



United Nations
Economic Commission for Africa

African Migration
Migration Governance

October 2017

Draft Report

Prepared for

Africa Regional Consultative Meeting on the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and
Regular Migration

The present draft report on *Migration Governance* was commissioned by Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) as a background document for the Africa Regional Consultative Meeting on the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration.

The report benefitted from the overall guidance of Ms. Thokozile Ruzvidzo, Director of the Social Development Policy Division (SDPD) of ECA.

The draft report was prepared by Hein de Haas (Lead Consultant), and also incorporates insights from the sub-regional reports prepared by Papa Demba Fall (West Africa), Pierre Kamdem (Central Africa), Caroline Wanjiku Kihato (Southern Africa), David Gakere Ndegwa (East Africa) and Ayman Zohry (North Africa).

William Muhwava, Chief of the Population and Youth Section, Social Development Policy Division (SDPD) of ECA provided technical leadership, substantive guidance and supervision in the preparation of the report. The report team comprised Gideon Rutaremwa and Mamusa Siyunyi of the Population and Youth Section, SDPD, ECA.

Introduction

Migration governance means the collection of national laws, policies, and practices, complemented by relevant regional and international norms and an international framework for cooperation that states need in order to manage migration effectively. This involves, national migration schemes that address the entry, exit, stay, and return of non-nationals, operate in parallel to a number of bilateral, regional and intergovernmental arrangements. While the majority of migration governance resides squarely within states, the New York Declaration (GCM) points to the need and desire of states for greater international cooperation

Analyses of African migration governance often ignore the role of African governments through their focus on the actions of European and other 'destination' countries to manage African migration. This is symptomatic for a migration debate that is often dominated by the interests and preoccupations of European and other Western governments. As we have seen, this bias is problematic, because most migration takes place *within* the continent, and many African countries are important destination countries in their own right. This bias is linked to the media coverage for Mediterranean 'boat migration', which started with the introduction of visa for Maghreb citizens by Spain and Italy around 1991, and a quarter of a century of attempts by European governments to seek collaboration from African countries to prevent the exit and transit of prospective migrants and asylum seekers. While the immigration restrictions and border controls put in place by European destination states – sometimes in collaboration with 'transit' and origin states in North and West Africa (Collyer 2016; Infantino 2010; Lutterbeck 2006) – have received ample attention, the major role of African states in shaping migration processes has received much less attention (Flahaux and De Haas 2016). This exemplifies the necessity to go beyond the usual focus on

- (1) African migration to Europe, because *most Africans move within the continent* and there is substantial migration to other regions such as the Gulf, North America and China;
- (2) Unauthorized 'boat migration', because the majority of Africans migrate legally and the main source of unauthorized migration is people 'overstaying' their visas; and
- (3) African out-migration, because many African countries have been significant destinations in their own right, mainly for other Africans but increasingly also for migrants from China, Europe and elsewhere.

African countries pursue their own immigration policies with the goal to influence the selection of immigration and emigration through giving migrants access to particular rights or, conversely, denying such rights, thereby increasing their vulnerability to abuse and exploitation on labor markets. In an efforts to sketch a balanced perspective, this following analysis provide an overview of ways in which African and non-African states have dealt with the governance of African migration, and how this has shaped and affected trends and patterns of African migration.

Immigration policies of African states

In general, and with a few exceptions, immigration policies of African governments are rather restrictive, as is exemplified by tight visa regimes, restrictions around settlement and legal employment of foreign nationals and difficult – or even impossible – access to citizenship rights (Fall 2017; Kamdem 2017; Kihato 2017; Ndegwa 2017; Zohry 2017). Decolonisation heralded a phase of state formation, in which newly established African states and their government have endeavoured to instil a sense of national unity in ethnically diverse societies, which often created considerable internal tensions and has regularly erupted in violent conflicts (cf. Davidson 1992). This frequently increased the urge among leaders of newly established states to assert national sovereignty by introducing immigration restrictions and border controls and to portray immigrants as a threat to sovereignty, security and ethnic homogeneity or stability in a bid to rally political support (cf. Vigneswaran and Quirk 2015).

Particularly when governments have embarked upon a more protectionist political and economic track, this often coincided with increasing immigration restrictions and nationalism. This also created a tendency to exclude foreigners from access to full citizenships or even permanent residency. In this context, African governments have frequently resorted to deportations. Adepoju (2001) counted 23 mass expulsions of migrants conducted by 16 different African states between 1958 and 1996. Political tensions and military conflict has frequently led to the closure of several borders between hostile governments, such as between South Africa and ‘frontline’ states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) as part of the anti-Apartheid struggle and between Morocco and Algeria as part of the dispute around the Western Sahara.

The earlier observation that African migration rates have been rather stagnant may thus partly be explained by the fact that post-colonial African states have maintained rather restrictive immigration regimes. This is corroborated by a recent analysis of global travel visa data between 1973 and 2013 showed that many African countries maintain some of the most restrictive visa policies of the world (Czaika, de Haas and Villares-Varela 2017; Flahaux and De Haas 2016).

In order to estimate policy restrictiveness, we calculated a *inbound entry visa restrictiveness*, which is the percentage of foreign citizens that need a visa to travel to those countries¹. The analysis showed that Africa is the world region with the highest levels of visa restrictiveness. Over the past decades, this inbound visa restrictiveness has actually been *increasing* in West Africa, East Africa and Central Africa. North Africa shows a mixed pattern, with Libya and Algeria showing increasing restrictions, and Morocco and Egypt relatively stable regimes of comparatively liberal inbound visa regimes. Southern Africa is the only region in which levels of visa restrictiveness have decreased since the 1990s, which seems to be related to the end of the *apartheid* regime, and the relaxation of previously strained relations with ‘Frontline States’ (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

Figure 23 shows that, on average, African countries impose a nearly equally high degree of travel restrictions (around 80 per cent) for other African citizens as for citizens of other world regions. In Africa, numerous international regional unions and other organizations have been created for the purpose of removing barriers to trade and the free movement of goods, capital, and people. Although regional organisations such as the Economic

¹ The value of inbound restrictiveness is thus 1 if foreign nationals of all countries need a travel visa, 0.5 if nationals of half the countries in the world need travel visa, and 0 if foreigners of all nationalities are visa-exempted. For methodological details, see Flahaux and De Haas 2016 and Czaika, de Haas, and Villares-Varela 2017.

Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the South African Development Community (SADC), The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the East African Community (EAC) and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) have introduced rules for free movement of nationals between their member states, and although their member countries are signatories to various relevant international treaties, the full implementation, particularly with the right settle and work is still only partial and faces many obstacles on the national implementation level (Fall 2017; Kamdem 2017; Kihato 2017; Ndegwa 2017).

Advance unedited copy

Figure 23. Inbound entry visa restrictiveness of African countries, by origin

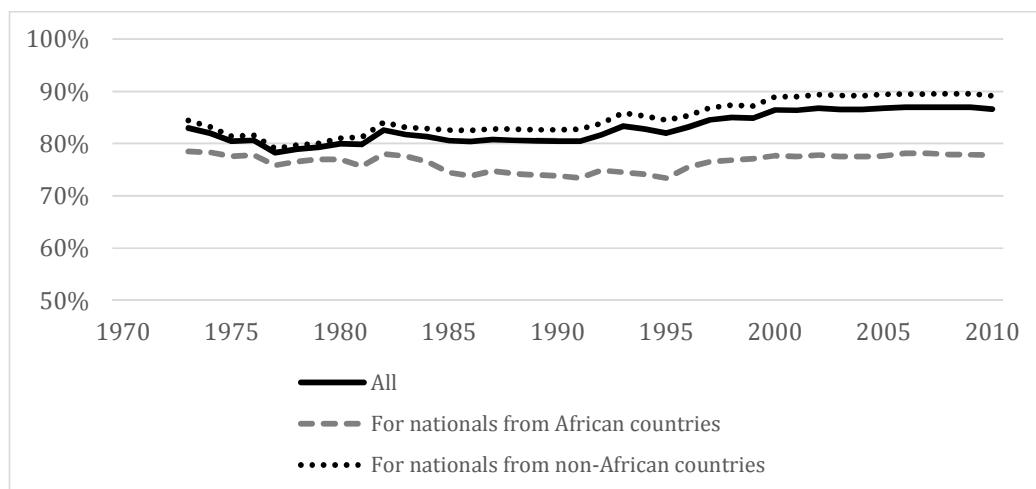


Figure 24. Inbound entry visa restrictiveness for African nationals, by region of destination

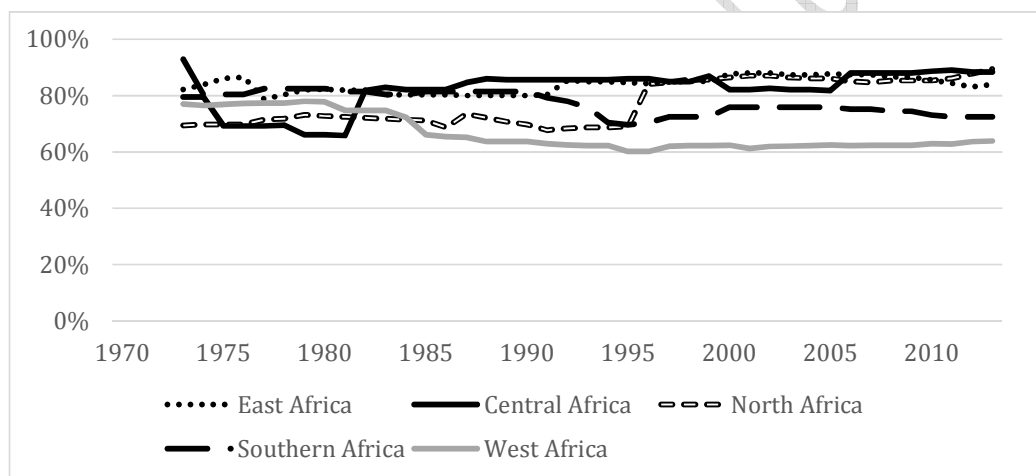
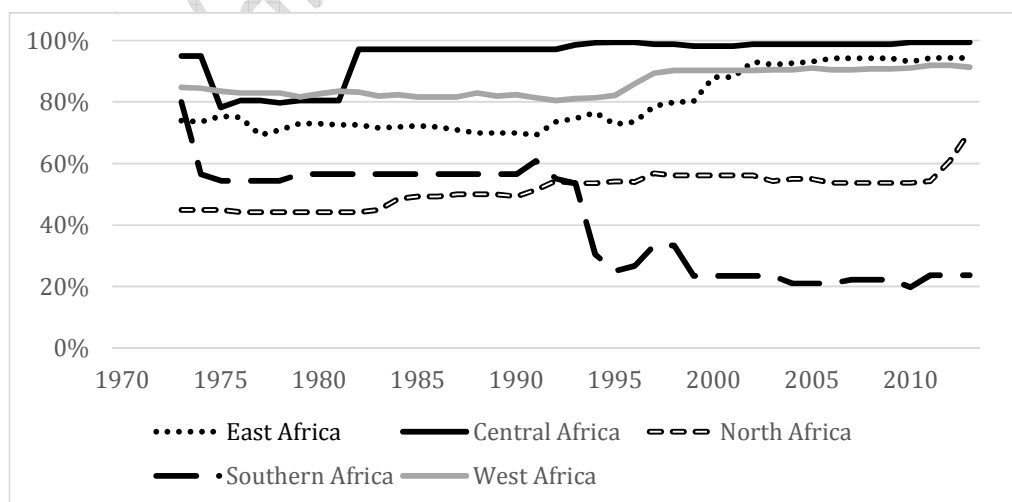


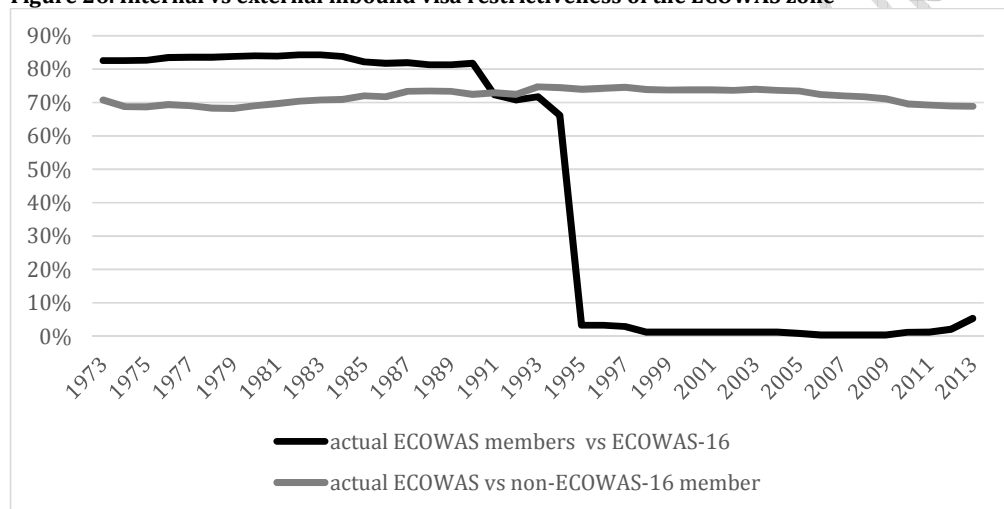
Figure 25. Entry visa restrictiveness of African countries for nationals from OECD countries



Sources: DEMIG VISA database, see Flahaux and de Haas 2016

For ECOWAS, figure 26 shows that nominal free travel has been implemented within the block particularly since 1994, but that restrictions for other African nationals have remained high at levels of around 70 per cent. For instance, in the ECOWAS zone, migrants are vulnerable to harassment, extortion and bribery by border guards and other state officials (Akopari 2000: 77). While ECOWAS has been comparatively the most advanced regional bloc in terms of establishing free mobility despite persisting problems on the level of implementation (Fall 2017), the intra-regional free movement vision of SADC, EAC and other regional organizations has not yet become reality (Kamdem 2017; Kihato 2017; Ndegwa 2017). For instance, South Africa still restricts migration from other SADC states despite the existence of far-reaching 1995 SADC Draft Protocol on Free Movement (Oucho and Crush 2001). As the sub-regional reports have shown, most African countries are signatories to important international conventions protecting the rights of migrants and refugees, but the key obstacle is the lack of implementation on the ground (Fall 2017; Kamdem 2017; Kihato 2017; Ndegwa 2017; Zohry 2017). And even within ECOWAS, implementation still leaves much to be desired. (Fall 2017).

Figure 26. Internal vs external inbound visa restrictiveness of the ECOWAS zone

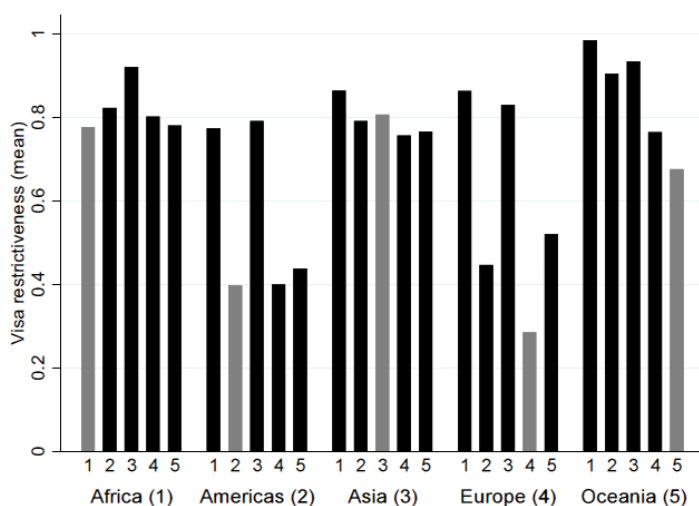


Source: DEMIG VISA database, see Flahaux and de Haas 2016

As Kihato (2017) observes that regional migration policies within the SADC is primarily driven by bilateralism in the negotiation of visa requirements, labour agreements (as between South Africa and Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland) and unauthorized migration (Malawi-Mozambique, South Africa-Mozambique, South Africa-Mozambique-Swaziland, South Africa-Lesotho) (Kihato 2017). This bilateral approach results in a lack of coordination and harmonisation between border agencies, the duplication of services, and a general ineffective management of mobility across regional borders (Kihato 2017). In Central Africa, immigration policies are particularly restrictive, and migration governance in the region is affected by political authoritarianism as well as a rather hostile social climate towards migrants (Kamdem 2017).

All in all, this somehow challenges stereotypical images of Africa as a continent of ‘porous borders’ or as a region in which most migration would acquire disorderly dimensions. Although many African borders may be relatively easy to cross, particularly when states’ enforcement capacities are weak, others African borders are not easy to cross at all and can be heavily militarized, such as is the case in North Africa. In addition, as this is the case in Europe and elsewhere, immigration controls have increasingly become ‘internal’, through the exclusion of unauthorized migrants from social, economic and political rights, or subjecting them to harassment, violence, and discrimination. In fact, with a few exceptions, Africa is characterized by rather stringent immigration regimes and a lack of legal facilities to encourage their integration and naturalization and to protect migrants from abuse (Fall 2017; Kamdem 2017; Kihato 2017; Ndegwa 2017; Zohry 2017).

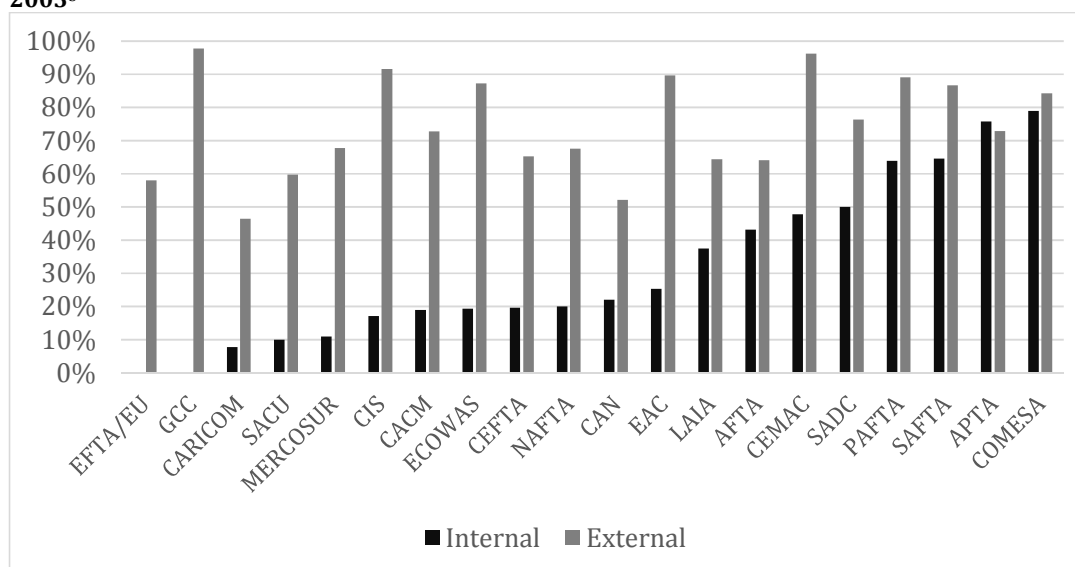
Figure 27 Inbound visa restrictiveness within and between world regions²



Source: Czaika, de Haas and Villares-Varela (2017) based on DEMIG VISA data.

² Grey bars show intra-regional visa restrictiveness whereas black bars respective rates against nationals of other continents.

Figure 28. Internal vs external inbound visa restrictiveness of regional blocs, average 1973-2003³



Source: Czaika, de Haas and Villares-Varela (2017) based on DEMIG VISA data.

There has been a rise of ‘autochthony discourses’ throughout much of Africa which would reveal an increased politicisation of migration (Mitchell 2012), quite in parallel to the rise of anti-immigrant discourse in Europe (Fall 2017, Kihato 2017). Perhaps paradoxically, the rise of autochthony and xenophobic discourses in sub-Saharan, have acquired a great political mobilising force since the onset of democratisation in the early 1990s (Geschiere 2005). In several countries there seems to be a hardening of anti-migrant attitudes, such as in South Africa (Dodson and Crush 2015; Kihato 2017), in Côte d’Ivoire (Mitchell 2012), in Kenya (towards Somali refugees), or in Libya since Gaddafi started scapegoating sub-Saharan workers as a strategy to garner political support, and where they have been subject to systematic violent and arbitrary detention since at least the early 2000s (Hamood 2006; Pliez 2005).

Most African countries are characterized by a weak protection of migrant rights, and as elsewhere in the world, migrants are often scapegoated and in the past mass deportations have regularly occurred, particularly in times of economic crisis (Castles, de Haas and Miller 2014). In post-apartheid South Africa, ethnic exclusion and race continues to define patterns of urban (Kihato 2017) segregation (Vigneswaran and Quirk 2015), and ‘indigeneity’ is often the only way to acquire resources and stable jobs (Neocosmos 2008). Also ethnic minorities, such as the Lebanese in Ghana (Akyeampong 2006) and Sierra Leone (Van Hear 1998) or the Mandingo in Liberia (Konneh 1996), have found it difficult to get full recognition as full and active political citizens within a broader context of national ideology fervour. Despite the existence of zones in which there is nominally freedom of movement, these rights are not always protected, and particularly in times of economic crisis, migrants are often scapegoated.

³ This graphs displays the difference of inbound visa openness between members and non-members of regional blocs based on the 1973-2003 average. A high difference between internal and external visa openness shows a high degree of internal opening coinciding with a high degree of external closure. AFTA: ASEAN Free Trade Area; CACM: Central American Common Market; CAN: Andean Community; CEMAC: Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa; EAC: East African Community; LAIA: Latin American Integration Association

In general, it is very difficult for immigrants to access residency rights and only few African countries provide migrants' right to nationality in their constitutions and other legislations, even for stateless children born on their territory (Manby 2016). This can lead to the multi-generational exclusion of residency and citizenship rights, sometimes for political reasons, such as is the case for Palestinian, Somali and Sudanese refugees in Egypt and their descendants in Egypt (Al-Sharmani 2003; El Abed 2003; Grabska 2005; Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003). Many countries lack refugee policies, and not all are party to the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention. There are few domestic laws concerning the right of asylum, and this often remains unclear and discretionary.

National governments as well as international organization such as UNHCR often have difficulties to come to terms with the increasingly *de facto* permanent nature of migrant and refugee settlement. Based on his research on 'self-settled' Angolan refugees in Zambia, Bakewell (2008c) for instance observed that those who are seen as self-repatriating refugees by the government and UN bodies actually have come to see themselves as villagers in search of better livelihood, and therefore generally prefer to stay, also after the end of conflict. In some cases this has led to governments coming to terms with such new realities. In Morocco, for instance, King Mohammed VI embarked upon a legalization campaign of unauthorized migrants and refugees (Cherti and Collyer 2015; Natter 2013; Zohry 2017), and also the Ugandan government has granted refugees rather extensive economic rights.

Emigration and exit policies of African states

The attitudes of African states towards the emigration of their own citizens have often been ambiguous. On the one hand, they often see emigration as a potential source of remittances and a political-economic 'safety valve'. On the other hand, they often see it as a potential cause of 'brain drain', one-sided remittance dependency, and a potential source of political unrest and violence in the form of Diaspora political activism. In the context of post-colonial state formation, anti-colonial sentiment, increasing nationalism, xenophobia and protectionism, compelled several African governments to control, restrict or actively discourage the emigration of their own populations alongside measures to restrict and tightly control the immigration of foreigners, such as was the case in post-independence Algeria (Miller 1979; Natter 2014; Samers 1997), Egypt under Nasser (Choucri 1977; Sell 1988), and Ethiopia under the DERG regimes (Fernandez 2011), which saw unfettered emigration (and immigration) as endangering national interests.

Other African governments, particularly those adhering to more liberal economic models and with a more pro-Western political orientation, have stimulated emigration of workers, mainly because they saw it as a political-economic "safety valve", which could generate remittances, reduce unemployment and poverty, and diminish the pressure for political reforms. Such considerations have been a major factors in Morocco's and Tunisia's active collaboration with the recruitment of workers for Europe's industries from the 1960s (Bel Hadj Zekri 2004; Berriane 2014), the migration of workers from Senegal and Mali to France, in Egypt's (under Sadat) mass labor export program to the Gulf from the 1970s (Zohry and Harrell-Bond 2003) and the more recent emergence of the Ethiopian state as a 'broker' in migration of domestic workers to the Gulf (Fernandez 2011), or the cooperation of several West African governments with migration to Libya in the 1990s and 2000s (Bredeloup and Pliez 2005; Pliez 2005).

However, in recent decades there seems to be a general tendency towards opening up under the influence of a more general process of political and economic liberalization, which has made it generally more difficult to deny citizens mobility rights. Although high skilled emigration still raises concerns, particularly in the health care sector, most African governments have abandoned the largely unsuccessful attempts of the past to stop emigration and have instead developed policies to maintain ties with emigrant population and to encourage remittances, investments and the circulation or return of migrants (cf. Fall 2017; Kamdem 2017; Manuh 2005; Ndegwa 2017; Zohry 2017). In 2008⁴, about 20 per cent of African countries maintained some form of exit visa (Czaika, de Haas and Villares-Varela 2017), which is still rather high by international standards.

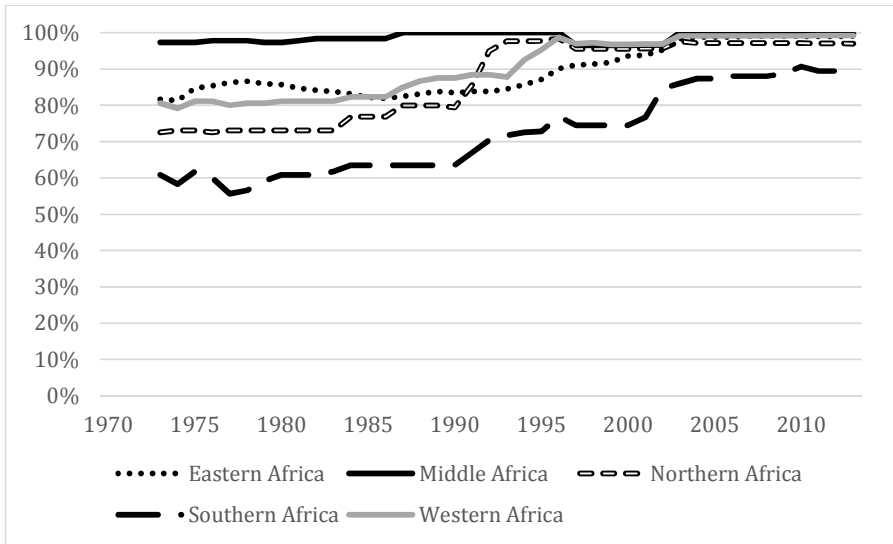
Immigration policies and border controls by European countries

In European destination countries, in the 1960s and 1970s citizens from Maghreb countries and several other African origin countries faced relatively low immigration restrictions, and until 1991 many did not need a visa to enter southern European countries. Because of such mobility freedom, many Moroccans, Tunisians and other Africans such as the Senegalese would often migrate to Europe in largely circular patterns (Heinemeijer et al. 1977; Toma and Castagnone 2015). Partly driven by the imposition of common Schengen visa rules in Europe, almost African citizens now need visas to travel to Europe. This is exemplified by the analysis of visa data since 1973, which show that levels of 'outbound visa restrictiveness' are comparatively high in Africa and clearly increasing in most countries that enjoyed relatively high degrees of visa-free travel opportunities in the 1970s, such as Kenya, Uganda, Namibia, Botswana and Tunisia, and to a certain degree also for countries such as Morocco, Egypt, Ghana and Senegal. South Africa is one of the few exceptions where visa-restrictiveness for travel abroad has decreased (Czaika, de Haas and Villares-Varela 2017).

Figure 29 illustrates that almost all African citizens now face travel restriction to travel to OECD countries, and figure 30 shows that the closure of open borders of former colonizing nations has played a major role in this trend. The map in figure 31. shows that, together with South Asia, Africans face the highest travel restrictions to move to other countries in the world, with citizens from North-Eastern and Central African countries facing the highest restrictions. This reflects broader restrictions towards the legal migration and settlement of Africans abroad.

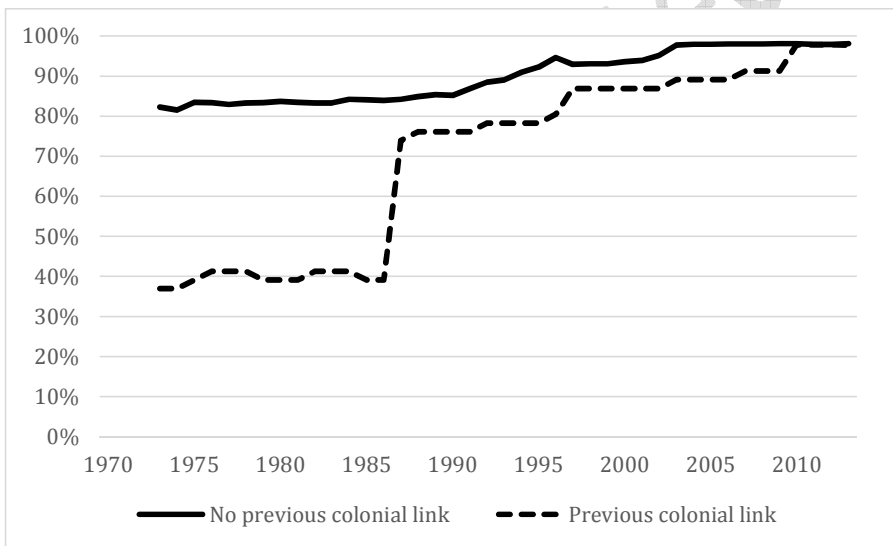
⁴ More recent data is unfortunately not available.

Figure 29. Average OECC inbound visa restrictiveness for African nationals, 1973-2013



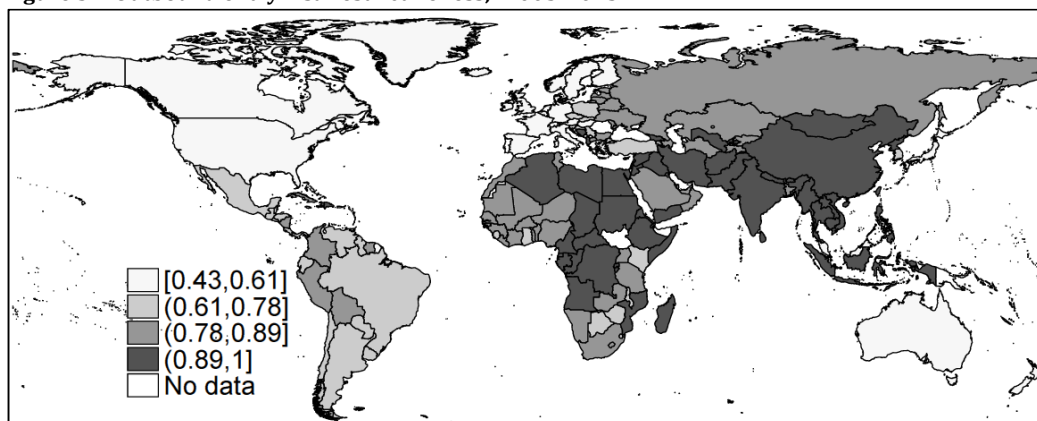
Source: DEMIG VISA database.

Figure 30. Average OECC inbound visa restrictiveness for African nationals, by type of link, 1973-2013



Source: DEMIG VISA database.

Figure 31. Outbound entry visa restrictiveness,⁵ 2003-2013



Source: Czaika, de Haas and Villares-Varela (2017) based on DEMIG VISA data.

In a partial response to the tightening of visa and immigration policies by European countries there has been an increase of unauthorized migration through West and North African countries towards Europe, such as from sub-Saharan Africa through Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria and Libya (Farrag 1999:74) or from the Horn of Africa towards the Gulf region. Such 'transit migration' is a source of considerable tension. Since the 1990, European governments have pressured countries in North Africa and the Middle East to control their borders and to curb irregular migration. On the one hand, this has led to increasing collaboration in joint border controls and re-admission policies, particularly with countries in Northern and Western Africa, generally in return for aid packages, temporary migration programmes, or the lifting of sanctions (in the case of Libya under Gaddafi) (Collyer 2016; El Qadim 2007; Lutterbeck 2006; Paoletti 2010; Pian 2010).

On the other hand, these of origin and transit are often reluctant to fully play the role of Europe's border guard, which is for instance expressed through lukewarm or erratic collaboration with border control policies and their general reluctance to comply with readmission policies for 'third country nationals'. Several African governments may adopt a strategy in which they use the migration issue as a bargaining chip in negotiating aid, economic relations and immigrant quota. At the same time, African governments have little real interest in stopping transit migration of 'third country nationals' and the emigration of their own citizens, in order not to harm relations with other African governments, and because for many countries emigration represents a considerable development potential in the forms of remittances, and the knowledge, ideas and skills their citizens may obtain abroad.

In southern European countries such as Spain, Italy and Malta, growing public and political concern about irregular migration from Africa led to an increase in land and maritime border controlling by EU countries since the late 1990s. Rather than stopping migration, this has rather led to a geographical reorientation and general diversification of overland and maritime crossing points towards places east of the Strait of Gibraltar, Algeria, Libya and Tunisia. Increasing border enforcement in the early 2000s in the central Mediterranean route lead to a partial reorientation of crossing point to from West Africa to the Canary Islands (de Haas 2007a). In response, Frontex, the EU's border control agency, and individual countries also started patrolling the shores of Senegal and Mauritania in the mid 2000s. In the wake of the 2011 'Arab Spring' uprisings in Tunisia

⁵ This measure reflects the ease of travel for citizens of each country in terms of the percentage of countries they can enter without a visa.

and Libya, there was a temporary hike in trans-Mediterranean boat migration (mainly by Tunisian) from the Tunisian coast.

After a slowdown, the civil war in Syria and a resurgence of violence in various African countries caused another increase in trans-Mediterranean boat migration from 2015, in which increasing border enforcement along the Turkish-Greek border as well as in Central and Eastern Europe as well as the tightening of policies towards refugees by North African countries led to an increasing trans-Mediterranean migration, particularly from the Libyan coast. The main effect of increased border patrolling has therefore been the diversion of overland and maritime migration routes, in which migrants are compelled to take longer and more dangerous itineraries (Brachet 2012; Mechlinski 2010).

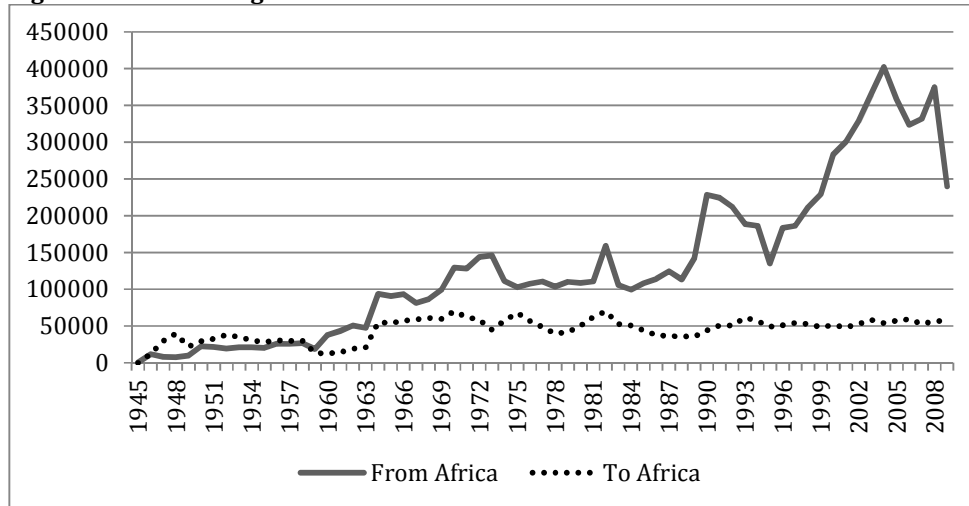
The effectiveness of migration policies and border controls

The history of 25 years of Mediterranean border controls illustrates the fundamental dilemmas governments of origin, transit and destination countries face in controlling migration. While immigration restrictions border controls do generally reduce inflows at the targeted crossing point, they tend to have unintended consequences that can partly undermine their long-term objective, particularly through redirecting migration and pushing (both authorized and unauthorized) migrants into permanent settlement (Czaika and Haas 2016). The increase in unauthorized boat migration was a direct consequence of the introduction of visa requirements and immigration restrictions for North Africans. The diversification of maritime and terrestrial (Saharan) migration routes, the increasing reliance of migrants and refugees on smugglers, and a significant death toll (Crawley et al. 2016a), was the consequence of increasing border patrolling and attempts to 'push back' migrants.

Such restrictions also prompted legal migrants to cancel return plans and to stay, and encourage temporary visitors to overstay their visas. Also governments of African countries of transit and origin a fundamental policy dilemma, as for them emigration has been a political-economic safety valve, while the money remitted by migrants are an important source of foreign exchange and contribute significantly to standards of living in origin regions. Therefore, for African governments blanket collaboration with the readmission policies can represent a political risk vis-à-vis their constituencies (in the case of deportation of their own citizens) as well as a diplomatic risk vis-à-vis governments of other African countries (in the case of the readmission and deportation of citizens of other African countries).

There is substantial evidence that increasing immigration restriction and the imposition of blanket visa requirements for African citizens interrupted circulation and stimulated labour migrants to settle permanently, which subsequently triggered substantial secondary migration through family reunification (de Haas 2014b; De Mas 1991; Flahaux 2014). A recent statistical study of bilateral flow data from around the world shows that, on average, restrictions can reduce return by about the same rate as immigration (Czaika and Haas 2016). Using DEMIG C2C data, figure 32 shows that while legal migration from Africa to European countries has increased, the level of returns has remained stable. The fact that return rates have particularly decreased since the early 1990s seems to confirm the idea that migration restrictions have pushed migrants into long-term or permanent settlement.

Figure 32. African migration to and from EU15⁶



Source: DEMIG C2C database, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford

Government intervention seems to be relatively effective in preventing or establishing initial migration linkages. However, once significant communities have set up at the destination, networks tend to make migration partly self-perpetuating as migrants start to self-organize the migration of family and community members (de Haas 2010c). Such network dynamics also partly explain the expansion of Somali, Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees diasporas in neighboring African countries, Europe and North America over the past decades (Lindley 2009; Ndegwa 2017).

As soon as networks are in place and as long as the developmental causes of migration persist, migration restrictions and border controls do not so much stop migration, but rather tend to lead to a number of unintended or 'substitution' effects which tend to limit or undermine the effectiveness of migration controls policies by (1) diverting migration through other geographical routes and destinations (*spatial substitution*) or through (2) other legal and unauthorized channels (*categorical substitution*), (3) by triggering "now or never" migration surges in anticipation of restrictions (*intertemporal substitution*) and (4) by discouraging return and interrupting circulation (*reverse flow substitution*) (de Haas 2011). These effects show the need for careful policy design, and expose fundamental policy dilemmas, for instance the difficulty of reconciling the policy aims of reducing immigration while stimulating circulation. This also highlights the limited ability of governments to control migration and the need for policies to be grounded in a profound understanding of the developmental root causes of migration. After all, migration policy ineffectiveness or failure is generally explained by an incomprehension or unwillingness to take into account the complex and often counterintuitive ways in which structural social, economic and political factors affect migration in mostly indirect, but powerful ways, which generally lie way beyond the reach of migration policies.

Conclusions

Migration governance is complex, with regulations spanning international, regional and national spheres. The regional consultative groups recognized that the migration

⁶ EU15 countries include Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, UK, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland, Sweden. These countries constituted the EU before the 2004 enlargement.

dynamics between different countries and regions across the globe were unique and called for varied regulatory principles and responses.

On the issues of respect and reciprocity African states have noted that the migration agenda is currently influenced by Western countries which are imposing their governance and regulatory frameworks on African countries. As Africans do not dictate how Europeans manage their borders, we would like to demand the same respect and reciprocity when determining ours.

The key priority for Africa is how to support effective global, regional and bilateral migration management among African countries of origin, transit and destination.

Actionable Commitments

The need for international cooperation and governance has been necessitated by a number of factors. First, the globalized world in which nearly instantaneous connectivity resulting from social media, together with fast, cheap, accessible transportation from even remote areas, have direct impacts on migratory behaviour. Second, the capacities for migration governance in resource-poor countries have not kept pace with the increase in South-South migration or intra-Africa migration.

- States need to harmonize internal/African migration policies and ensure that these are not driven by external interests, this would require ratifying REC protocols and AU agreements.
- States must strengthen global cooperation along migration routes including origin, transit and destination countries in ways that harness the development benefits of migration and mainstream migration into Africa's development agenda and SDGs.
- Migration has positive effects in enabling the circulation of knowledge, trade, investment, and cultural exchanges. As such, mobility should be seen as a catalyst to support the implementation of SDG and Africa's development agenda. To this end, all states need to ratify the International Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families and implement regional instruments on the protection of migrants.
- The protection of the rights of workers must include strengthening cooperation and the governance of migrant social security benefits and develop standards for the Portability of Benefits and savings.
- African states need to strengthen global cooperation around Africa's brain drain including negotiating ways of mitigating the loss of skills in African countries e.g. negotiating recompense for the West's net gain of African professional, artisanal, and domestic skills.
- Africa should support labour circulation within the continent. This however, requires strengthening human rights across the continent including the rights of labour migrants. This can be done through encouraging bilateral and multilateral agreements between countries which support student exchange programmes, circular migration programmes, bilateral temporary work schemes and business support initiatives etc.

There is an important opportunity for strengthening partnerships between host and origin countries and migrants. This tripartite collaboration provides an important opportunity to interface migration and development. An example of the power of such cooperation exists between Senegal and France and Senegalese migrants in France through the Programme d'Appui aux initiatives de Solidarité pour le Développement

(PAISD) which supports development investment in the country of origin, but also in host communities.

Advance unedited copy

References

- Adano, Wario R, Ton Dietz, Karen Witsenburg, and Fred Zaal. 2012. "Climate change, violent conflict and local institutions in Kenya's drylands." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1):65-80.
- Adepoju, Aderanti. 2001. "Regional Organisations and Intra-Regional Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges and Prospects." *International Migration* 39(6):43-59.
- . 2003. "Continuity and Changing Configurations of Migration to and from the Republic of South Africa." *International Migration* 41(1):3-28.
- . 2007. "Creating a borderless West Africa: constraints and prospects for intra-regional migration." *Migration without borders: essays on the free movement of people*:161-74.
- African Immigrants in the United States are the Nation's Most Highly Educated Group. 1999–2000. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (26):60–61.
- Ahmed, Amira. 2003. "Gender, Forced Migration and Paid Domestic Work: Case studies on refugee women domestic workers in Cairo " in *Dept. of Anthropology MA Thesis*, The American University in Cairo.
- Akokpavi, John K. 2000. "Globalisation and migration in Africa." *African Sociological Review* 4(2):72-92.
- Akyeampong, Emmanuel K. 2006. "Race, identity and citizenship in Black Africa: The case of the Lebanese in Ghana." *Africa* 76(3):297-323.
- Al-Sharmani, Mulki. 2003. *Livelihood and identity constructions of Somali refugees in Cairo*. Cairo: American University in Cairo.
- Andres Henao, Luis. 2009. "African immigrants drift toward Latin America." in *Reuters*.
- Annez, Patricia Clarke, and Robert M Buckley. 2009. "Urbanization and growth: Setting the context." *Urbanization and growth* 1:1-45.
- Arthur, J. A. 1991. "International Labor Migration Patterns in West Africa." *African Studies Review* 34 (3):65-87.
- Awumbila, Mariama, Louis Boakye-Yiadom, Eva-Maria Egger, Julie Litchfield, Joseph Kofi Teye, and Collins Yeboah. 2016. *Gains and losses from internal migration: evidence from migrant-sending households in Ghana*: Working Paper 44, Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium. Brighton: University of Sussex.
- Awumbila, Mariama, Priya Deshingkar, Leander Kandilige, Joseph Kofi Teye, and Mary Setrana. 2017. *Brokerage in migrant domestic work in Ghana: complex social relations and mixed outcomes*. Working Paper 47, Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium. Brighton: University of Sussex.
- Awumbila, Mariama, Joseph Kofi Teye, and Joseph Awetori Yaro. 2016. "Social networks, migration trajectories and livelihood strategies of migrant domestic and construction workers in Accra, Ghana." *Journal of Asian and African Studies*:1-15.
- Bakewell, O. 2008a. "'Keeping Them in Their Place': the ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa." *Third World Quarterly* 29(7):1341-58.
- Bakewell, Oliver. 2008b. "Research Beyond the Categories: The Importance of Policy Irrelevant Research into Forced Migration." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21(4):432-53.
- Bakewell, Oliver , and Hein de Haas. 2007. "African Migrations: continuities, discontinuities and recent transformations." Pp. 95-118 in *African Alternatives*, edited by L de Haan, U Engel, and P Chabal. Leiden: Brill.
- Bakewell, Oliver , and Gunvor Jónsson. 2011. "Migration, mobility and the African city." Oxford: IMI: International Migration Institute.
- Bakewell, Oliver, and Ayla Bonfiglio. 2013. "Moving Beyond Conflict: Re-framing mobility in the African Great Lakes region." Oxford: University of Oxford, IMI Working Papers series.
- Barros, Lucile, Mehdi Lahlou, Claire Escoffier, Pablo Pumares, and Paolo Ruspini. 2002. "L'immigration Irregulière Subsaharienne à Travers et Vers le Maroc. ." Geneva: ILO.
- Batterbury, Simon. 2001. "Landscapes of diversity: a local political ecology of livelihood diversification in south-western Niger." *Cultural Geographies* 8(4):437-64.

- BBC/MPI. 2010. *Migration and Immigrants Two Years after the Financial Collapse: Where Do We Stand?* London and Washington DC: BBC World Service and Migration Policy Institute
- Beauchemin, C., and B. Schoumaker. 2005. "Migration to cities in Burkina Faso: Does the level of development in sending areas matter?" *World Development* 33(7):1129-52.
- Beauchemin, Cris, and Philippe Bocquier. 2003. "Migration and Urbanization in Francophone West Africa: A review of the recent empirical evidence." *Développement et insertion internationale*.
- Beguy, Donatien, Philippe Bocquier, and Eliya Msiyaphazi Zulu. 2010. "Circular migration patterns and determinants in Nairobi slum settlements." *Demographic Research* 23:549.
- Beine, M., F. Docquier, and Çağlar Özden. 2011. "Diasporas." *Journal of Development Economics* 95(1):30-41.
- Beine, Michel, and Christopher Parsons. 2015. "Climatic Factors as Determinants of International Migration." *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 117(2):723-67.
- Bel Hadj Zekri, Abderazak. 2004. "Les politiques migratoires, les institutions compétentes et leur environnement in Tunisie." Florence: Robert Schuman Centre for advanced studies.
- Bell, Martin, Elin Charles - Edwards, Philipp Ueffing, John Stillwell, Marek Kupiszewski, and Dorota Kupiszewska. 2015. "Internal migration and development: comparing migration intensities around the world." *Population and Development Review* 41(1):33-58.
- Bencherifa, Abdellatif. 1996. "Is sedentarization of pastoral nomads causing desertification? The case of the Beni Guil in eastern Morocco." *The North African environment at risk*:117-31.
- Berriane, Johara. 2015. "Sub-Saharan students in Morocco: determinants, everyday life, and future plans of a high-skilled migrant group." *The Journal of North African Studies* 20(4):573-89.
- Berriane, Mohamed. 1997. "Emigration Internationale du Travail et Micro-Urbanisation dans le Rif Oriental: Cas du Centre de Taouima (Région de Nador, Maroc)." Pp. 75-97 in *Migration Internationale et Changements Sociaux dans le Maghreb. Actes du Colloque Internationale du Hammamet, Tunisie (21-25 juin 1993)*. Tunis: Université de Tunis.
- (Ed.). 2014. *Marocains de l'extérieur - 2013*. Rabat: Observatoire de la Communauté Marocaine Résidant à l'Étranger.
- Berriane, Mohamed, Mohammed Aderghal, Mhamed Idrissi Janati, and Johara Berriane. 2010. "New mobilities around Morocco: A case study of the city of Fes." in *Final Report for the MacArthur-Funded Project on "African Perspectives on Human Mobility"*. Oxford/Rabat: International Migration Institute/Université Mohammed V Agdal Rabat.
- Berriane, Mohamed, and Hein de Haas. 2012. *African migrations research : innovative methods and methodologies*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Bezu, Sosina, and Stein Holden. 2014. "Are Rural Youth in Ethiopia Abandoning Agriculture?" *World Development* 64:259-72.
- Binaisa, Naluwembe. 2011. "Negotiating 'Belonging' to the Ancestral 'Homeland': Ugandan Refugee Descendants 'Return'." *Mobilities* 6(4):519-34.
- Black, R., D. Kniveton, and K. Schmidt-Verkerk. 2011. "Migration and climate change: towards an integrated assessment of sensitivity." *Environment and Planning A* 43(2):431-50.
- Blaikie, Piers, and H. Brookfield. 1991. *Land Degradation and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Bleibaum, F. . 2009. *Senegal Case Study Report. EACH-FOR Environmental Change and Forced Migration Scenarios*.

- Bloom, David E, David Canning, and Günther Fink. 2008. "Urbanization and the wealth of nations." *Science* 319(5864):772-75.
- Blumenstock, Joshua E. . 2012. "Inferring patterns of internal migration from mobile phone call records: evidence from Rwanda." *Information Technology for Development* 18(2):107-25.
- Bodomo, Adams. 2010. "The African trading community in Guangzhou: An emerging bridge for Africa–China relations." *The China Quarterly* 203:693-707.
- Boersema, Eline, Arjen Leerkes, and Rianne van Os. 2014. "What Drives Soft Deportation? Understanding the Rise in Assisted Voluntary Return in the Netherlands." in *DEMIG conference*. Wolfson College, University of Oxford, 23-25 September 2014.
- Böhning, W. R. 1994. "Helping Migrants to Stay at Home." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 534:165-77.
- Böhning, W.R., and M.-L. Schloeter-Paredes (Eds.). 1994. *Aid in Place of Migration?* Geneva: The International Labour Office.
- Boserup, E. . 1965. *The conditions of agricultural growth: The economics of Agrarian change under population pressure*. Chicago: Aldine Press.
- Brachet, Julien. 2012. "From one Stage to the Next: Transit and Transport in (Trans) Saharan Migrations." Pp. 109-32 in *African Migrations Research: Innovative Methods and Methodologies*, edited by Mohamed Berriane and Hein de Haas. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Brachet, Julien 2005. "Migrants, Transporteurs et Agents d'Etat : Rencontre sur l'Axe Agadez-Sebha." *Autrepart* 36(4):43-62.
- Bredeloup, S. , and O. Pliez. 2005. "Migrations entre les deux rives du Sahara." *Autrepart (special issue on trans-Saharan migration)* 4(36).
- Capps, Randy, Kirsten McCabe, and Michael Fix. 2012. "Diverse streams: African migration to the United States." *Migration Policy Institute: Washington, DC*.
- Carling, J. 2002. "Migration in the age of involuntary immobility: theoretical reflections and Cape Verdean experiences " *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28(1):5-42.
- Castles, Stephen, Hein de Haas, and Mark. J. Miller. 2014. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: MacMillan Pres ltd.
- Cernea, Michael M., and Christopher McDowell (Eds.). 2000. *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Chen, Mingxing, Hua Zhang, Weidong Liu, and Wenzhong Zhang. 2014. "The Global Pattern of Urbanization and Economic Growth: Evidence from the Last Three Decades." *Plos One* 9(8):e103799.
- Cherti, Myriam, and Michael Collyer. 2015. "Immigration and Pensée d'Etat: Moroccan migration policy changes as transformation of 'geopolitical culture'." *The Journal of North African Studies* 20(4):590-604.
- Choucri, N. . 1977. "The New Migration in the Middle East: A Problem for Whom?" *International Migration Review* 11(4):412-43.
- Christian Aid. 2007. "Human Tide: The Real Migration Crisis." London: Christian Aid.
- Cissé, Daouda. 2013. "South-South migration and Sino-African small traders: a comparative study of Chinese in Senegal and Africans in China." *African Review of Economics and Finance* 5(1):17-28.
- Clemens, M. A. 2014. *Does Development Reduce Migration?* . Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.
- Cohen, Robin. 1987. *The New Helots: Migrants in the international division of labour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press and Oxford Publishing Services.
- Collyer, M. 2005. "When do social networks fail to explain migration? Accounting for the movement of Algerian asylum-seekers to the UK." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4):699-718.

- Collyer, Michael. 2016. "Geopolitics as a migration governance strategy: European Union bilateral relations with Southern Mediterranean countries." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(4):606-24.
- Cook, Seth, Jixia Lu, Henry Tugendhat, and Dawit Alemu. 2016. "Chinese Migrants in Africa: Facts and Fictions from the Agri-Food Sector in Ethiopia and Ghana." *World Development* 81:61-70.
- Crawley, H., F. Duvell, N. Sigona, S. McMahon, and K. Jones. 2016a. *Unpacking a rapidly changing scenario: migration flows, routes and trajectories across the Mediterranean*. <http://www.medmig.info/research-brief-01-unpacking-a-rapidly-changing-scenario/>
- Crawley, Heaven, Franck Düvell, Katharine Jones, Simon McMahon, and Nando Sigona. 2016b. "Destination Europe? Understanding the dynamics and drivers of Mediterranean migration in 2015." *MEDMIG Final Report*. www.medmig.info/research-brief-destination-europe.pdf.
- Czaika, Mathias, Hein de Haas, and Maria Villares-Varela. 2017. *The evolution of global travel visa regimes: An analysis based on the DEMIG VISA database*. Oxford: Internattional Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- Czaika, Mathias, and Hein Haas. 2016. "The effect of visas on migration processes." *International Migration Review*.
- Czaika, Mathias, and Christopher R. Parsons. 2017. "The Gravity of High-Skilled Migration Policies." *Demography* 54(2):603-30.
- Davidson, Basil. 1992. *The Black man's burden : Africa and the curse of the nation-state*. New York: Times Books.
- de Brauw, Alan, Valerie Mueller, and Tassew Woldehanna. 2013. "Does internal migration improve overall well-being in Ethiopia?" *Ethiopia Strategy Support Program II* 55.
- de Bruijn, M. , F. Nyamnjoh, and I. Brinkman (Eds.). 2009. *Mobile Phones: the New Talking Drums of Everyday Africa*. Leiden/Bamenda: African Studies Centre/Langaa.
- de Bruijn, Mirjam, and Han van Dijk. 2003. "Changing population mobility in West Africa: Fulbe pastoralists in Central and South Mali." *African Affairs* 102(407):285-307.
- De Haan, Arjan, Karen Brock, Grace Carswell, Ngolo Coulibaly, Haileyesus Seba, and Kazi Ali Toufique. 2000. *Migration and Livelihoods: Case Studies in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Mali*. IDS Research Report 46. Brighton, Sussex: Institute of Development Studies.
- de Haan, Arjan, Karen Brock, and Ngolo Coulibaly. 2002. "Migration, Livelihoods and Institutions: Contrasting Patterns of Migration in Mali." *The Journal of Development Studies* 38(5):37-58.
- de Haas, Hein. 1998. "Socio-Economic Transformations and Oasis Agriculture in Southern Morocco." Pp. 65-78 in *Looking at Maps in the Dark: Directions for Geographical Research in Land Management and Sustainable Development in Rural and Urban Environments of the Third World*, edited by Leo de Haan and Piers Blaikie. Utrecht/Amsterdam: KNAG/FRW UvA,
- (Ed.). 2001. *Migration, Agricultural Transformations and Natural Resource Exploitation in the Oases of Morocco and Tunisia*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- . 2003. *Migration and Development in Southern Morocco: The Disparate Socio-Economic Impacts of Out-Migration on the Todgha Oasis Valley*. Nijmegen: Radboud University.
- . 2007a. "The Myth of Invasion: Irregular migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and the European Union." Oxford: International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- . 2007b. "Turning the tide? Why development will not stop migration." *Development and Change* 38(5):819-41.
- . 2007c. "Between courting and controlling: The Moroccan state and 'its' emigrants." Working Paper No. 54: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford.
- . 2008. "The Myth of Invasion - The inconvenient realities of African Migration to Europe." *Third World Quarterly* (7):1305-22.

- . 2009. *Mobility and Human Development*. New York: UNDP.
- . 2010a. "Migration and Development: A theoretical perspective." *International Migration Review* 44 (1):227-64.
- . 2010b. *Migration transitions: a theoretical and empirical inquiry into the developmental drivers of international migration*. Oxford: IMI / DEMIG Working Paper No 24, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- . 2010c. "The internal dynamics of migration processes: A theoretical inquiry." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(10):1587-617.
- . 2014a. *Migration theory: Quo vadis?* IMI/DEMIG working paper no 100. Oxford: International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- . 2014b. "Un siècle de migrations marocaines : transformations, transitions et perspectives d'avenir." Pp. 61-92 in *Marocains de l'Extérieur*, edited by Mohamed Berriane. Rabat: Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains Résidant à l'Etranger.
- de Haas, Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. 2016. "Growing restrictiveness or changing selection? The nature and evolution of migration policies." *International Migration Review*.
- de Haas, Hein, and Simona Vezzoli. 2011. "Leaving matters: the nature, evolution and effects of emigration policies " in *IMI Working Paper 34*. Oxford: International Migration Institute.
- De Mas, Paolo. 1991. "Marokkaanse Migratie naar Nederland: Perspectief vanuit de Herkomstgebieden." *Internationale Spectator* xlv(3):110-18.
- De Regt, M. 2010. "Ways to come, ways to leave: Gender, Mobility, and Il/legality among Ethiopian Domestic Workers in Yemen." *Gender & Society* 24(2):237-60.
- Deshingkar, Priya, Rachel Godfrey-Wood, and Christophe Bene. 2013. "Adaptive Social Protection and Migration: The Case of Cash Transfers in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi." Falmer, UK: Migrating Out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium.
- Dodson, B. , and J. Crush. 2015. *Migration Governance and Migrant Rights in the Southern African Development Community (SADC): Attempts at Harmonization in a Disharmonious Region*. . Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Drumtra, J. 2006. "West Africa's Refugee Crisis Spills Across Many Borders." *Migration Information Source* August.
- El Abed, Oroub. 2003. *The Palestinians in Egypt : an investigation of livelihoods and coping strategies*. Cairo: Forced Migration Refugee Studies Program the American University in Cairo.
- El Qadim, Nora 2007. "'Gérer les migrations': Renouveau d'un objet de négociations entre le Maroc et les pays Européens." Geneva: Thesis Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales
- Elder, Sara, Hein de Haas, Marco Principi, and Kerilyn Schewel. 2015. *Youth and rural development: Evidence from 25 school-to-work transition surveys*. Geneva: ILO.
- Erulkar, Annabel S., Tekle-Ab Mekbib, Negussie Simie, and Tsehai Gulema. 2006. "Migration and Vulnerability among Adolescents in Slum Areas of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia." *Journal of Youth Studies* 9(3):361-74.
- Esteban, Mario. 2010. "A Silent Invasion? African Views on the Growing Chinese Presence in Africa: The Case of Equatorial Guinea." *African and Asian Studies* 9(3):232-51.
- Falkingham, Jane, Gloria Chepngeno-Langat, and Maria Evandrou. 2012. "Outward Migration from Large Cities: Are Older Migrants in Nairobi 'Returning'?" *Population, Space and Place* 18(3):327-43.
- Fargues, Philippe 2005. "How Many Migrants from, and to, Mediterranean Countries of the Middle East and North Africa?": CARIM, RSCAS, EUI.
- Farrag, Mayar. 1999. "Emigration dynamics in Egypt." in *Emigration dynamics in developing countries*, edited by R. Appleyard. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Fernandez, Bina. 2010. "Cheap and disposable? The impact of the global economic crisis on the migration of Ethiopian women domestic workers to the Gulf." *Gender & Development* 18(2):249-62.
- . 2011. "Household Help? Ethiopian Women Domestic Workers' Labor Migration to the Gulf Countries." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 20(3-4):433-57.
- Findley, Sally E. 1994. "Does Drought Increase Migration? A Study of Migration from Rural Mali during the 1983-1985 Drought." *International Migration Review* 28(3):539-53.
- . 2004. "Mali: Seeking Opportunity Abroad." *Migration Information Source* September
- Flahaux, Marie-Laurence. 2014. *The influence of migration policies in Europe on return migration to Senegal*. Oxford: International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, IMI/DEMIG Working Paper 93/19.
- Flahaux, Marie-Laurence, and Hein De Haas. 2016. "African migration: trends, patterns, drivers." *Comparative Migration Studies* 4(1):1-25.
- Foresight. 2011. "Foresight: Migration and Global Environmental Change." London: UK Government Office for Science,.
- Fox, Sean. 2012. "Urbanization as a global historical process: Theory and evidence from sub-Saharan Africa." *Population and Development Review* 38(2):285-310.
- Fratkin, Elliot, and Eric Abella Roth. 2006. *As pastoralists settle: social, health, and economic consequences of the pastoral sedentarization in Marsabit District, Kenya*: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Gamlen, A. 2008. "The emigration state and the modern geopolitical imagination." *Political Geography* 27(8):840-56.
- Geschiere, Peter. 2005. "Autochthony and Citizenship: New Modes in the Struggle over Belonging and Exclusion in Africa." *Forum for Development Studies* 32(2):371-84.
- Geyer, H. S. 2003. "Differential urbanisation in South Africa - A further exploration." *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 94(1):89-99.
- Ghosh, Palash R. 2010. "African immigrants gravitating to China." in *International Business Times*.
- Gianninia, A., M. Biasuttia, and et al. 2008. "A climate model-based review of drought in the Sahel: Desertification, the re-greening and climate change " *Global and planetary Change* 64(3-4):119-28.
- Grabska, Katarzyna. 2005. *Living on the margins : the analysis of the livelihood strategies of Sudanese refugees with closed files in Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo.
- Gray, C., and V. Mueller. 2012. "Drought and Population Mobility in Rural Ethiopia." *World Development* 40(1):134-45.
- Gray, Clark L. 2011. "Soil quality and human migration in Kenya and Uganda." *Global Environmental Change* 21(2):421-30.
- Gubhaju, B., and G. F. De Jong. 2009. "Individual versus Household Migration Decision Rules: Gender and Marital Status Differences in Intentions to Migrate in South Africa." *International Migration* 47(1):31-61.
- Gwebu, Thando D. 2006. "Towards a theoretical explanation of the differential urbanisation model in sub-Saharan Africa: The Botswana case." *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 97(4):418-33.
- Hägerstrand, T. 1957. "Migration and Area: Survey of a Sample of Swedish Migration Fields and Hypothetical Considerations on their Genesis." in *Migration in Sweden: A Symposium*, edited by D Hannerberg et al. Lund.
- Hamood, Sara. 2006. "African transit migration through Libya to Europe: the human cost." Cairo: FMRS, AUC.
- Hamro-Drotz, Dennis. 2014. *Livelihood security: Climate change, migration and conflict in the Sahel*. Geneva: UNEP.
- Hart, David M. 1981. *Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons: The Socio-Political Organisation of the Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco*. Cambridge: Middle East & North African Studies press ltd.

- Hashim, Ismail Hussein. 2003. "Cultural and Gender Differences in Perceptions of Stressors and Coping Skills." *School Psychology International* 24(2):182-203.
- Hatton, Timothy J., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2003. "Demographic and Economic Pressure on Emigration out of Africa." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 105(3):465-86.
- Haug, Ruth. 2002. "Forced Migration, Processes of Return and Livelihood Construction among Pastoralists in Northern Sudan." *Disasters* 26(1):70-84.
- Haugen, Heidi Østbø. 2012. "Nigerians in China: A second state of immobility." *International Migration* 50(2):65-80.
- . 2013. "China's recruitment of African university students: policy efficacy and unintended outcomes." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 11(3):315-34.
- Hearing, Liesbeth, and Rob van der Erf. 2001. "Why do People Migrate." *Statistics in Focus. Population and Social Conditions. Eurostat / European Communities* 2001(1):1-7.
- Henry, S., P. Boyle, and E. F. Lambin. 2003. "Modelling inter-provincial migration in Burkina Faso, West Africa: the role of socio-demographic and environmental factors." *Applied Geography* 23(2-3):115-36.
- Henry, S., B. Schoumaker, and C. Beauchemin. 2004. "The impact of rainfall on the first out-migration: A multi-level event-history analysis in Burkina Faso." *Population and Environment* 25(5):423-60.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas, and Valerie Percival. 1996. *Environmental Security and Violent Conflict: Briefing Book*. Toronto: University of Toronto and American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- Horst, Cindy. 2006. *Transnational nomads : how Somalis cope with refugee life in the Dadaab camps of Kenya*. New York ; Oxford: Berghahn.
- Hsu, Jennifer Y. J., Timothy Hildebrandt, and Reza Hasmath. 2016. "'Going Out' or Staying In? The Expansion of Chinese NGOs in Africa." *Development Policy Review* 34(3):423-39.
- Infantino, Federica 2010. "La frontière au guichet. Politiques et pratiques des visas Schengen aux Consulat et à l'Ambassade d'Italie au Maroc." *Champ pénal / Penal field, nouvelle revue internationale de criminologie* VII(24 septembre 2010).
- IOM. 2017. *Mixed Migration Flows in the Mediterranean and Beyond - 2016*: Geneva.
- Jónsson, Gunvor. 2010. "The environmental factor in migration dynamics: a review of African case studies."
- Jung Park, Yoon. 2009. *Chinese Migration in Africa*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).
- King, Russell, and Ronald Skeldon. 2010. "'Mind the Gap!' Integrating Approaches to Internal and International Migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(10):1619-46.
- Konneh, Augustine. 1996. "Citizenship at the margins: Status, ambiguity, and the Mandingo of Liberia." *African Studies Review* 39(2):141-54.
- Konseiga, A. 2007. "Household migration decisions as survival strategy: The case of Burkina Faso." *Journal of African Economies* 16(2):198-233.
- Kress, B. 2006. "Burkina Faso: Testing the Tradition of Circular Migration." *Migration Information Source* March.
- Kritz, M. M. 2015. "International Student Mobility and Tertiary Education Capacity in Africa." *International Migration* 53(1):29-49.
- Last, Tamara, Giorgia Mirto, Orçun Ulusoy, Ignacio Urquijo, Joke Harte, Nefeli Bami, Marta Pérez Pérez, Flor Macias Delgado, Amélie Tapella, Alexandra Michalaki, Eirini Michalitsi, Efi Latsoudi, Naya Tselepi, Marios Chatziprokopiou, and Thomas Spijkerboer. 2017. "Deaths at the borders database: evidence of deceased migrants' bodies found along the southern external borders of the European Union." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(5):693-712.
- Leichtman, M. A. 2005. "The legacy of transnational lives: Beyond the first generation of Lebanese in Senegal." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(4):663-86.

- Lewin, Paul A., Monica Fisher, and Bruce Weber. 2012. "Do rainfall conditions push or pull rural migrants: evidence from Malawi." *Agricultural Economics* 43(2):191-204.
- Lindley, Anna. 2009. "The Early-Morning Phonecall: Remittances from a Refugee Diaspora Perspective." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(8):1315-34.
- . 2012. *The Early Morning Phonecall: Somali Refugees' Remittances*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.
- Lubkemann, Stephen C. 2008. "Involuntary immobility: on a theoretical invisibility in forced migration studies." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21(4):454-75.
- Lucas, Robert E.B., and Oded Stark. 1985. "Motivations to Remit: Evidence from Botswana." *Journal of Political Economy* 93:901-18.
- Lutterbeck, Derek. 2006. "Policing Migration in the Mediterranean." *Mediterranean Politics* 11(1):59-82.
- Mabogunje, A.L. 1970. "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration." *Geographical Analysis* 2(1):1-18.
- Manby, Bronwyn. 2016. *Citizenship Law in Africa: African Minds*.
- Manuh, Takyiwaa. 2005. *At home in the world? : international migration and development in contemporary Ghana and West Africa*. Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Massey, Douglas S., Joaquín Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. 1993. "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19(3):431-66.
- Massey, Douglas S., Nathalie Williams, William G. Axinn, and Dirgha J. Ghimire. 2010. "Community Services and Out-Migration." *International Migration* 48(3):1-41.
- McDougall, James, and Judith Scheele. 2012. *Saharan frontiers : space and mobility in Northwest Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mechlinski, Timothy. 2010. "Making Movements Possible: Transportation Workers and Mobility in West Africa." *International Migration*:no-no.
- Miller, C. 2005. "Between accommodation and resistance: Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo." *Linguistics* 43(5):903-56.
- Miller, Mark J. 1979. "Reluctant Partnership: Foreign Workers in Franco-Algerian Relations." *Journal of International Affairs* 33(2):219-37.
- Mitchell, M. I. . 2012. "Migration, citizenship and autochthony: strategies and challenges for state-building in Côte d'Ivoire." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 30(2):267-87.
- Mohan, Giles, and May Tan-Mullins. 2016. "Chinese Migrants in Africa as New Agents of Development? An Analytical Framework." Pp. 174-98 in *The Power of the Chinese Dragon: Implications for African Development and Economic Growth*, edited by Spencer Henson and O. Fiona Yap. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Morris, Alan. 1998. "'Our fellow Africans make our lives hell': the lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(6):1116-36.
- Myers, Norman. 2002. "Environmental refugees: a growing phenomenon of the 21st century." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences* 357(1420):609-13.
- Natter, Katharina. 2013. "The Formation of Morocco's Policy Towards Irregular Migration (2000-2007): Political Rationale and Policy Processes." *International Migration*:n/a-n/a.
- . 2014. *Fifty years of Maghreb emigration: How states shaped Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian emigration* IMI/DEMIG working paper. Oxford: University of Oxford: International Migration Institute.
- Naujoks, Daniel. 2009. "Emigration, immigration, and diaspora relations in India." *Migration Information Source*.
- Ndjo, Basile. 2009. "'Shanghai Beauties' and African Desires: Migration, Trade and Chinese Prostitution in Cameroon." *The European Journal of Development Research* 21(4):606-21.

- Neocosmos, Michael. 2008. "The Politics of Fear and the Fear of Politics: Reflections on Xenophobic Violence in South Africa." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 43(6):586-94.
- Olsson, L., L. Eklundh, and J. Ardo. 2005. "A recent greening of the Sahel--trends, patterns and potential causes." *Journal of Arid Environments* 63(3):556-66.
- Opukri, CO, and Ibaba S Ibaba. 2008. "Oil induced environmental degradation and internal population displacement in the Nigeria's Niger Delta." *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 10(1):173-93.
- Oucho, John O. 1996. *Urban migrants and rural development in Kenya*: Nairobi University Press Nairobi.
- Oucho, John O, and Jonathan Crush. 2001. "Contra free movement: South Africa and the SADC migration protocols." *Africa Today* 48(3):139-58.
- Paoletti, Emanuela. 2010. *The Migration of Power and North-South Inequalities: The Case of Italy and Libya*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan
- Pelican, Michaela. 2012. "International Migration: Virtue or Vice? Perspectives from Cameroon." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*:1-21.
- Perkowski, Nina. 2016. "Deaths, Interventions, Humanitarianism and Human Rights in the Mediterranean 'Migration Crisis'." *Mediterranean Politics* 21(2):331-35.
- Pian, Anaik. 2010. "Le cadre discursif du développement : Des discours et actions politiques concrètes, aux répertoires d'action des associations de refoulés " in *IMI Working Paper 25*. Oxford: International Migration Institute.
- Pian, Anaik 2005. "Aventuriers et Commerçants Sénégalais à Casablanca : Des Parcours Entrecroisés." *Autrepart* 36(4):167-82.
- Piore, Michael J. 1979. *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pliez, Olivier 2002. "Vieux reseaux et nouvelles circulations entre les deux rives du Sahara." *Revue Mediterannée* 3-4:31-40.
- . 2005. "Le Sahara libyen dans les nouvelles configurations migratoires." *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 16(3).
- Potts, Deborah. 2009. "The slowing of sub-Saharan Africa's urbanization: evidence and implications for urban livelihoods." *Environment and Urbanization* 21(1):253-59.
- Reynolds, Rachel R. 2006. "Professional Nigerian Women, Household Economy, and Immigration Decisions." *International Migration* 44(5):167-88.
- Samers, M. 1997. "The production of diaspora: Algerian emigration from colonialism to neo-colonialism (1840-1970)." *Antipode* 29(1):32-&.
- Schareika, Nikolaus. 2001. "Environmental knowledge and pastoral migration among the Wodaabe of south-eastern Niger." *Nomadic Peoples*:65-88.
- Schaub, Max L. 2012. "Lines across the desert: mobile phone use and mobility in the context of trans-Saharan migration." *Information Technology for Development* 18(2):126-44.
- Scheele, Judith. 2010. "Traders, saints, and irrigation: Reflections on Saharan connectivity." *The Journal of African History* 51(03):281-300.
- . 2012. *Smugglers and saints of the Sahara : regional connectivity in the twentieth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schewel, Kerilyn. 2014. *Understanding the Aspiration to Stay: A Case Study of Young Adults in Senegal*. IMI working paper series, Oxford: International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.
- Sell, Ralph R. 1988. "Egyptian International Labor Migration and Social Processes: Toward Regional Integration." *International Migration* 22(3):87-108.
- Skeldon, Ronald. 1997. *Migration and development: A global perspective*. Essex: Longman.
- Stark, Oded. 1991. *The migration of labor*. Cambridge & Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stark, Oded, and David Levhari. 1982. "On Migration and Risk in LDCs." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (31):191-96.

- Sullivan, Michael J. 1994. "The 1988–89 Nanjing anti-African protests: Racial nationalism or national racism?" *The China Quarterly* 138:438-57.
- Tan-Mullins, May, Frauke Urban, and Grace Mang. 2017. "Evaluating the Behaviour of Chinese Stakeholders Engaged in Large Hydropower Projects in Asia and Africa." *The China Quarterly*:1-25.
- Tegegne, A. D., and M. Penker. 2016. "Determinants of rural out-migration in Ethiopia: Who stays and who goes?" *Demographic Research* 35:1011-43.
- Terminski, Bogumil. 2013. *Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Theoretical Frameworks and Current Challenges*. Geneva, Switzerland: University of Geneva.
- Thomas, Kevin J. A. 2011. "What Explains the Increasing Trend in African Emigration to the U.S.?" *International Migration Review* 45(1):3-28.
- Toma, Sorana, and Eleonora Castagnone. 2015. "What Drives Onward Mobility within Europe?: The Case of Senegalese Migration between France, Italy and Spain." *Population, English edition* 70(1):65-94.
- Van Hear, Nicholas. 2014. "Reconsidering Migration and Class." *International Migration Review* 48:S100-S21.
- Van Hear, Nicholas 1998. "New diasporas: the mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities ". London, Seattle: University College London Press and University of Washington Press
- Vigneswaran, Darshan, and Joel Quirk (Eds.). 2015. *Mobility makes states: migration and power in Africa*: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Waithanji, Elizabeth Muthoni. 2008. *Gendered impacts of sedentarization of nomads on the Somali community in Mandera Central division of northeastern Kenya*: Clark University.
- Warmerdam, Ward, and Meine Pieter Van Dijk. 2016. "Chinese traders in Kampala: status, challenges, and impact on Ugandan society." *African Studies Quarterly* 16(3/4):129.
- Williams, Nathalie. 2009. "Education, gender, and migration in the context of social change." *Social Science Research* 38(4):883-96.
- Witsenburg, Karen M., and Wario R. Adano. 2009. "Of Rain and Raids: Violent Livestock Raiding in Northern Kenya." *Civil Wars* 11(4):514-38.
- Wouterse, F., and J. E. Taylor. 2008. "Migration and income diversification: Evidence from Burkina Faso." *World Development* 36(4):625-40.
- Wouterse, F., and M. Van den Berg. 2011. "Heterogeneous migration flows from the Central Plateau of Burkina Faso: the role of natural and social capital." *Geographical Journal* 177:357-66.
- Zelinsky, Z. 1971. "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition." *Geographical Review* 61(2):219-49.
- Zohry, A., and B. Harrell-Bond. 2003. "Contemporary Egyptian Migration: An Overview of Voluntary and Forced Migration " in *Working paper C3*. Sussex: University of Sussex, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty.
- Zolberg, Aristide. R., Astri Suhrke, and Sergio Aguayo. 1989. *Escape from Violence*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Advance unedited copy