it?
 - What information did you have about it?
 - Was this move your personal decision or have you made it together with your family?
 - Have your family come here as well?
- Why did you choose to migrate to this specific region in **[country of destination]**?

1.2 Migration Threshold

Now, when you look at your life in [country of destination] and the experience of your community.

- How long have you been living in **[country of destination]**?
- In what regions of **[country of destination]** have you lived? Why?
 - Availability of work?
 - Spouse?
 - Living close to your fellows from **[country of origin]**?
 - Businesses from **[country of origin]**?
 - Organizations concerning the community of **[country of origin]**? What type?
 - Churches/mosques?
- When you arrived was it important for you to live close to your fellow men/women? Why?
- Are you involved yourself in any kind of organizations concerning your country of origin? (religious, social, political)
- What is your legal status?
 - Residency rights? Since when?
 - Citizenship? Since when?
 - (If so) Was it difficult to obtain it? How did you do that?
- Are people helping each other to come to **[country of destination]**? Does this happen often?
- Would you advise your fellow people to migrate to **[country of destination]**?
 - Why? Why not?
 - Have you ever done this?
- Were there people whom you declined help? Why?

1.3 Pioneers

Besides your own migration history, we would like to find out more about the beginnings of migration amongst your fellow country men and women, people in your community.

- When you arrived, how many people from **[country of origin]** lived in **[country of destination]**?
- Do you know who were the first people, who migrated from your community to **[country of destination]**]?

- From what kind of families were they?
- How did they travel?
- Was this over a specific period of time?
- Why did it happen?
- What were the reasons of the first migrants from **[country of origin]** to leave for **[country of destination]**?
- These people who came here first, would you say they helped others to come as well?
 - Would you say that they were interested in others following them? Or would you rather say that those first people who come here were rather discouraging others from coming?
- Do you know any people who came here before yourself?
 - Were they willing or unwilling to help you to migrate? Did you feel that people from your origin who came here before you were unwilling to help you? Or were unhappy about your arrival?
- Do you know whether those first people who came here kept in touch with home country?
- How did that happen?
- Are you sending gifts or money back to **[country of origin]**?
- Do you invest in any way in **[country of origin]**?

1.4 Decline (Dynamics)

We would like to find out your views about the changes in how people have been coming here from your home country. Let's start from your personal experience and then look at what you observe amongst fellow migrants.

- If you had a chance, would you move elsewhere?
 - If yes, Where? If no, why?
- Do you consider going back to **[country of origin]**?
 - Do you travel to see your family and friends?
 - How often?
 - Has this changed over time?
- Are people from **[country of origin]** still as much interested in coming to **[country of destination]** as before?
 - Why? What are their reasons?
 - (If yes) Who (if anybody) is still coming?
 - (If yes) What do you think prevents others from doing so?
 - (If no) Are people now more interested in migrating to other destinations?
 - (If no) Since when would you say you saw less people coming?
- Do you know others who left **[country of origin]** but moved elsewhere? Where and why?

1.5 Concluding the interview

- Are there any other important events in your migration history that we have not talked about yet?
- Do you feel that all topics that were/are important for you have been discussed?
- Inquire after and note down the following:

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Name | Job/Profession |
| Age | Civil status |
| Place or region of birth | Since when in [country of destination] |
| Language you speak at home | Job/profession in [country of origin] |

| | |
|----------|------------------|
| Religion | Telephone number |
|----------|------------------|

- Would you know any other migrants from your country of heritage that would like to participate in our research?

1.6 Questions related to RDS

- How many other people from **[country of origin]** do you know by name?
- How many do you have in your mobile phone contacts?
- With how many would you have a chat in the street if you saw them?
- How many other [members of the target population] could you give a coupon?