

Chapter 2

Intra- and Extraregional Migration in the South: The Case of Africa

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Introduction

It is estimated that just over a third¹ of the proportion of international migration throughout the world takes place in countries in the South. This proportion is almost the same as international South–North migration, and it represents approximately 73 million people (UN DESA 2012). In certain cases, South–South migration is even greater in terms of numbers, because the statistics published underestimate the phenomenon due to their lack of reliability, particularly in the countries of the South (Manente 2012)². However, politicization and strong media interest in South–North migration have led to South–South migration becoming “invisible” (Commission, E. E. 2010).

This fact alone should be sufficient for in-depth research to be carried out concerning this migration, with a view to gaining a better understanding of this phenomenon, which is at the heart of the social and economic transformation of the world in general and of the South in particular—an understanding different from that which only sees South–North migrants as “job stealers” or “benefits scroungers”.

Migration in the South raises multiple questions: What are the migratory networks that are emerging? Which immigration countries in the South are following in the footsteps of the immigration countries in the North? And what is the rationale underlying this migration? Is the rationale here different from that of South–North migration? This section focuses on these questions, trying to show: (1) the intra- and

¹ Almost 40% according to Souchaud (2009), 34% according to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division (UN DESA 2012).

² It is generally believed that data concerning migration in the South underestimate the scale of the phenomenon due to their lack of reliability.

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extraregional migratory processes in the South, and more particularly in Africa; (2) the reasons for this migration; (3) the role and place of this migration in the world's new geo-economic and geopolitical configuration; (4) the new migration trends; and (5) the links between intra- and extraregional migration in the South.

However, studying migration in the South is difficult because the South is multifaceted: it comprises countries that remain poor and others that are emerging from an economic point of view; countries that were formerly colonised and others that never have been; countries with different political and government systems; countries that are multicultural and multiracial; and, of course, countries with different migratory systems. This therefore requires a good understanding of the history and the demographic and migratory dynamics of countries in the South as a whole and in Africa in particular, which is not clear-cut. In addition, migration in general, and migration in the South in particular, remains a phenomenon studied by approximation due to the lack of relevance and reliability of data when it comes to recognizing the multidimensional, multipolar, multiple and reversible nature of the phenomenon, and also because of the different ways in which it is defined, depending on the countries and the times. It seems to us that many studies on African migration suffer from a problem with the representative nature of the samples used. Very often, generalizations are made based on a few migrants encountered during the few interviews that take place.

Despite the recognition of the role of migration in population dynamics, social transformations and political challenges, no global survey has been devoted to this phenomenon, whereas in the case of fertility, for example, the World Fertility Survey was carried out in the 1980s. In addition, no questions are asked concerning migration in periodic national surveys on demographics and health (e.g. Demographic and Health Surveys), or in UNICEF's Multiple Indicators Cluster Surveys monitoring the situation of children and women (see, for example, Democratic Republic of the Congo 2002). 1-2-3 surveys concerning employment, the informal sector and consumption have only been undertaken in certain countries³ and can only be used to estimate migratory flows and status, as is the case with censuses (see, for example, Democratic Republic of the Congo INS 2004–2005).

Two surveys that have provided subregional data on migration should, however, be noted, namely the Network of Surveys on Migration and Urbanization in West Africa (NESMUWA) carried out in the 1990s, and the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) carried out between 1997 and 2000. However, access to the raw data from these surveys remains difficult for researchers who do not belong to the institutions that conducted the surveys. We should also mention the Gallup surveys, although they are limited to opinion research concerning international migration, and much less concerning migratory flows and trends.

³ Since 1993, the following countries have carried out 1-2-3 surveys: Algeria, Bangladesh, Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, China, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea, countries in Latin America, Madagascar, Morocco, Rwanda and seven countries in the West African Economic and Monetary Union.

Concepts, Data and Methods

Most studies on migration in the South start by resolving an essential methodological question: What is meant by the South? (Bakewell 2009; Ratha and Shaw 2007; Parsons et al. 2005; GFMD 2012; Manente 2012). There are, in effect, several approaches to defining the South, depending on whether we consider countries' levels of development (UNDESA approach), their average incomes (World Bank approach) or their human development indexes (UNDP approach) (Bakewell 2009; Manente 2012). Each of these three categories includes a certain number of countries that are sometimes considered as countries of the South and sometimes of the North. In this section, we use a geo-economic approach. By "the South" we mean the regions that the United Nations considers to be underdeveloped or developing. These include Africa, Asia (with the exception of Japan), the Caribbean, Central America, South America and Oceania (with the exception of Australia and New Zealand)⁴. This geo-economic approach takes the inequalities between countries, subregions and regions into account, which is of great importance for a better understanding of the migratory systems in the South. It also helps provide greater clarification concerning the concepts that are used. Consequently, intraregional migration is migration within the regions identified above, while extraregional migration is migration which, seen in relation to a reference region, occurs outside that region. The regions being divided into subregions, we use the term *intrasubregional migration* to refer to migration within the subregions (for example, within Central Africa), and *intersubregional migration* for migration between subregions (for example, between Central Africa and Southern Africa).⁵

To determine the migratory processes in the South, we used the estimate of the migration flow in different regions of the world published by the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty (DRCMGP) (Parsons et al. 2005). Based on data from different sources, in particular censuses and surveys carried out for other purposes, DRCMGP's researchers were able to build a matrix that gives the proportion of immigrants and emigrants in different regions of the world, as well as their regions of origin and destination (Tables 2.3 and 2.4 in the Appendix). Subject to the considerations mentioned above concerning the quality and limitations of such data, we can nevertheless discern a few indications concerning the migratory processes, and make assumptions on the reasons for intra- and extraregional migration, and on the links between these two types of migration. These assumptions are subsequently consolidated by demographic, anthropological, sociological and historical studies.⁶

⁴ See <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regnf.htm>.

⁵ To find out the different subregions in the South, see <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regnf.htm>.

⁶ We would like to thank Marie-Laurence Flahaux and Jocelyn Nappa Usatu, doctoral students at the Catholic University of Louvain, for their contribution to the bibliographical research.

Migratory Processes in the South: Intrasubregional and Extrasubregional Migration

Migration within certain subregions of the South (see the diagonal in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 in the Appendix) represents over half of all migratory movements in these subregions. This means that most migration in the South occurs within subregions. This is particularly true in East Asia, South-East Asia, South America and Central America, and especially in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. In the latter two subregions, almost all migration occurs within these subregions (81 and 80% of all immigrants, respectively). The Caribbean and especially the Middle East and North Africa are the two subregions in the South that retain their migrants in their respective subregions the least, only retaining 39 and 35%, respectively. Most migrants from the Caribbean go to other subregions in the South, particularly South America, followed, to a lesser extent, by Asia, North Africa and the Middle East. Furthermore, most of the migrants from Middle East and North Africa go to other distant subregions, such as South Asia and even to sub-Saharan Africa. Presumably, this would be Lebanese migration primarily, but may also include Moroccans, which are well known everywhere for the scale of their migration and dispersion throughout the world.

These results confirm what other researchers have already shown (Hujo and Piper 2007; Bakewell 2009; Ratha and Shaw 2007; GFMD 2012; Manente 2012). In the subregion of West Africa, for example, where international migration is more prevalent than anywhere else in Africa (Ndiaye and Robin 2010), the NESMUWA showed that there are clearly more migrants between the countries in the West Africa subregion than between the countries in other subregions in Africa. Furthermore, according to census data reported by Ndiaye and Robin (2010), there are 7.5 million migrants within West Africa, representing approximately 2.5% of the population of this subregion. By way of illustration, Côte d'Ivoire, which is one of West Africa's main immigration countries, mainly receives migrants from its bordering countries such as Burkina Faso and Mali (Ndiaye and Robin 2010), while Senegal mainly receives migrants from Guinea, and 44% of migrants leaving Dakar go to neighboring countries (Flahaux et al. 2010).

The same situation can be observed in other subregions of Africa. Consequently, in South Africa, another major immigration country in Africa, people from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia especially can be found. Studies that have recently been carried out in Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo) have led to the same observation: 76% of migrants from Kinshasa went to bordering countries (i.e. Angola and Congo) (Flahaux et al. 2010). Furthermore, the national migratory profiles established by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) have led to the same observation: between 1995 and 2005, 37% of Cameroonian migrants went to bordering countries such as the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon and Nigeria (Evina 2009); in the case of Mali, the proportion of its migrants observed in bordering countries of Algeria, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal was 72.9% (Ballo 2009); and in the case of Niger,

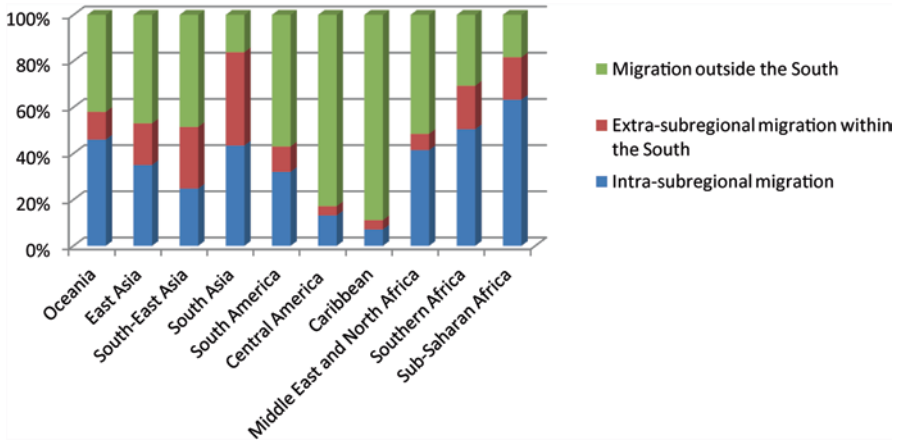


Fig. 2.1 Share of emigrants moving within the same subregion, to subregions within the South and to subregions outside the South. (Source: Based on Parsons et al. 2005, Table 11)

42.7% of its migrants went to bordering countries of Burkina Faso, Benin and Nigeria (Issaka Maga 2009).

Migratory exchanges between the regions of the South are relatively low (see also GFMD 2012; Manente 2012) and, generally, they are even lower than South–North migrations (Fig. 2.1, and Table 2.4). For instance, only 19% of migrants originating from Southern Africa move to other subregion in the South (compared with 51% moving within the subregion and 31% moving towards a country in the North). Even lower shares for extra-subregional movements within the South are recorded for Central America (4% of all emigrants), the Caribbean (4%), and the Middle East and North Africa (7%). The only exception appears to be South Asia recording a similar number of migrants moving within their subregion as well as to other subregions in the South (43 and 40%, respectively).

Geographical, Economic and Historical Contexts as Determinants of Migratory Processes

The migratory processes in the South identified above seem to be part of three contexts—a geographical context where proximity favors migratory exchanges between two countries, subregions or regions; an economic context where the most developed countries and subregions are more attractive to populations from poor countries and subregions; and a political and historical context where wars and political insecurity favor forced and voluntary migration to countries, subregions and regions in the South that are more politically stable and better governed. These contexts give rise to several types or patterns of migration that other researchers have already mentioned. Souchard (2009) has identified the predominance of refugees

Table 2.1 Types of migration in the South and the factors and contexts that determine them

Factors involved in migration	Types of migration according to context		
	Geographical context	Economic context	Political and historical context
Cost of migration	Proximity migration Circular migration	Transit migration Irregular migration	Cross-border migration Irregular migration
Existence of social networks	Family migration Circular migration	Circular migration	Family migration
Mode of production	Seasonal migration	Labor migration	Forced migration
Poverty/income differences	Labor migration Irregular migration	Labor migration and brain drain	Labor migration and brain drain
Political crises/wars	Transit migration Irregular migration Forced migration	Irregular migration	Forced migration (e.g. displaced populations and refugees)

among migrants in the South, forced migration and transit migration, labor migration, and the feminization of migration in the South. Ratha and Shaw (2007) refer to proximity, social networks, income differences, seasonality, transit, petty trading, conflicts and distress as migration factors in the South. Bakewell (2009) mentions the influence of colonization (e.g. forced migration and slavery), the conflicts of the post-colonial period and the quest for better living standards. Lastly, Manente (2012) add the effect of emerging economies, South–South cooperation and the adoption of restrictive measures in the countries of the North. For our own part, in Table 2.1, we summarize the different types of migration in the South, the contexts of which they are part and the factors that determine them.

Geographical Context

Most migratory movements occur over a short distance, according to one of the “[traditional] laws of migration” (Ravenstein 1885). In fact, the migratory act entails costs, and the geographical proximity of two regions or two subregions permits migration at a relatively low cost. This is the case in sub-Saharan Africa, where levels of poverty do not permit high migration costs, especially transport costs (see also GFMD 2012), and where all that is often necessary to reach a neighboring country is to take a coach or train, or even cross the border on foot. The porous nature of the borders in this continent facilitates this proximity migration even more. This is particularly true during wars and other political troubles,⁷ and it is also the

⁷ For example, in the aftermath of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, just over 2 million people crossed the border and poured into the small town of Goma in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It should be said in passing that this large uncontrolled migration triggered the operations that are still destabilizing the Democratic Republic of the Congo today, due to the presence, among the millions of migrants, of members of the Democratic Force for the Liberation of Rwanda, the former soldiers of the Rwandan patriotic army which the Rwandan Government

case when border populations live in economic areas that extend over several different countries (Brachet 2007).

Social networks in a sense also reduce distances, and therefore contribute to proximity, circular and family migration. In fact, according to the network theory of migration (Zlotnik 2003), family networks promote the propensity to migrate and contribute to funding the costs of migration, including the cost of social and economic integration in the place of destination. Although they live in countries whose borders are inherited from the colonial period and were drawn at the Conference of Berlin (1885), the populations of some African countries, if not most of them, have the same origins and ancestors, and belong to the same ethnic groups as those of neighboring countries. This is particularly true of populations that formerly belonged to the Congo Empire and which now find themselves in Angola, Congo and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as being true of the populations of West Africa (Adepoju 1984). As a consequence, these populations mix with each other, and therefore carry out circular or even permanent migration between the different countries in which they live. Members of families and clans who live in neighboring countries are considered extralocal members, who nevertheless remain attached to their base family residence. These extralocal members contribute to the arrival of other family members from the countries of origin or neighboring countries. In this way, family migratory chains are created (Lututala 1989).

Geographical proximity also promotes seasonal migration in areas where a mode of production predominates that is essentially based on agriculture, movement to summer pastures and cross-border trade. Finally, the geographical context determines forced migration when environmental or climatic crises occur. The West Africa subregion, in particular, has experienced significant rural–urban migration since the years of the drought that has gripped the region.

Economic Context

The migratory processes observed in the previous section suggest that the propensity to migrate is strongly linked to the economic context. Migrants go to countries that are economically wealthier because they are looking for better living and working conditions, in order to escape from poverty. This is what all the theories and models concerning migration suggest (Lututala 1995a). The predominance of intrasubregional migration, or migration towards neighboring subregions in Africa and South Asia, reflects a context of poverty because, as we have just seen, poor populations cannot afford higher migration costs or to migrate, or migrate directly, towards more distant regions, something that Bakewell also notes (2009). We also know that poor populations are relatively less educated and less connected to the global system, and therefore have fewer employment opportunities outside their continents.

continues to hunt down, carrying out military operations, or causing them to be carried out, even inside the Democratic Republic of the Congo itself. Read Kristine (2008) and Péan (2010), among others, on this subject.

In addition, the most economically powerful regions or subregions welcome migrants from other regions or subregions. This is the case in Central Africa, where countries like Angola, Congo and Gabon have welcomed many migrants from West Africa (from Mali, Nigeria and Senegal) (Lututala 2007; Ngoie Tshibambe 2010). This is also the case for South Africa, which—since the end of apartheid in the 1990s, has become the new El Dorado for Africans wanting to emigrate (Dika 2009).

As a result of these inequalities, and to overcome what appears to be an obstacle to their migration, poor populations sometimes, if not often, migrate through a transit country, or use irregular channels. Migrating through a transit country enables them to acquire the financial and other resources (in particular, visas) required for extraregional migration.

However, economic imbalances alone do not explain the existence of migration between two countries or subregions. In fact, two bordering countries may be economically distant if neither of them have any attractive factors to offer. Their migratory exchanges will be low as a consequence. For instance, the fact that Côte d'Ivoire mainly welcomes migrants from Burkina Faso is mainly because these two countries have close economic ties—Burkina Faso having served as a reservoir of labor to work in Côte d'Ivoire's cocoa plantations during the French colonial period (Coulibaly et al. 1980). Conversely, there are fewer people from Burkina Faso in neighboring Guinea than in France, which is more distant geographically but closer economically, because the economic interdependence between Burkina Faso and France is greater than that which exists between Burkina Faso and Guinea.

The same can be said with regard to migration from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The fact that, as Flahaux et al. (2010) have shown, the proportion of emigrants that have left Kinshasa for bordering countries is considerably higher (76%) than the proportion of emigrants who have left Dakar (44%) is probably because the precarious nature of the economic situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is such that neighboring countries are much more attractive economically, which is not the case for countries bordering Senegal. Angola and Congo have considerably higher living standards and more job opportunities than the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As a consequence, two countries attract many Congolese from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, engaging in circular and permanent migration, even if it is irregular.⁸

Political and Historical Context

Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced over 30 political conflicts, resulting in wars over the course of the past two decades. It has experienced other political turbulence linked, in particular, to the process of democratization, electoral issues and power

⁸ For example, we observe that Angola has become the main country of destination for migrants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, followed by South Africa, France and Belgium (see Mangalu 2011).

struggles. This context has an influence on migration in two ways. First, it forces people to leave their places of residence to protect themselves in the event of war or conflict. Thousands of people from Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Libya, Mali, Sudan and Rwanda have fled these countries to run away from violence and seek shelter elsewhere. Some, referred to as displaced persons, head for locations in the interior of their countries. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, where crises have persisted since 1996, has seen up to 3.4 million displaced people from 1996 to 2003 (Zeender and Rothing 2010). Others have taken refuge in neighboring countries. As a result, it is in sub-Saharan Africa that we find the greatest number of refugees and displaced people in the world. Others still decide to return to their countries of origin when their new countries of residence experience a serious political crisis.

It seems, however, that these migrants do not travel far from their usual places of residence, and that their migration is only temporary, lasting the time required for calm to return before they head home (see also GFMD 2012).

Secondly, migration in the South seems to be part of a certain historically established tradition of mass migration of populations linked to: a mode of production based either on food cultivation, livestock farming or trade; environmental phenomena such as droughts and other natural disasters; the slave trade and colonization. Links have been established historically between the countries of origin and destination, which serve as a sort of foundation for current migratory trends.

New Interregional Migratory Trends in the South

This section discusses the new migratory trends observed in the South, or rather in Africa. The section focuses on a few cases of interregional migration in Africa and migration flows between China and Africa, between India and Africa, between Lebanon and Africa, and between Africa and South America, in particular Brazil and Argentina. These flows are those that characterize current migration trends between Africa and the other Southern regions the most.

New Intraregional Migratory Trends in Africa

Four new migratory trends can be observed in Africa—a reorientation of migratory flows for some countries, the appearance of new immigration countries, a rise in transit migration and an increase in return migration. As far as the reorientation of migration flows is concerned, we observe that those that were once immigration countries have become emigration countries, or vice versa, or both at the same time. Senegal, Gabon, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are among those that are experiencing this phenomenon. In the case of Senegal, it was an immigration country for a long time, due to the importance of its economy based on

groundnuts and the political role it played in French West Africa. However, from the 1970s onwards, shaken by the groundnut crisis, among other things, and therefore by a reduction in its attractiveness to neighboring countries, Senegal experienced a relative fall in immigration. At the same time, and for the same reasons, Senegalese populations themselves started to leave their original environment. First, people living in the groundnut basin flooded to Senegal's towns, especially Dakar. Subsequently, emigration by town dwellers to other countries intensified (Ba 1994; Ndiaye and Robin 2010; Sall 2010; Ndiaye 2010).

Tightening of immigration laws in the Schengen territories in Europe has had two effects on African migration. One, it has forced many candidate migrants to emigrate to countries other than those in Europe, including some African countries like Angola, Gabon and South Africa, and also to the United States of America, Argentina and Brazil in South America, and China and India in Asia. The emergence of new immigration countries is also worthy to note. In Africa, South Africa is on top of the list, followed by Libya (de Haas 2007). Since the end of apartheid, South Africa has undoubtedly become the new economic and political power open to Africa and the world. It has shown its willingness to welcome migrants who can contribute to its reorganization and economic dynamism (Dika 2009). Consequently, thousands of migrants with a variety of professions and origins have added to the migrants of Indian origin who came to South Africa before the end of apartheid and to the migrants working in the mines originally from neighboring countries (Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, etc.). South African universities have welcomed thousands of students from other African countries, in particular for studies at the doctorate level. A considerable number of peddlers, mainly from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria and Senegal, have come to South Africa's streets. Since the end of apartheid, the number of migrants in South Africa has increased. South Africa received approximately 350,000 migrants from Mozambique and close to 23,000 Congolese from the Democratic Republic of the Congo at the start of the 1990s (Dika 2009).

As for Libya, its emergence as an immigration country seems to be a result of political (Muammar Gaddafi's desire to play a more important role in Africa) and economic (oil boom and a need for labor in the mines) factors. It may also be a result of the role played by previous migrants in bringing other migrants to Libya, such as members of their families, people from their countries of origin and their friends (de Haas 2007).

Angola has also become a major immigration country. It has received a large number of migrants from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and has even become the leading country of destination for them (Mangalu 2011). However, in South Africa—as in Angola and Libya—thousands of irregular migrants are constantly being expelled under conditions that are strongly criticized, which are very similar to those of the expulsions carried out in Europe, and which hinder African solidarity and integration (Lututala 2007).

As far as the rise in transit migration is concerned, we observe that, as a result of poverty and difficulties in obtaining entry visas to immigration countries, a large number of migrants experience difficulty going directly from their countries of origin to the countries of destination. Thus, they are forced to engage in transit



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