

Migration in Africa: A Review of the Economic Literature on
International Migration in 10 Countries

William Shaw

Development Prospects Group

The World Bank

Washington DC 20433

April 2007

Introduction

This paper reviews the economic literature on international migration in 10 African countries (Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritius, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda), as a contribution to a larger study on migration in Africa.¹ While the selection of countries is motivated by the plan of the larger study, these countries serve as useful illustrations of the range of migration experiences in Africa. Included are some of the poorer and some of the (relatively) richer countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region; stable countries and others that have suffered internal and external conflicts; and countries that serve as destinations for migrants from other African countries but are sources of migrants to Europe and America, others that are both source and destination countries for African migrants, and some that have shifted from principally destination to source countries over time. This review will focus on the economic implications of migration, while recognizing that migration also may have important social and political impacts.

We will begin with a summary of the conclusions. The main body of the paper covers an overview of the available data on migration in the 10 countries, the benefits and risks involved in migration, the impact of migration on destination countries (an area where lack of data seriously constrains analysis), the implications for origin countries (remittances, other diaspora benefits, and the brain drain), and a discussion of health aspects of migration. We will conclude with a discussion of priorities for future research, from the perspective of next steps in the broader Africa research project. The paper attempts to provide an integrated view of the migration experience in the 10 countries based on examples from the literature, rather than a comprehensive survey of everything that has been written. The annex covers additional material and data on each country that do not fit well into the main study.

Main conclusions

Given the scarcity of information, most statements on migration in Africa need to be heavily qualified. The following are reasonable conclusions that emerge from the economic literature on the 10 countries:

(i) Most of the migration from (and to) the sample countries is from neighboring countries, and seasonal migration to take advantages of differences in growing seasons plays an important role. Some countries do show a significant share of their total emigration going to Europe and North America, although to some extent this may reflect the lack of data on migration within Africa.

(ii) Economic motivations for migration include to improve earnings (either immediately or over the long term through training) and to diversify earnings sources to reduce the risks facing households. Migration requires resources, so that emigrants to Europe or North America tend to be wealthier and more educated than emigrants to other African countries, while often the

¹ A project on African migration, funded by the World Bank, the African Development Bank, and UK's DFID, will undertake literature reviews, surveys, and interviews with policy makers. Dissemination will be through published materials and seminars in Africa. The author is grateful to the African Development Bank for funding to write this paper, and to Dilip Ratha for his leadership in initiating the project.

poorest cannot migrate. Nevertheless, studies indicate that migration plays an important role in reducing poverty, mainly through remittances, and also contributes to smoothing consumption of the poor. Networks play an important role in reducing the costs and risks of migration, and may explain why individual regions or communities account for a large proportion of emigrants from some of the countries.

(iii) The sample countries impose few restrictions on emigration, while legal limits on immigration have proven difficult to enforce. Expulsions of immigrants have reduced the stock of foreigners (at least for a few years), but at terrible costs for the migrants. Undocumented immigration is currently a subject of great controversy in South Africa, where large differences in income with neighboring countries creates substantial pressures for immigration. Mauritius, due to its geographical isolation, is the only one of the 10 countries that has been capable of effectively controlling irregular immigration. Only limited efforts have been made to promote the welfare of emigrants and to ensure the free movement of people within regional organizations.

(iv) Exploitation and abuse of women and children are all too frequent in most of the sample countries. Frequent migration by children and child fostering in West Africa increase the vulnerability of children and make it difficult to identify the victims of abuse. A range of coercive and misleading practices are used in the trafficking of women, which can be compounded by rules in destination countries that leave women in the power of employers. In several of the sample countries, inadequate legislation, poor enforcement, social attitudes and the legality of prostitution make trafficking difficult to combat.

(v) Remittances to the sample countries have increased sharply over the past decade in dollar terms and in relation to GDP. However, official data likely underestimate the size of remittances, as several observers report very large shares of remittances going through informal channels. Econometric analyses have shown that remittances contribute significantly to reducing poverty in Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Lesotho. In countries and regions with massive emigration, there is some evidence that the receipt of remittances may reduce work effort.

(vi) Means of transferring remittances used in the sample countries include banks or other financial intermediaries, post offices, money transfer operators (e.g. Western Union and Moneygram), carrying cash by hand (personally or through an agent), bringing goods, instructing payment through cell phones or other communications media (with settlement within the transfer firm effected separately), bundling remittances through informal networks to reduce transactions costs, and purchasing goods or services for the benefit of households in origin countries. Fees in informal networks tend to be lower than in banks or money transfer operators, although not necessarily lower than postal orders (except post offices can be slower and less reliable than other transfer modalities). In some countries, regulatory restrictions impede entry into the remittance market of financial institutions with extensive geographical reach and proximity to the poor.

(vii) It is extremely difficult to measure the impact of skilled emigration on origin countries. Several of the sample countries have a large share of their college-educated people living overseas. But in many countries a poor investment climate reduces the demand for skilled

professionals, while educational policies contribute to a sector-specific surpluses and deficits of highly-educated workers by producing more social science graduates than engineers and scientists. Data on the emigration of health professionals, coupled with shortages in public health employment, are quite alarming. Yet in some countries funding is insufficient to hire the available nurses registered as unemployed.

(viii) Governments have tried to encourage return (either temporary or permanent) of skilled emigrants through subsidies, provision of information, cultural exchanges, allowance of dual citizenship, and maintenance of contacts over the Internet. However, subsidy programs (including those financed by destination countries) have been limited and have had mixed results, while the impact of other efforts is unclear. Fragmentary survey data indicate that returned migrants may have improved their productivity while abroad.

(ix) Migration can encourage the spread of communicable disease as people carry viruses over long distances, and migrant populations tend to be vulnerable due to lack of health services and, in the case of AIDS, greater likelihood of risky sexual behavior.

Migration trends

Migration has a long tradition in Africa, for example from the 4th century in Mali (Findley 2004). Emigration has had an important impact on all of the sample countries, and in several immigration also has played an important role. The sample countries show a wide variety of international migration patterns. Some migrants pursue seasonal agricultural activities that involve crossing borders; this form of migration may become a regular pattern of employment over long periods of time. Others migrate for short periods of time as a reaction to changes in economic conditions, as a means of gaining experience or training, or to save for a future investment. Individuals or whole families may choose to settle in other African countries to achieve a better way of life. Or people may migrate to Europe, America, or Asia on a short-term or long-term basis. Crossing borders for the purpose of trading is common in Africa, and depending on the length of stay may not be thought of as migration. Travel for cross-border trading also occurs between Africa and Europe. For example, Senegalese traders in Italy return on a regular basis to Senegal to re-stock their merchandise (Riccio 2003).

The data on migration in developing countries is poor, due to weaknesses in agencies responsible for collecting data and the lack, or easy avoidance, of border controls. These weaknesses are not unique to Sub-Saharan Africa (note the example of undocumented immigration to the United States), and their severity varies considerably among the sample countries.

We will first consider the 10 countries from the perspective of destinations for migration, and then as sources of migrants. This distinction is a useful organizing principle, but has some drawbacks. Some countries are at the same time destination, origin, and transit countries. Others, including Ghana, Senegal, and Uganda have shifted over time from important destinations for migration to principally sources of emigrants with the deterioration in economic conditions.

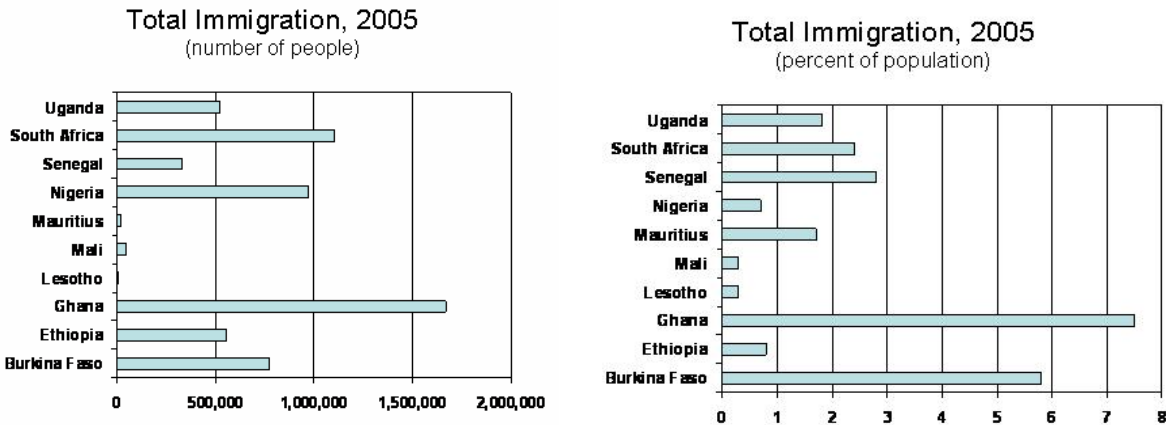
Viewing the sample countries as destinations for immigration

According to official data, in most of the sample countries the share of immigrants is less than 3 percent of the population (the exceptions are Ghana with 7 percent and Burkina Faso with just under 6 percent). The number of foreigners in the sample countries fell from 2.9 percent of population in 1960 to 1.7 percent in 2005 (table 1). This trend reflects the rapid population growth in most of these countries (averaging 2.6 percent per year for the group as a whole), and a decline in attractiveness of migration due to conflict and economic crisis. Uganda, for example, was a relatively prosperous and stable country in the 1960s, when the stock of immigrants equaled more than 11 percent of the population. But with the economic and political decline in the 1970s and 1980s, Uganda became an important source of emigrants (Black and others 2004), and the total number of immigrants has fallen by one third, to 1.8 percent of the population. During the relative prosperity of the early 1960s, Ghana was an important destination country for migrants from neighboring West African countries, but immigration fell with the economic crisis after 1965, and dropped further by the 1980s with shortages of basic consumer goods (Anarfi and others 2003). Immigration has recovered strongly with the return of stability and economic growth, and in 2005 the stock of immigrants had returned to about the level of 1960 as a share of population. The stock of immigrants fell in Nigeria in the mid-1980s due to the expulsion of foreigners, and in South Africa through the 1990s with the drop in demand for mine workers (although here the data may be distorted, as undocumented flows probably increased after apartheid ended and the anti-immigrant atmosphere would not encourage honesty in filling out census forms). Senegal also shifted from mainly a country of immigration in the 1970s to one of emigration in the 1990s (Fall 2003).

**Table 1: Stock of immigrants as a share of population
(percent)**

| | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Burkina Faso | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 3.7 | 4.0 | 4.7 | 5.1 | 5.8 |
| Ethiopia | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 0.7 |
| Ghana | 7.7 | 5.3 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 4.6 | 5.9 | 7.6 | 7.5 |
| Lesotho | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Mali | 2.9 | 2.3 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Mauritius | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.7 |
| Nigeria | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| Senegal | 4.8 | 4.4 | 3.8 | 2.9 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 3.7 | 3.5 | 2.9 | 2.8 |
| South Africa | 5.4 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 3.4 | 5.5 | 3.3 | 2.6 | 2.2 | 2.3 |
| Uganda | 11.7 | 11.6 | 10.3 | 7.2 | 5.4 | 4.3 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 1.8 |
| Total | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 1.7 | 1.7 |

Figure 1: Stock of immigrants by number and percent of population

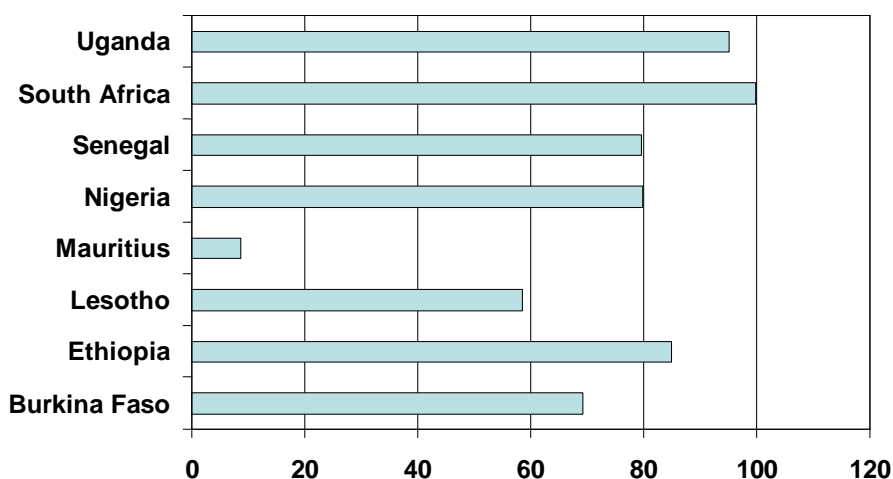


Sources: UN Population Division and DEC Prospects Group, the World Bank

Other countries have experienced relatively stable numbers of immigrants in relation to population. The number of immigrants is minimal in Lesotho, Mali, and Mauritius, the latter because of its geographical isolation that facilitates effective barriers against irregular immigration, the first two because of the depth of poverty and lack of employment opportunities.

Where data are available on source countries, almost all immigrants in the sample countries are from Africa (figure 2), and largely from neighboring countries. Most of the identified migrants in Burkina Faso are from neighboring countries, about a third of these victims of forced migration. Almost 60 percent of Ethiopia's immigrants are from Eritrea after the war separating the two countries, and another 30 percent are from (even poorer) Somalia. The bulk of identified immigrants to Senegal come from neighboring Guinea, Mali, and Mauritania. And about 80 percent of Uganda's immigrants come from nearby countries that have suffered from sustained violence—Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and Sudan. Nigeria, despite its severe economic difficulties, continues to attract immigrants from other West African countries. South Africa is the only middle-income country in the sample with land borders, and attracts very significant inflows of people seeking work. The low share of immigrants from Africa in Burkina Faso reflects a large number of immigrants for whom no source country is given in the data, and in Lesotho reflects a recent influx of Chinese immigrants in conjunction with the opening of textile factories financed by Taiwanese investors (Cobbe 2004).

**Figure 2: Share of immigrants from Africa
(percent of total immigrants, 2005)**



Note: No official data are available on the source countries for immigrants to Ghana
Source: DEC Prospects Group, the World Bank

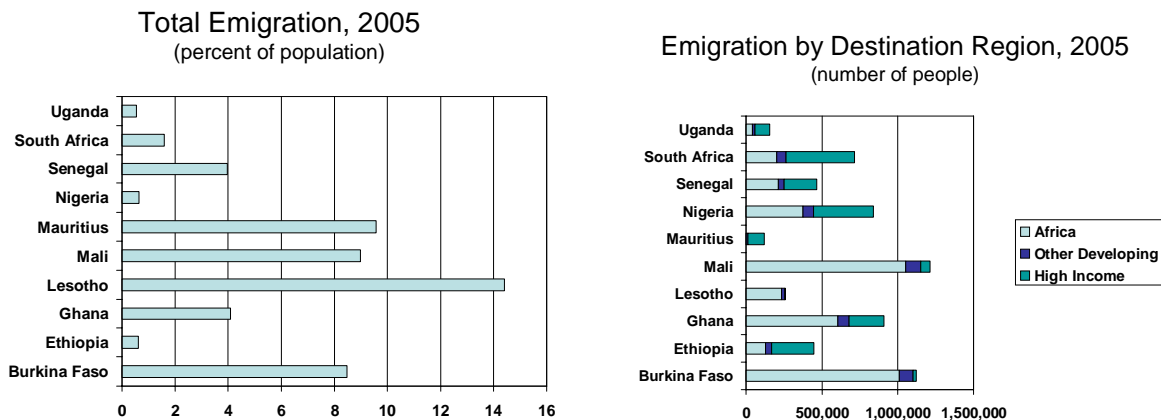
Unlike the trend for developing countries as a group, female immigration has risen sharply in the sample countries, from 27 percent of total immigrants in 1960 to 49 percent in 2005. It is not clear how reliable these data are, as three countries (Lesotho, Mali and Senegal) report exactly the same ratio of females to total immigration in every reported year from 1960-2005. Nevertheless, the three countries with the largest number of immigrants (Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa) all show sharp increases in the share of female migration. It is possible that these data reflect increasing participation by women in economic activities outside the home. It is also possible that increased trafficking of women makes a contribution to this increase, although in the absence of data it is difficult to say whether the numbers are large enough to affect the overall share of females in international migration.

Viewing the sample countries as sources for emigrants

Considerable efforts have been made to estimate the number of emigrants from developing countries, and where they have emigrated to, based on reports of the allocation of immigrants in partner countries. The data presented here are taken from the World Bank's Development Prospects Group.² Given the shortcomings of the partner country immigration data, there inevitably are considerable gaps. Emigration is relatively high in Burkina Faso and Mali (largely to each other and Cote d'Ivoire), Lesotho (to South Africa), and Mauritius (where higher incomes facilitate emigration, largely to Europe and Australia). Emigration from Ghana (more than a third to Cote d'Ivoire) and Senegal (with very little information on the breakdown within Africa) equal 4 percent of the population. Emigration from the rest of the sample countries is below 2 percent of the population, according to these estimates.

² The raw data can be found at www.worldbank.org/migrationandremittances. Click on 'Development Prospects Group' in the right-hand box, and then on 'migration data'.

Figure 3: Emigrants by percent of population and number of people



Source: DEC Prospects Group, the World Bank

Most emigrants go to other African countries, and indeed neighboring countries. Much of this may be seasonal migration, either pastoralists leading their animals across borders for better grazing, or more commonly travel to take advantage of differences in growing seasons. In West Africa, the main international migration movements are to supply labor for commercial agriculture from Burkina Faso to Cote d’Ivoire and Ghana, and from Mali and Guinea to Cote d’Ivoire and Senegal (Adepoju 1988). Many households in Mali send a large share of their active labor force to work on coca farms in Cote d’Ivoire, but return home to cultivate cotton and grain during the short Sahelian rainy season (Konseiga 2005b).³ World Bank (1993) finds that most migration is seasonal in Mali. In Burkina Faso, the estimated share of total emigrants in neighboring countries is 90 percent, and in Mali it is 87 percent. In Ethiopia, while long-term migration is seen by most poor families as an option of last resort, temporary seasonal migration is often encouraged as a rite of passage for young men (Black and others 2004). In Ghana, regional variations in the seasonality of agricultural production promote migration.

Surprisingly, according to these estimates emigration to high income countries constitutes more than half of total emigration for Ethiopia, Mauritius, Nigeria, South Africa, and Uganda. For Mauritius and South Africa, incomes are high enough that emigrants are typically attracted to the even higher-income countries. Emigration to Europe is significant for Nigeria. But nevertheless one suspects that for that country, as well as Ethiopia and Uganda, the relatively high share of high-income countries in emigration reflects massive underestimates of emigration to neighboring countries.

Determinants of migration

Here we will consider economic determinants of migration, including income differentials between origin and destination countries, the desire to reduce risks by diversifying

³ In part this practice results from the extreme labor intensive nature of farming in Mali, with little use of animals or mechanical aids. If families cannot hire someone to replace a migrant, then the migrant must return to help with cultivation during the rainy season. (Findley and Sow 1998)

the sources of income, threshold effects, forced migration, and the influence of networks. Social structures and attitudes that condition migration, while important, are beyond the scope of this inquiry.

Income differentials

While economists may assume that migration (leaving aside forced migration) is generally an economic phenomenon, it can be difficult to establish this empirically. Myburgh (2004) finds a positive correlation between emigration from South Africa to the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand and the gap in average annual wages between origin and destination countries, from 1987-99. Nevertheless, barriers to immigration make it difficult to estimate the relationship between income differentials and the (unconstrained) supply of emigrants.⁴ Some writers get at this issue through surveys. In Nigeria, for example, a survey found that reasons for migration were predominantly economic (80 percent of respondents) or for education (16 percent) (Nwajiuba 2005). But Guilamoto (1998), in a study of the Senegal River valley, emphasizes the influence of social mores in conditioning migration, particularly as migrants are heavily dependent on the family or village for advance money and access to networks. Efforts to measure the income benefits from migration are relatively rare, as they would require considerable data on earnings in source and destination countries and on migrants' qualifications.

Diversification

Migration also can be motivated by the desire to diversify the risks facing the poor, by placing household members in distant countries or regions where adverse shocks are not correlated with those facing the home region (Lucas and Stark 1985). While much of the data work supporting this view is based on internal migration, in Africa borders are sufficiently porous that motivations for internal and international migration are often similar. Migration may also compensate for imperfect credit markets that make it difficult or impossible for individuals to borrow in order to invest. Survey data collected in northeastern Burkina Faso show that seasonal migration enables households to invest in their main pastoral activities (Konseiga 2005b).

Threshold effects

Migration, and in particular international migration, often is not within the ability of the poorest. This is most evident with overseas migration. For example, a survey of rural households in four villages in Burkina Faso found that intercontinental migrants tended to come from the highest-income group and to earn more in remittances than continental migrants, while households with intercontinental migrants have higher income and are better off in terms of land and livestock than households with continental migrants (Black and others 2005). Wouterse and van den Berg (2004) found that migration to other African countries from Burkina Faso was undertaken by comparatively poor households in response to lack of work and insufficient income, while migration to Europe was by more wealthy households in response to opportunities for accumulation of wealth. Similarly, Findley (1989) finds that emigrants to France from the

⁴ A few articles have used distance as a proxy for cost, and found a significant relationship between distance and migration flows between countries (see, for example, Adams and Page 2003).

Senegal River valley are most likely to come from villages with irrigation facilities installed before 1978, the beginning of the recent wave of migration.⁵ But even continental migration may be subject to threshold effects. A study of the Fulani, an ethnic group in northern Burkina Faso, found that seasonal labor participation increased with higher household wealth, as low financial and human resources limit the ability of the very poor to migrate (Hampshire and Randall 1999). Black and others (2004) found that among poor Ethiopians, those with some assets, rather than none, were more likely to migrate.

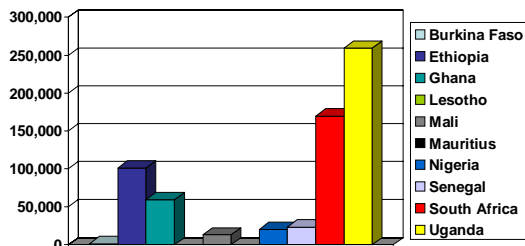
Education levels also are frequently found to be tied to the ability to migrate. Wouterse and van den Berg (2004) also found that the greater number of persons in a household with secondary education, the greater probability that someone from the household would migrate to another African country (controlling for income levels), perhaps due to greater access to information. Survey data show that migrants from Ghana, particularly international migrants, are more likely to be highly-qualified than non-migrants (Lichfield and Waddington 2003), and that the probability of migration rose with education (Tsegai and Plotnikova 2004). By contrast, Findley (1989) finds that there is no evidence that migration rates from the Senegal River valley are higher for literate individuals or communities with good educational facilities, and speculates that literacy levels are generally too low to distinguish the effect (80 percent of the sample is illiterate in French).

Forced migration

Refugee flows have accounted for a small share of migration both from and to the sample countries. Uganda had the largest number of victims of forced migration in 2005, amounting to 250,000 people or equal to almost half the numbers of immigrants in the official data, followed by South Africa and Ethiopia (figure 4).⁶ Ethiopia was the source of the largest number of forced migrants. In line with a decline in violence and efforts at resettlement, the number of forced migrants in the sample countries declined from over a million in 1995 to 647 thousand persons in 2005.

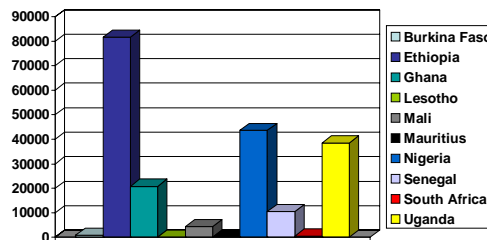
Figure 4: Forced migration

Forced Migration by Destination, 2005
(number of emigrants)



Includes refugees, asylum seekers, displaced persons, and stateless persons.
Source: United Nations High Commission on Refugees

Forced Migration by Origin, 2005
(number of emigrants)



Includes refugees, asylum seekers, displaced persons, and stateless persons.
Source: United Nations High Commission on Refugees

⁵ Quoted in Russell and others (1990).

⁶ Here we are defining forced migrants as the UN High Commission on Refugees’ expression “persons of concern”. This includes some internally displaced persons.

We are not here concerned with the determinants of forced migration, efforts to assist forced migrants, or resettlement. However, it is useful to note one issue in the literature about the potential for economic integration of refugees. A study of self-settled refugees in Uganda suggests that many of them have been able to find employment and have either achieved self-sufficiency or are on the way to doing so (Macchiavello 2003). After the flight from Cote d'Ivoire by citizens of Burkina Faso in the mid-1990s (see below), the government decided to encourage the reintegration of returned migrants into their original communities (although third- or fourth-generation returnees who had been born in Cote d'Ivoire and had limited connection to any village generally stayed near the frontier—Pizarro 2006). Many were taken in by relatives, and as a result there was no permanent burden placed on the government to support refugees. On the other hand, the lack of refugee camps meant that little international attention was paid to the returnees, so aid resources were limited.⁷ South Africa has had some success in integrating long-term refugees from Mozambique, including efforts to provide citizenship to some (Golooba-Mutebi and Tollman 2004). These experiences are consistent with those in other countries where efforts were made to integrate refugees.⁸

Influence of networks

Networks can provide information on migration opportunities, facilitate finding employment, and support migrants while looking for work, thus lowering the costs and risks of migration. There is considerable evidence of the influence of networks on migration flows. Previous colonial bonds continue to have impact on migration flows, in part due to common language and well-established networks (Hearing and van der Erf 2001). In a 1995 survey, 23.5 percent of Ghanaian migrants stated that they emigrated because of the presence of relatives and friends (Anarfi and others 2003). Ghanaian diaspora associations, such as Pentecostal churches, assist new migrants in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and other countries (Quartey 2006). Afolayan (2001) notes that social networks that have evolved over the years have led to the concentration of Malian emigrants in certain destinations in France. The importance of networks may also explain the concentration of emigrants from relatively limited areas of origin countries. For example, a disproportionate share of Senegalese emigrants come from the regions of Saint-Louis and Matam in the Senegal river valley, as well as the cities of Dakar and Touba (Sander and Barro 2003); the Ashanti and greater Accra region account for most international remittances to Ghana (Kabki and others 2004, Mazzucato and others 2005); and the Kayes region of Mali claims a disproportionate share of Malian émigrés.

Networks may encourage emigration in part by demonstrating its benefits and feasibility. In a study of the Senegalese diaspora, Ricci (2003) shows how the success of trading networks between Senegal and Europe encouraged more emigration. In addition, existing trading networks provided market information and credit to newcomers. Networks may also act to perpetuate migration even after the initial causes have waned. Emigration flows from Ghana were initially spurred by the economic crisis, but appear to continue to increase despite that

⁷ Donors did finance first aid, reception centers, food and emergency relief (particularly vaccination of children) for returnees at the border, but no permanent assistance (Pizarro 2006)

⁸ Banki (2004) discusses the varying experience of Tibetan and Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. Tibetan refugees were able to find productive employment in neighboring villages, as the Nepalese authorities were reluctant to maintain large refugee camps along the border with China. By contrast, refugees from Bhutan, who culturally are much closer to the Nepalese, are maintained in camps with little opportunity to become self sufficient.

country's recovery, due to the establishment of networks (Higazi 2005). Note, however, that at the same time immigration to Ghana has recovered sharply, according to the official data. Guilmoto (1998) notes that emigration fell only slowly after the introduction of irrigation in the Senegal river valley, likely due to the momentum from networks and the population becoming accustomed to emigration. Bach (2003) observes that overseas nurse associations and other networks in the United Kingdom have supported further emigration of nurses from South Africa.

Government management of migration

The freedom to emigrate is recognized in some constitutions (for example in Burkina Faso—Ba 2005), and in general restrictions on emigration are minor (Russell and others 1990). But immigration policy is more problematic.

Restrictions on immigration

Migration into many of the sample countries is generally unencumbered by official restrictions, either as a matter of policy or in practical terms, given weak government abilities to control immigration. For example, most migrants enter or leave Burkina Faso without proper papers (Pizarro 2006). Even after independence, migration between Ghana and Togo, as well as Nigeria and Benin, was undocumented and unhindered by long, unpoliced borders lacking physical landmarks (workers often commuted daily across the border) (Adepoju 2005). The 1995 constitution in Uganda provides for the establishment of a national Citizenship and Immigration Board, but several years later researchers could find no evidence of its existence (Black and others 2004). Nevertheless, there are important exceptions to this generally permissive environment. Some countries have received immigrants for decades, but then shifted to mass expulsions (e.g. Nigeria, Uganda) during economic difficulties (see discussion under risks to migrants). Mauritius has little trouble controlling immigration, with the exception of a few cases of visa overstays. Mauritius has specific programs to divide legal entrants between less-skilled workers that are eligible only for temporary work permits and more skilled workers and investors for whom permanent residence is possible (Hein 2004).

South Africa does attempt to control irregular migration, but with limited success. Border posts are understaffed and lack basic facilities such as facsimile machines, consistent electric power supply, proper living quarters for officers, vehicles, and proper search and storage facilities. Control also is hampered by rampant corruption and a lack of trust between the agencies involved (Hennop and others 2001). The annual number of visitors from countries of the Southern African Development Community rose from 1 million in the early 1990s to over 5 million a few years ago, overwhelming the ability of border posts to cope and leading to delays, inefficiencies, and corruption as people tried to jump the queue (Black 2004). Estimates of the number of irregular migrants in South Africa vary widely (Maharaj 2004), with some observers claiming figures as high as 8 million (Solomon 1996). However, the formulae used to compute such estimates are essentially extrapolations from the number of repatriations from South Africa and overstays, and are extremely unreliable. In a country with a population of 47 million, such divergent views of the magnitude of irregular migration make it difficult to estimate the impact of immigration. Some writers are primarily concerned with protecting irregular migrants from abuse by authorities and employers. For example, Klaaren and Ramji (2000) cite widespread

abuses of immigrants' rights and corruption as an institutional feature of arrest and detention of undocumented migrants, while Crush (2003) claims that methods of arrest and removal of undocumented migrants haven't changed since the apartheid era. Others decry the burden on public services and infrastructure, the contribution to crime (particularly the smuggling of drugs and weapons—Minnaar 2001), and the competition facing low-wage workers (see below).

International agreements

Some of the sample countries have made efforts to promote their emigrants or improve their conditions through bilateral agreements. In the 1960s, exploitation in destination countries led Upper Volta to sign agreements with Ivory Coast and Gabon to humanize working conditions and better monitor migrant flows. The agreements provided for the social protection of migrants, and the creation of recruitment and transit centers financed by the destination countries. However, the results were disappointing, as Burkinabe refused to migrate within the official framework, and the main clauses were not respected by Ivoirian farmers (Konseiga 2005a). Senegal signed an agreement with Gabon in 1987 securing social security benefits for children of Senegalese workers (Diatta and Mbow 1999). More recently, Senegal signed an agreement with France providing that families of Senegalese workers in France could receive benefits under French social safety net provisions. As a result, Senegalese families with members in France receive payments under Caisse des Allocations Familiales. (Ammarrasi 2005).

Provisions for the freer movement of persons have also been pursued within regional agreements. The promotion of the free movement of persons within the union is a long-term objective of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). However, only ECOWAS, which comprises Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo, has actually implemented steps to promote free migration. Attempts were made in the 1980s to implement protocols on the free movements of citizens, but these did not stop Nigeria from expelling aliens (mostly Ghanaians) in 1983 and 1985, and Cote d'Ivoire from doing the same in 1986. Efforts continued, however, culminating in an agreement to permit the entry of citizens from other members for 90 days without visa requirements (Adepoju 2002). A new treaty in 2003 recognized the right of free movement of community citizens and the right to work in member countries, although obstacles to implementation of the regulations emerged in Cote d'Ivoire (Konseiga 2005a) and as of last year only the entitlement to travel without visa for up to 90 days had been implemented (Pizarro 2006). Citizens of the East African Community and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa now enjoy visa-free entry in member countries (Oucho 2006), which has reduced administrative burdens facing some migrants. A SADC protocol that would provide for visa-free entry up to 90 days per year of nationals from other member states was adopted at the summit in August 2005, and by October had been signed by half of SADC members, with two-thirds required for ratification (Madakufamba 2005). However, as of February 2007 it appears that exemptions from visa requirements for citizens traveling between southern African states will not be implemented until 2008 (SADC Today 2007). Overall, the African regional organizations have taken steps to facilitate short-term stays in member countries, but the establishment of large economic unions within which citizens could move and work freely remains a longer-term goal.

Several African countries also participate in consultation processes to facilitate regional cooperation in managing international migration, including the Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa, and conferences to discuss migration in Eastern Africa (Ammarrasi 2005), as well as the Dakar Declaration initiated by the International Organization for Migration in 2000 and signed by most West African countries (Black 2004). It does not appear that evaluations of the impact of these regional processes are available.

Risks to migrants

While migration generates enormous benefits, it also can subject migrants to abuse. In the experience of the sample countries, governments have imposed suffering on migrants through mass expulsions, while private individuals have used deception and violence to condemn women and children to exploitation.

Mass expulsions

Violence and governmental decisions have imposed severe hardships on migrants. In Cote d'Ivoire, deteriorating economic conditions in the 1990s, measures to disenfranchise migrants and deport those without proper documents, and the wave of violence against foreigners that began early in this decade, led to more than 365,000 Burkinabe fleeing home (IOM 2005b, Antropologi 2005). Nigeria expelled about 2 million foreigners with the decline in economic conditions in 1983 (Lassailly-Jacob and others 2006), compounded by beliefs that foreigners were implicated in the social unrest in 1982 and a desire to minimize security problems leading up to the 1983 elections (Afolayan 1988). Thousands of Ghanaians died on the way home, and returnees suffered from a critical shortage of food (Higazi 2005).

Exploitation/abuse and trafficking

Undocumented migrants tend to be vulnerable to abuse. In South Africa, sectoral studies reveal widespread economic and sexual exploitation in sectors with large number of irregular migrants, accompanied by substantial fear among migrants (Black 2004). Trafficked women can even find difficulties in obtaining public help. For example, in South Africa many shelters for battered women require a South African identity card as a condition of entrance.

Extent. Illegal activities are by their nature difficult to measure. The available anecdotes, however, provide a picture of trafficking that is rampant across Sub-Saharan Africa. Most women migrants from Ethiopia to the Middle East are transported by either traffickers or smugglers, and are not recorded in official statistics.⁹ Martin and others (2002) estimate that 15,000 Malian children between the ages of 12 and 18 had been sold into forced labor on northern Cote d'Ivoire plantations over a period of a few years, with even greater numbers pressed into domestic service.¹⁰ Black (2004) estimates that 10,000 Nigerian prostitutes work in over 300 brothels in Europe and South America (although it is not clear how many are considered victims of trafficking). It became so easy to get Nigerian documents with false

⁹ Kebede (2001) cites evidence that there are 17,000 women domestic workers in Lebanon, compared with Ethiopia's official statistics that 6148 women left Ethiopia from 1992-2001.

¹⁰ Parents are paid \$30-40 per child, while traffickers provide them with false information concerning working conditions and pay.

information that the Dutch authorities came to view them as invalid until verified. The Institute for Strategic studies estimated that in 1999 there were as many as 500 organized criminal groups operating in South Africa, many with African and global networks to smuggle goods and people (Gastrow 1999).

Conditions that encourage trafficking. It can be hard to distinguish clearly between trafficking of children and more ‘normal’ migration in West Africa. Migration by children and child fostering (where children leave the home for a period of years) are frequent and accepted practices to cope with poverty. In Burkina Faso, 9.5 percent of children from age 6 to 17 do not live with their parents, and of these 29 percent live abroad, mostly in Cote d’Ivoire (Pizarro 2006). These practices increase children’s vulnerability to traffickers, and can be used to cover practices that amount to trafficking (Carling 2006). Castle and Diarra (2003) suggest that focusing on trafficking is problematic in West Africa, where it can be impossible to determine whether intermediaries have the intention to exploit children.¹¹ Flawed or non-existent birth registration systems also facilitate trafficking (Wouterse and van den Berg 2004).

Trafficking of women comes in many forms which differ in the degree of coercion employed. Kebede (2001) describes a range of situations faced by Ethiopian woman who become victims of traffickers. Often the woman (or young girl) is promised legitimate work but forced into prostitution on arrival. Or women may not be informed of the terms of contracts that they are forced to sign (in a foreign language) on arrival, that leave them at the mercy of employers, or involve large debts to traffickers that have to be worked off before leaving. In the Middle East, rules that treat women who leave their employers as illegal aliens increase migrants’ vulnerability to physical abuse.

It is hard to read the anecdotal evidence without concluding that permissive attitudes towards trafficking and the sexual exploitation of women create an atmosphere that facilitates such practices. In Nigeria, young girls or their families commit to a written contract and pledge family assets as security for the debt created when a girl is set up as a prostitute (although it is not clear to what extent this contract is enforceable) (Carling 2006). In some cases voodoo rituals are used to bind the family and the girl to the agreement. Prostitution is legal in some of the sample countries (Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Mauritius and Uganda), which can make it difficult to enforce laws against trafficking.

Attempts to control. Efforts have been made to prevent child trafficking by governments and international agencies. Burkina Faso introduced a new travel document in 2002 which requires the name of the adult accompanying the child and the adult who is to shelter the child, as a means of fighting trafficking (Wouterse and van den Berg 2004). Save the Children developed a program in Burkina Faso and Mali to provide children with alternative economic activities and training in their home villages. In general, addressing the root causes of child migration is likely to be more successful than attempts to regulate child employment (Delap and others 2005).

¹¹ Black (2004) notes that NGO and government attempts to return trafficked children to their villages “are met with unhappiness from children, incredulity from parents, and teasing and humiliation from the children’s peer group.”

As a means of protecting women, Ethiopia has strict laws controlling their migration. Unfortunately, these laws increase vulnerability to trafficking, by forcing women to migrate illegally and by limiting their ability to call on the authorities for help (Black and others 2004). Otherwise, the Ethiopian government has not been in a position to offer assistance to its migrants abroad, and the law against trafficking in Ethiopia has not been implemented properly (no illegal agent had been convicted of trafficking women outside the country since its enactment—Kebede 2001). And little effort is made to provide pre-departure training or information on conditions of employment in destination countries that could reduce vulnerability to trafficking. The Nigerian government has stepped up efforts to strengthen law enforcement, including a systematic repatriation network for trafficked children, and established a National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons in 2003 (Carling 2006). However, according to Black (2004) the U.S. Department of State still argues that Nigeria does not fully comply with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. In South Africa, the absence of domestic anti-trafficking legislation offers law enforcement little incentive to pursue criminal syndicates (Martens and other 2003).

Impact of immigration on sample countries

Very little hard data exists on the economic impact of immigration on the sample countries. Economic analyses of the implications of migration for the low-income African countries appear to be unavailable. Some information, albeit extremely limited, anecdotal, and in some respects contradictory, is available on immigrants in the labor market for two middle-income countries in the sample. In Mauritius, immigration is low (1.8 percent of the population in 2003), and broadly accepted. It appears that immigration has helped boost employment and the economy: foreign construction workers have been essential to the timely completion of infrastructure projects, and it is generally accepted that several EPZ factories would have to shut down without guest workers (Hein 2004).

In South Africa, by contrast, the impact of immigration on labor markets has been the subject of great controversy. Studies of sectors with large numbers of irregular migrants show a consistent violation of labor standards and wages below the legal minimum (Black 2004), while Human Rights Watch (2006) claims that workers on commercial farms, documented or not, are subject to violations of basic employment law protections. Unions also report that undocumented migrants working on farms may be paid shelter and a plate of food a day, with their main concern the undercutting of wages for natives (Solomon 1996). On the other hand, mining interests (including post-apartheid) have benefited greatly from the immigration of workers, with annual average inflows totaling 300,000 in the early 1970s and 200,000 in the 1980s and early 1990s (UN 2004). Cross-border traders and other small businesses owned by foreigners play an important role in South Africa's informal economy, and have engendered much resentment from local traders. Perbedy and Rogerson (2000) report incidents of violence and intimidation practiced against non-South African street traders by gangs claiming to represent the unemployed.

Remittances

Remittance transfers from emigrants to their origin countries have attracted increasing attention over the past few years, in part due to the sharp rise in official data on remittances receipts by developing countries.

Size of remittances

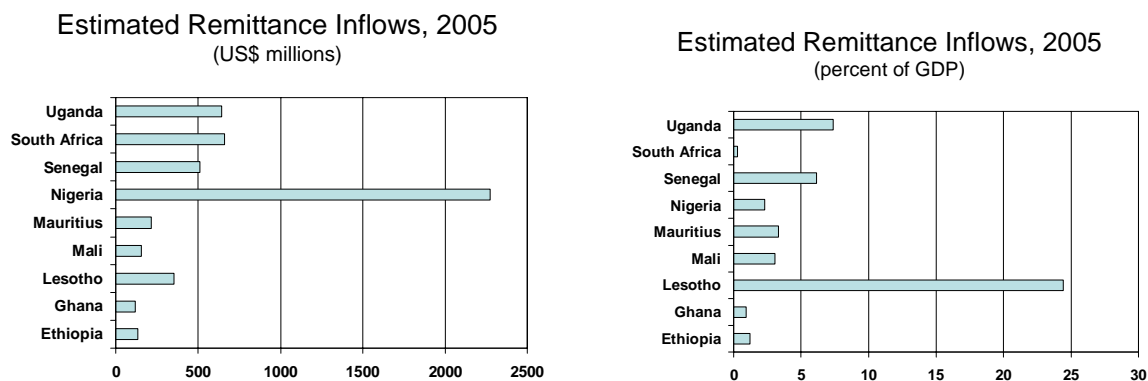
The size of remittance inflows varies considerably among the sample countries. According to official statistics, Nigeria receives the most in dollar terms (almost \$2.4 billion in 2006), while Uganda, South Africa and Senegal receive more than \$500 million (figure 5). For most of the countries, official remittances were less than 5 percent of GDP in 2006, with the exception of Lesotho (25 percent), Uganda (8 percent), and Senegal (7 percent). Remittances have increased significantly over the past few years. For the sample countries as a group, remittances inflows rose from 0.4 percent of GDP in 1980 to 1.3 percent in 2005. Excluding Uganda (which lacks data before 1999), remittance receipts in dollar terms more than tripled between 1994 and 2006. It is unclear how much of the increase in recent years represents better reporting or greater willingness to use formal channels after stricter anti-money laundering rules in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Also, the dollar value of remittances to the Francophone countries has increased since 2000 due to the appreciation of the euro.

**Table 2: Remittances to sample countries, 1980-2005
(percent of GDP)**

| | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Burkina Faso | 7.8 | 7.8 | 4.5 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 1.0 |
| Ethiopia | .. | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.2 |
| Ghana | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.9 |
| Lesotho | 61.0 | 77.3 | 69.5 | 44.1 | 29.3 | 24.4 |
| Mali | 3.3 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| Mauritius | .. | .. | .. | 3.5 | 4.0 | 3.3 |
| Nigeria | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 2.3 |
| Senegal | 2.6 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 5.3 | 6.1 |
| South Africa | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Uganda | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4.0 | 7.4 |
| total | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.3 |

Source: DEC Prospects Group, the World Bank

Figure 5: Remittance receipts by the sample countries



Sources: DEC Prospects Group, the World Bank

It is likely, however, that the official statistics considerably understate the true size of remittance receipts. Estimates of unrecorded remittances vary widely by country, but many writers commenting on the subject believe that official figures capture less than 50 percent of the total amount transferred (see below). By its nature the informal remittance market is difficult to observe. But the anecdotal evidence in favor of significant understatement of the size of remittances is strong.

Economic impact

Undoubtedly some areas of the sample countries are heavily dependent on remittances, and have been for a long time. A survey of households in the Senegal River valley (which crosses Mali, Senegal and Mauritania) showed that migrant remittances provided 65 percent of cash income, probably including remittances from internal migrants (Findley and Sow 1998).

Poverty impact. Several studies have attempted to measure the impact of remittances on poverty or expenditures. Care has to be taken in reading these studies. Some simply measure the increment to household income from receiving remittances. Remittances are thus manna from heaven, and no attempt is made to take into account what the migrant would have earned had he or she remained at home. For example, Lichtfield and Waddington (2004) find that, controlling for other determinants of income, Ghanaian households whose head had migrated spent on average \$78 per adult equivalent per annum more than households whose head had not migrated. By 1998/99, households with migrated heads spent only \$39 more than non-migrants. Gustafsson and Makkonen (1993), based on a 1986/87 household survey, find that remittances are the main source of income for 35 percent of Lesotho households, and that in the absence of remittances consumption per capita would fall by 35 percent.¹² This perspective is appropriate for explaining the current welfare of households, but not for determining whether households are better off for deciding to send a migrant abroad.

¹² They make the extreme assumption that migrants return home but are unemployed and make no contribution to household income, thus further reducing per capita consumption.

A few studies do incorporate estimates of what migrants would have earned had they stayed at home, and thus provide a more accurate perspective on the impact of migration decisions. Lauchaud (1999) estimates that international remittances to Burkina Faso reduce the headcount measure of poverty by 7.2 percentage points in rural areas and 3.2 percentage points in cities. The fall in the headcount ratio is statistically significant only for subsistence farmers, for the unemployed, and for the self-employed in urban areas. Adams (2006) finds that remittances reduce the level, depth and severity of poverty in Ghana. Poverty is reduced by more when international, as opposed to internal, remittances are considered, and when more sensitive poverty measures (the poverty gap and squared poverty gap) are used. International remittances do result in a small rise in the headcount level of poverty, indicating that for income deciles near the poverty line, remittances are slightly smaller than the estimated earnings of migrants had they not left. However, international remittances have a larger impact in reducing the poverty gap, indicating that a significant share of remittances go to households that are well below the poverty line (which doesn't necessarily affect the headcount ratio but does improve the welfare of the poor). Gubert (2005) notes that studies of the impact of remittances typically do not account for multiplier effects. She gives the example that market gardening would probably not have become so popular in Mali if smallholders had not been sure of a demand for their produce.

Consumption smoothing. Remittances may also help to smooth consumption in the face of economic shocks. Quartey and Blankson (2004) find only weak evidence of consumption smoothing for all households from the Ghana Living Standards Measurement Survey, but a very pronounced role in consumption smoothing for food crop farmers, who are the poorest group.¹³ Addison (2004) finds that remittances to Ghana were less volatile over 1990-2003 (standard deviation of .21) than ODA (.60) or FDI (.61). A survey of the Senegal River valley found that remittances were named as an important source of money for emergency shortfalls 14 percent of the time in an average year, but 27 percent of the time during drought (Findley and Sow 1998). In a study of Ethiopia, Areda (2005) finds that the most vulnerable households (using as a proxy female-headed households) and those most subject to income variability rely on remittances for a significant share of income.

Expenditure allocation. Analyses of the allocation of expenditures financed by remittances often suffer from two weaknesses. First, the data are suspect, as individual reports of how remittances are spent may not reflect the likely difference in expenditure allocation with and without remittance income (some authors rely on reported expenditures, while others compare expenditure patterns of similar households that receive remittances with those that don't). Second, it is not clear what conclusion to draw, even if reliable data on how expenditures are affected by remittances are available. Presumably households are the best judges of how they should spend their extra income.¹⁴ Asiedu (2004) cites a Ghanaian study where 70 percent of remittances were for recurrent expenditure, and less than 30 percent invested. Palmer (1985) finds that women, (especially younger women) that received remittances favored the education of daughters over sons, on the grounds that daughters were more loyal to natal families than

¹³ No attempt is made to estimate the income that migrants would have earned if they had stayed at home. Doing so could have changed the results, as larger households might have a greater potential for risk diversification.

¹⁴ One way of looking at this issue is that analysts generally don't spend a lot of time determining whether domestically earned wage income is worthwhile on the basis of how it is spent.

sons.¹⁵ Birdsall and others (1988) suggests that the availability of remittances increases the demand for health services and has a significantly positive effect on the probability of seeking modern care.¹⁶ Sander and Barro (2003) report surveys of Senegalese households showing that remittances are mostly used for current consumption, with only 10 percent of remittance receipts devoted to savings, and a small portion allocated to housing expenditures.

Impact on growth. Several writers observe that areas that receive large amounts of remittances don't appear to have achieved a process of self-sustaining growth. Martin and others (2002) claim that the large volume of remittances to the Kayes region in Mali has improved the lives of residents and financed the construction of public institutions, but "do not seem to have led to the establishment of large numbers of businesses that promise stay at home development." Similarly, Azam and Gubert (2005) found that the receipt of remittances reduced work effort in Kayes. While households receiving remittances did adopt new technologies, agricultural performance was worse than in nonmigrant households. On the other hand, remittance income may be large enough to adopt technologies that result in increased production. Findley (1989) reports that remittances made irrigation possible in the Senegal River valley.

For Lesotho, Lucas (1987) shows that emigration to South Africa's mines diminishes domestic crop production over the long term (unlike in four other Southern African countries, where he finds that emigration to the mines enhances crop productivity and cattle accumulation in the long run). He ascribes the difference to massive soil erosion in Lesotho from the neglect of crop production owing to emigration. Russell and others (1990) quote a World Bank Staff Appraisal Report attributing the stagnation of agricultural production in Lesotho and the sharp decline in area under cultivation to the receipt of remittances. By contrast, Mochebelele and Winter-Nelson (2000) find that in Lesotho, farms with migrants abroad that produced cereals were more efficient than non-migrant farms, although there was no significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households producing other crops.

The examples of the Kayes region of Mali and Lesotho point to a threshold effect. It may be that a significant, negative impact on work incentives can be found only in regions and countries with truly massive levels of remittances. In 1990, remittances from South Africa accounted for 70 percent of GDP in Lesotho, while Plath and others (1987) note that about 60 percent of the male labor force were absent, preventing up to half of the available acreage from being cultivated.

One issue is the extent to which emigrants can, and desire, to condition their provision of remittances on work effort or the allocation of remittance expenditures. To the extent that such conditions are effective, it is possible that remittances would be more productive. There is some evidence that migrants' decision-making power in the management of household affairs is being boosted by advances in telecommunications. For example, emigrants from Senegal are using the services of companies that specialize in the long-distance sale of foodstuffs to cover family expenses, pay phone connections, and ensure payment of bills, thus exercising greater control over what expenditures are financed by remittances (Tall 2003).

¹⁵ Quoted in Russell and others (1990).

¹⁶ Quoted in Russell and others (1990).

Increasing access to finance. Some developing countries have increased their access to international financial markets by securitizing future flows of remittances. Essentially these transactions allow countries to borrow by assigning to the creditor a portion of future foreign exchange received through remittances. Countries which receive a large amount of remittances through official channels can use such transactions to gain access to markets that would otherwise be closed to them, and to improve the terms on loans. For example, a Ghanaian government bank that had been involved in transferring remittances (in cooperation with a money transfer agency) borrowed \$40 million in the late 1990s by securitizing future remittance receipts. This arrangement allowed the bank to raise a larger sum of hard currency financing, for a longer maturity and at a relatively low interest rate, compared to what it could have done through unsecuritized borrowing (UNCTAD 2006).

Use of remittances to finance public goods

Organizations of migrants dedicated to mobilizing funds from the diaspora and financing public projects in origin countries are common in Europe. For example, Gubert (2005) reports about 1000 such organizations in France, one third of them dedicated to Mali, Mauritania, or Senegal. Migrants in France from the same area of Senegal set up “secondary villages” to participate in, or assume responsibility for, the building and furnishing of schools (Russell and others 1990).

Areas that are important sources of migrants have received significant benefits from diaspora organizations, particularly in the form of public works. For example, in Yelimane, a city in Mali, a diaspora organization accounted for 180 wells and boreholes, 70 schools, 11 dispensaries and 19 co-operatives, for a total expenditure of CFAF 7 billion (Gubert 2005). AFFORD (2000) quotes estimates that over 60 percent of the infrastructure of Kayes can be attributed to the diaspora in France. There are numerous Nigerian hometown and alumni associations, which represent professional interests as well as channeling remittances (Black 2004)

One issue with the efficiency of expenditures by village associations is that migrants are often prominent in developing ideas for projects, but may not have necessary skills and expertise, and often feel marginalized owing to distance. At the same time, local officials may feel disempowered by projects, which may underline their lack of capacity to provide for their community (van Vlaenderen and others 2004)

Diaspora associations may provide technical advice instead of, or in addition to, money. Sall (2005) describes organizations such as the Association of Engineers for the Development of the Sahel, which provides support and advice for some 250 projects in the Kayes region of Mali.

Transactions costs and modalities

There is a considerable variety of remittance services available to migrants. Formal channels typically include banks, post offices, and money transfer operators such as Western Union and Moneygram. Informal channels may involve bringing money home by hand; bringing goods rather than cash; sending cash with friends, relatives, or other carriers (in East Africa, some courier and overland bus companies provide money transfer services—Sander and others 2001); and depositing money with unregulated individuals in destination countries that arrange

for distribution in origin countries. This last modality takes advantage of modern communications facilities to bundle remittances, and thus economize on transfer costs. For example, Senegalese migrants in northern Italy deposit money with a transfer agent, who gives the migrant a code number. The agent communicates information on the transaction by telephone to his representative in Senegal, and the migrant does the same to his or her family (Fall 2003). Modern telecommunications technology also is playing an increasingly important role in formal transfer networks (Tall 2003). In South Africa cell phones are now being used to transfer money (Gupta and others 2006), and the post office is offering a PIN money order which provides immediate access to funds on line to any post office in the country, while use of the internet, ATM machines and prepaid cards is increasing (Genesis 2003).

There also are legal means for migrants to spend money for the benefit of households in origin countries, rather than sending cash directly to households. For example, some migrants purchase state bonds, where income is paid out to the household in the origin country, or purchase health insurance that covers relatives at home (Higazi 2005). Senegal Conseils (in Lyon) allows migrants in France to purchase goods and have them delivered to the family in Senegal (Sander and Maimbo 2003)

Remittances in the form of goods, or directed purchases of domestic goods, can also be important. Sabates-Wheeler and others (2005) cite a Ghanaian study showing that the majority of remittances were brought back by returnees in the form of goods. In Ethiopian survey data covering four samples from 1994 to 2000 (which includes internal remittances), the share of goods in total remittances averaged 41 percent, with this ratio declining over the period owing to the increasing availability of imported goods in domestic markets (Aredo 2005). This practice probably is encouraged by allowing migrants to bring in personal effects, including a range of household items and a car for private use, free of tax and tariff (Asmelash 2006). A 1995 study in Ghana (that is difficult to believe) claims that 95 percent of remittances were in goods, including vehicles, appliances, equipment and machinery, rather than cash (Anarfi and others 2003). According to Higazi (2005), this estimate was made before the Bank of Ghana implemented improvements in the monitoring of remittances, so that the share of cash transfers could have increased. The distinction made in the data between goods brought home by migrants and standard imports is also unclear. The Ghanaian housing industry is so dependent on remittances that most housing estates quote prices in dollars and have accounts overseas into which emigrants can make payments to purchase housing.

The distribution of remittances between formal and informal channels varies considerably across countries, although empirical studies disagree on the relative importance of different channels. A study of Sahelian migrants in France found that one-third sent remittances by hand, one-third by post office and only 6 percent through banks (Russell and others 1990). Gubert (2005) reports a survey of Mali and Senegalese emigrants where 56 percent sent money through an intermediary visiting the home country, and 15 percent used postal orders. Bank transfers tended to be used for larger amounts, and postal orders for smaller amounts. Anarfi and others (2003) claim that the majority of transfers to Ghana go through formal routes (banks, post office, or Western Union), and that the frequency of remitting is positively related to the likelihood of using a formal channel. Nevertheless, a substantial number of migrants did send cash back or brought it on visits. By contrast, preliminary data from the Ghana Transnational

Networks research program indicate that unregistered remittances may account for as much as 65 percent of total remittances (including internal remittances) in Ghana. Tiemoko (2004) finds that migrants who remit less frequently, and less-skilled migrants, are more likely to use informal channels. Tall (2003) reports that over half of the remittances to Senegal come through channels other than banks or the post office. CGAP (2003) reports that focus group discussions, data from Finscope South Africa, and BNLS surveys show that taxi drivers or friends and relatives capture 53 percent of cross-border remittances out of South Africa, the post office 32 percent, banks 5 percent and others 10 percent.

Some writers cite policies that impede migrants' use of formal channels. In South Africa money transfer agencies are required to have a banking license, to invest in an expensive exchange control reporting system, to ensure payment of taxes on transmitted funds, to ensure that the funds are not proceeds from crime, and to verify that the sender is a resident, has an immigration or work document authorizing her to earn rands, and is not in breach of exchange control laws. This array of requirements limits competition and raises fees. It also encourages senders to turn to informal networks, and money transfer agents to refuse to serve low-income individuals whose bona fides may be difficult to verify (Gupta and others 2006; Genesis 2003).

There has been some discussion as to whether microfinance agencies could become more involved in remittances. Their relatively poor clientele and low cost structure could help reduce the cost of remittance transfers and encourage poorer migrants to send remittances through formal channels. However, Higazi (2005) does not find much evidence of microfinance involvement in remittances transfer agents in Ghana. By contrast, Sander and Barro (2003) find that microfinance institutions are cooperating with banks to offer transfer services in Senegal. The regulatory framework that permits this can be cumbersome, as authorization from the Ministry of Economy and Finance is required, and the microfinance institution must have sufficient capital and financial expertise. The Uganda Microfinance Union introduced a pilot money transfer product in 2001, although its clients tend to be larger corporations, due to high fees (Black and others 2004).

Scattered anecdotal evidence indicates that fees are lower for informal networks than banks and money transfer operators (although not necessarily for postal orders), at least for small amounts (Higazi 2005). Loup (2005) claims that for Malian immigrants in France, informal transfer services are one-third the cost of Western Union. Gupta and others (2006) report that the cost of transferring 250 rand was lowest when a friend or taxi driver simply took the money across the border, and highest when banks were used. While post office transfers in South Africa were competitively priced, they were neither fast nor secure. Fall (2003) for Senegal, CGAP (2003) for South Africa, and Gubert (2005) and Sander and Maimbo (2003) for Mali and Senegal also cite the slowness, and in some cases lack of reliability, of transferring money through postal orders. Fees for remittances in South Africa differ dramatically by modality: a bank draft may cost 35-68 percent of the principal, electronic bank transfers 19-62 percent, postal orders 8 percent, Moneygram 25 percent, and an online transfer service 6 percent (Gupta and others 2006).

Fees are typically smaller, as a percentage of the amount transferred, the larger the amount. For example, to send money to Ghana, money transfer operators in the United Kingdom

charge a maximum of 12 percent for 100 pounds and of 7 percent for 500 pounds (Gupta and others 2006). Sander and Maimbo (2003) report that the fee charged by Western Union and Moneygram to send money from Uganda declines from between 6 and 35 percent for 100,000 shillings (about \$60) to between 2-6 percent for 1,000,000 shillings (approximately \$600).

Skilled migration

The emigration of skilled professionals from African countries has been cited by numerous authors as an important constraint on development. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to measure the impact of skilled emigration on origin countries. In theory, skilled emigration may impair development because: (i) skilled professionals generate benefits, for example training of colleagues or strengthening governance, that are not fully reflected in their salaries; (ii) firms may benefit from economies of scale, and skilled professionals (e.g. computer scientists) may be required to achieve large size; (iii) if the education of skilled emigrants is funded by the state, then emigration imposes a fiscal cost; and (iv) emigration will increase the price of services that require technical skills (e.g. health care), where it is often difficult to substitute low-skilled workers (World Bank 2006). Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to measure the first two effects, and lack of data constrains estimates of the last two for African countries.¹⁷ A great deal of anecdotal evidence is available on skilled emigration by health professionals, however. We will first consider estimates of the overall rate of skilled emigration, and then turn to whatever sectoral information is available.

Data on skilled emigration

The share of skilled emigrants in the total number of trained professionals varies among the 10 countries, but is quite high for some. Aggregate data are available on college-educated people from the sample countries that reside in OECD countries, as a share of total college-educated people in the origin country (figure 6). These data are collected from destination country sources, given the spotty availability and lack of quality of data on skilled emigration from African source countries.¹⁸ Even so, the data suffer from several limitations, including the poor quality of reports in the origin countries and the fact that it is impossible to tell how many of these highly-educated people were educated in the OECD country. Nevertheless, they can provide some view of the importance of overall highly-skilled emigration.

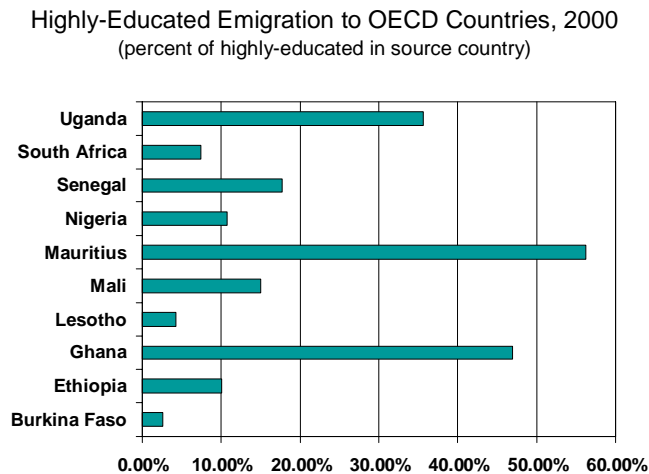
According to these data, the flight of highly-educated persons has been most severe in Mauritius (57 percent of college educated natives residing in OECD countries), Ghana (48 percent), and Uganda (37 percent). Senegal (18 percent) and Mali (15 percent) occupy an intermediate position, while in South Africa, Lesotho, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, the

¹⁷ Konseiga (2005c) does present model-based estimates of the growth impact of skilled emigration from Burkina Faso, which finds that emigration to industrial countries improves growth prospects, but emigration to Cote d'Ivoire doesn't. OECD (2003) estimates that the educational costs of South African health professionals working in other countries may equal \$1 billion, although this does not account for remittances or the possibility of return. Van Rooyen (2003) estimates that the brain drain costs South Africa 2.5 billion rand a year.

¹⁸For example, Borat and others (2002) claims that the South African Department of Home Affairs acknowledges the underestimation of the extent of skilled emigration, and Buchan and others (2003) believe it is impossible to determine the actual number of nurses leaving South Africa.

rate is at or below 10 percent. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say what level of highly-skilled emigration is critical for growth, nor how much the sectoral allocation matters (and what it is).

Figure 6: The brain drain



Source: Docquier and Marfouk (2004)

Much has been written about the outflow of doctors and nurses, and some of the statistics are quite alarming. For example, 69 percent of doctors trained in Ghana from 1995-2002 left the country, while estimates of vacancy levels in the Ghanaian Ministry of Health exceed 65 percent for doctors and nurses (Bump 2006). However, it is unlikely that the Ministry has the resources to hire up to their full staffing levels. Borat and others (2002) describe how the attractiveness of higher salaries and better working conditions in South Africa has increased vacant nurse posts in Lesotho. OECD cites the South African public sector's large shortfall in nurses, in part due to rising emigration. A recent dataset, based on census data in receiving countries, shows that 21 percent of physicians, and 12 percent of nurses, born in the 10 countries are working in the 8 industrial countries for which data are available. This includes African professionals trained in the industrial countries. The countries most affected by the health professionals' brain drain are Ghana, Mauritius, and Senegal.

Table 3: Health professionals working in industrial countries

(professionals from each country working abroad as share of total professionals, working domestically and abroad; percent)

| | Physicians | Nurses |
|------------------------|------------|--------|
| Burkina Faso | 19.9 | 2.4 |
| Ethiopia | 29.3 | 16.8 |
| Ghana | 54.6 | 24.1 |
| Lesotho | 6.6 | 0.9 |
| Mali | 22.9 | 15.0 |
| Mauritius | 45.5 | 63.3 |
| Nigeria | 13.1 | 11.7 |
| Senegal | 51.3 | 26.9 |
| South Africa | 19.2 | 4.2 |
| Uganda | 40.6 | 10.1 |
| Total for 10 countries | 21.0 | 11.7 |

Receiving countries include Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom and United States.

Source: Clemens and Petterson (2006)

A few writers have provided information on skilled emigration in other professions. However, these tend to be either numbers of skilled emigrants without information on the demand for these workers in the origin country, or unquantified references to large skilled emigration or vacancies. It is estimated that Ghana lost between one half and two-thirds of its most experienced, top-level manpower between 1960 and the mid-1980s (Rado 1986). EU (2006) provides survey evidence that 43 percent of firms in Mauritius believe that the skill level of the workforce is a serious obstacle to their operations; the level of skills is given as the second most important constraint for service sector firms. Black (2004) claims that the exodus of Nigerian academics and students reflects, and reinforces, a decline in educational standards in Nigerian universities. When Nigeria's oil-driven prosperity ended with the fall in oil prices in the early 1980s, the country saw an outflow of highly-skilled personnel to the oil-rich countries of the Middle East. In turn, Fadayomi (1994) notes the considerable migration of skilled personnel to Nigeria from other West African countries. Borhat and others (2002) note the high vacancy rates at the top end of the labor market in South Africa, and claims that South Africa lost 13 percent of skilled hires per year over the 1990s. By contrast, McDonald and Crush (2002) cite survey data indicating that employers of skilled personnel in South Africa do not appear to have major problems in hiring skilled workers, with the notable exception of the information technology sector. Uganda is reported to have lost more than half of its professional and technical workers during the rule of Idi Amin from 1971-79 (Russell and others 1990).

It is reasonable to conclude that skilled emigration does have a negative impact on the provision of some skilled services, and in particular public health care, in most of these countries. Buchan and others (2003) claim that the emigration of nurses from South Africa demotivates remaining nurses by increasing their workload and degrading the overall quality of service. However, given the many problems (low salaries, overburdened staff, and poor facilities) facing these health care systems, the contribution of emigration can be difficult to measure. For example, despite high quoted vacancy rates for nurses in the Ghanaian Ministry of

Health, De Souza (2006) claims that a lack of infrastructure and inadequate investment in the health sector mean that Ghanaian nurses who have qualified abroad are unable to find employment back home. Health professionals may be leaving South Africa in droves, but 35,000 registered nurses are either inactive or unemployed, given the limited funds available for public health (OECD 2003). Moreover, weaknesses in health care systems tend to increase skilled emigration. Buchan and others (2003) cite focus group interviews showing that long hours, poor resources, and a high ratio of patients per nurse are major reasons for emigration from South Africa.

Determinants of skilled emigration

Given the huge salary differentials between the pay of skilled professionals in Europe and America versus in Africa, the desire for many skilled professionals to emigrate is not exactly a puzzle. For example, a skilled nurse earns about \$11,000 in public service in South Africa, \$22,000 in the United Kingdom, as much as \$35,000 in Saudi Arabia, and over \$40,000 in the United States (OECD 2003).¹⁹ Nevertheless other drivers of skilled migration cited in the literature include social pressures owing to large families and a hierarchical structure that may constrain the ambitions of the young professionals (Thombiano 2000 on Burkina Faso), the availability of advanced facilities, and professional contacts developed when studying abroad. Skilled emigration from South Africa may be boosted by issues that go beyond the workplace. Van Rooyen (2001) and Mattes and Richmond (2000) provide survey evidence that violence is boosting emigration (50 percent of South Africans who formally indicate an intention to emigrate report in exit polls that are leaving because of violent crime—Myburgh 2004). On the other hand, the idea that racism and affirmative action are a major cause of increased emigration rates from South Africa is not supported by survey evidence (McDonald and Crush 2002).

Skilled emigration may reflect other issues in the educational system, or poor economic policy. Russell and others (1990) state that concerns over the emigration of skilled workers from Ghana reflect an excessive expansion of education. Fall (2000) claims the scarcity of trained professionals in Senegal is due to the low share of students in technical fields, with literature and social science more common. This may reflect the poor investment climate in Senegal, as a large share of science graduates choose to work in teaching and government administration, rather than the private sector. Similarly, Borat and others (2003) cite a growing number of graduates from South African universities in areas where the demand for skills hasn't grown (e.g. home economics, philosophy, religion, language) while business degrees are stagnating and engineering graduates have declined.

Overall, the impact of skilled emigration on the sample countries is impossible to determine. While the data on the health sector does raise serious concern, in other sectors little can be found on outflows of trained professionals relative to the demand for their services. It is useful to note that the Mauritius, the country with the highest ratio of college-educated people residing in OECD countries, was the only country (of these 10) in a recent UN survey to state that they were interested in boosting emigration rates.

¹⁹ Note, however, that these data are not adjusted for differences in price levels. A nurse earning \$11,000 in South Africa can purchase goods valued at almost \$30,000 in international dollars (adjusted for differences in purchasing power parity), or about 70 percent of the purchasing power of a public sector nurse in the United States (by the figures given in OECD 2003 and in the World Bank's *World Development Indicators*.)

Whatever the impact of skilled emigration, few writers have suggested policies to prevent it. In the late 1980s, Uganda imposed foreign exchange restrictions and clearance requirements for foreign travel on professionals and civil servants (Russell and others 1990), but these were largely dismantled by 2000. Outright prohibitions of skilled emigration are rarely proposed. In part this is due to the strong presumption in international discussions of human rights, as well as in the legal framework of the sample countries, of the right to emigrate. Such limits would also be difficult to enforce, and potentially counterproductive as they would discourage return. Some attempts are made to ensure some return on government investment in training professionals. For example, South Africa requires graduating doctors to complete one year of service in rural areas of the country prior to registration (a requirement to practice). So far only 8 percent of graduates have dropped out, either by deferring their year of service or refusing to register (OECD 2003). Another approach to overcoming the shortage of skilled professionals is to attract skilled immigrants, although of our sample country this could make a substantial contribution only in the middle-income countries (South Africa and Mauritius). Despite South Africa's relatively hostile immigration policy, Bach (2003) reports that in 1999 almost 80 percent of rural doctors were immigrants. Indeed, South Africa is changing its immigration laws to attract more skilled workers by making it easier for skilled persons to obtain extended work permits or permanent residency (McDonald and Crush 2002). However, any success that South Africa may have is likely at the expense of other, particularly nearby, countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Efforts to encourage return and circular migration

Developed destination countries have provided subsidies to encourage return, with mixed results. For example, in the 1980s France financed an assisted return program for agricultural cooperatives in the Kayes region, which were still functioning as of 2002 (Martin and others 2002). A program to provide loans to migrants in the 1980s to help them set up businesses in Senegal, however, had only 10 recipients, and five were out of operation six years later, with the other five virtually bankrupt (Diatta and Mbow 1999). A later French program paid about 500 unauthorized Malians in France to return voluntarily in exchange for CFA 2.5 million (\$3,600) and open businesses, 80 percent of which were still operating after 2 years. However, Sall (2005) cites administrative delays and difficulties in establishing businesses in Mali as hampering these returnees.

Origin countries also are involved in efforts to encourage the return of skilled emigrants and to foster ties with the diaspora. In Ethiopia, special travel documents allowing visa-free entry are issued to foreign citizens of Ethiopian origin and their spouses (IOM 2005a). The Nigerian government made significant efforts to contact its émigré professionals, while the Senate abolished a measure that would have meant that Nigerians who became citizens of other countries would lose their Nigerian citizenship (Black 2004). Mali, Senegal, and Burkina Faso established government ministries or agencies that encourage cultural exchanges, the provision of information, and investment in local businesses by the diaspora (Ammarrasi 2005). The Senegalese government encouraged large inflows of savings from Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire by sending missions to inform Senegalese émigrés of opportunities in the home country (Diatta and Mbow 1999). Ghana increased access to dual citizenship for overseas Ghanaians in 2002 (Anarfi and others 2003), and has attempted to increase the interest of the diaspora in Ghana

through invitations to meetings in Accra (Bump 2006). South Africa invited skilled professionals in the diaspora to sign up at a website to help train South African workers or students, or assist South African firms with research, business contacts, and technology transfer (Mutume 2002). Uganda has sent government speakers to meetings of the diaspora to “raise awareness of the development objectives of Uganda” (Black and others 2004).

Black and others (2003b) find that government incentives were negligible in influencing return, as very few Ghanaian returnees benefited from, or even knew about, incentives for return (they cite a few instances of incentives for return from the Ghanaian Tourist Board and the Ghana Private Road Transport Union). Mauritius introduced the Scheme for Attracting Professionals in Emerging Sectors in 2002 to attract information and communications technology professionals to return. However, cumbersome administrative procedures resulted in only 10 approvals of 29 applications, of which 5 actually materialized (EU 2006).

International organizations have also encouraged return. The Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) program (managed by the International Organization for Migration) attempts to match the know-how requirements in Africa with the skills of volunteer migrants from African countries. The United Nations Development Program provides funds to encourage at least temporary return (referred to as the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Networks). For example, TOKTEN paid 133 Malians to return as consultants to teach and do research.

Migrants may become more productive from their overseas work. A survey of 304 returning migrants to Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire in 2000-2001 found that most had increased their education or professional experience, and a large majority felt that the knowledge obtained abroad was important, or very important for their current work (Ammarrasi 2005). Black and others (2003a) cite survey data showing that 90 percent of highly-skilled returnees and 40 percent of less-skilled returnees hoped to apply what they learned abroad.

Health issues

Migration often serves as a vector for disease, in part because migrants are often vulnerable to disease and may have little access to health services, and in part because migrants are carriers of disease between communities.

The role of migration in spreading AIDS throughout Africa has been well documented. Migrant communities tend to have a higher than average rate of HIV infection, as mobility can encourage or make people vulnerable to high-risk sexual behavior (and in many countries the use of protection against sexually-transmitted disease is limited), while making them more difficult to reach for testing and preventative measures (Black 2004). For Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, IOM (2005b) shows a strong relationship between HIV prevalence among pregnant women and the proportion of new immigrants. Several studies have tied migration to increased HIV/AIDS in the sample countries:

- (i) Lesotho has an overall HIV-positive rate believed to be highest in world, and is the only place in Southern Africa in which more men than women are HIV positive, the result of miners living in single-sex hostels w/access to sex workers (Cobbe 2004);

- (ii) in Mali, the rise in HIV-positive cases and the high growth rate of new AIDS cases was partly due to migration from Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal, where sero-prevalence rates were increasing at a rapid rate (World Bank 1993);
- (iii) in some parts of Senegal, AIDS is referred to as Cote d'Ivoire fever, as the first AIDS victims were returning migrants from that country (Fall 2003);
- (iv) in a study of Matam, a city in northern Senegal, migrants to other African countries face a greater risk of HIV infection than less mobile populations, and focus groups and personal interviews confirmed the import of HIV/AIDS by migrants (Thiam and others 2004);
- (v) a study in Kwazulu/Natal in South Africa found that HIV prevalence among migrants and their partners was 24 percent, compared with 15 percent among non-migrants and their partners (Lurie 2004); and
- (vi) a longitudinal cohort study in the Masaka District of Uganda found that age and sex-standardized HIV-positive rates were 5.5 percent for adults who had not moved from home, versus 11.5 percent for those who had left the area (Nunn and others 1995).

AIDS is not the only disease that has been affected by migration. In Burkina Faso, an immunization program against measles achieved a high coverage rate, but was followed by a large outbreak of measles among the target population. This was the first reported failure of a widely successful strategy for controlling measles. On investigation, it became clear that the immigration of children from Cote d'Ivoire, who had not been immunized, played a major role in the failure of the immunizations to interrupt the transmission of measles (Yameogo and others 2005). Forced migration to different ecological zones can expose populations to diseases for which they lack immunities. For example, refugees from the highlands areas of Ethiopia developed a high prevalence of malaria after settling in camps in malarial-endemic areas of the eastern Sudan (Russell and others 1990). They also cite evidence that workers returning from the mines in South Africa suffered disproportionately from tuberculosis and other communicable diseases, that transmission of the Guinea worm in Nigeria was linked to migration, and that refugee camp conditions in Uganda resulted in partially-treated tuberculosis cases becoming rapidly infectious.

Priorities for research for the Africa project

The economic literature on migration in Africa suffers from a dearth of information. Official data on the numbers of people migrating and the amount of remittances are likely seriously understated, while analyses of the economic impact of migration on both destination and source countries are largely speculative. In the countries covered by this paper (with the exception of Mauritius), virtually all aspects of migration are poorly understood, and government efforts to influence migration to improve welfare have often been impotent or counterproductive. Thus there is no shortage of areas where the generation of new information through the Africa project can improve understanding. The limited resources and techniques available for gathering information make it important to set priorities for future work. Here I will highlight a few areas where this paper can provide guidance.

Some progress in quantifying the number of migrants, as well as their economic and geographical distribution, could help policymaking. At a minimum, better information might elevate the debate in South Africa over the impact of irregular migration, or lead governments in the poorer countries to consider migration policy before a crisis, perhaps helping to avoid the immense human suffering occasioned by past expulsions of foreigners.

There is little evidence that efforts by African governments to harness the diaspora have had much impact. Survey information would be useful in gauging the awareness of, and participation in, these programs by emigrants. There have been considerable private efforts to distribute funds for local infrastructure projects in areas that are the major sources of emigrants. Some exploration of how the government might cooperate with these private initiatives to channel information, technical assistance, and business contacts to local entrepreneurs might be useful. To prevent stifling private efforts, central governments might avoid using this as an opportunity to influence the allocation of funds.

Available information indicates that trafficking of women and children is pervasive in many African countries, due to an inadequate legal framework, a lack of resources to enforce the law, and perhaps social attitudes and practices that condone trafficking. Expanding information on the victims of trafficking can play a useful role in gathering support for reforms. For example, there is some evidence that the terrible reputation earned by Nigeria has spurred efforts to restrain trafficking in that country. If this goal is adopted, it would be important to consult with the NGOs that are active in fighting trafficking.

Surveys of the channels used to send remittances, the reasons for choosing them, and the costs involved could help focus government efforts to improve the remittance market. At the same time, interviews with policy makers and companies involved in the market may help to clarify the tradeoffs facing efforts to expand remittance services. For example, there is some evidence that financial regulation in West Africa is an impediment to developing formal remittance channels that serve poor areas. Perhaps there is scope for modifying the regulatory framework to permit more small scale remittance agencies, without eroding safeguards against fraud and financial irresponsibility. In South Africa, it may be possible to ease informational requirements governing remittance providers that effectively shut low-income workers out of the formal market.

The literature on migration also provides some guidance on areas of inquiry that could be less productive. High-skilled emigration is likely an important issue for some countries, particularly for health services, but it is not clear what contribution surveys or interviews would make. Moreover, we need a better understanding of the causes and consequences of high-skilled emigration, and the influence of other reasons for deterioration in services, to formulate useful policies. It is not likely that the Africa project would effectively address this issue. The role of migration in spreading disease, in particular HIV/AIDS, has been well documented. Survey information could conceivably assist in identifying populations that require services, but in general the role of the project in this field is unclear. Analyses of how remittances are spent don't appear to generate useful information, and require intensive analysis to be done correctly.

Overall, at this stage it may be more productive to focus on modifying policy interventions that currently reduce welfare and selecting small programs that could improve the benefits of migration, rather than devising broad, migration-friendly policy frameworks. Particularly in the poor countries of West and East Africa, governments are not in a position to implement comprehensive policies that would make a noticeable contribution to improving the development impact of migration. However, it might be possible to make targeted changes that help in specific areas. With migration in Africa, the best may be the enemy of the good.

Annex on Individual Countries

Introduction

This annex provides information on migration issues that is not appropriate for the discussion of common issues provided above. Some of it simply emphasizes points made in the main body of the paper, other parts reflect characteristics of migration that are not sufficiently common among the 10 countries to mention above. Thus each country discussion is more a collection of observations than a coherent story.

The annex also provides some additional data on migration in the sample countries, based on work by the United Nations Population Division and the World Bank Development Prospects Group. The information provided on a cross-country basis includes, for time series, migration stocks in destination countries and remittance receipts in origin countries, and for 2005, the main sources of immigration and destinations of emigration. These latter data are the result of efforts to construct a comprehensive matrix of migration stocks, based initially on the UN Population Division data on the composition of immigrants by origin countries, along with additional information, and in some cases estimations based on reasonable inferences.

1. Burkina Faso

Immigration to Burkina Faso has increased rapidly over time, from less than 2 percent of the population in 1970 to almost 6 percent in 2005 (table A1.1), despite population growth of 2.6 percent per year over this period. The accuracy of these data may be open to question, however, as many migrants to and from Burkina Faso do not cross official border posts (Pizarro 2006). At the same time, remittances received from Burkina Faso abroad have declined sharply, from a peak of 16 percent of GDP in 1980 to just under 2 percent by 2005. In part the sharp fall in dollar value of the early 1990s reflects the devaluation of the CFA franc. Burkina Faso's emigrants are overwhelmingly in Cote d'Ivoire (table A1.2), and the economic crisis in that country has no doubt reduced remittances due to lower earnings and greater numbers of returnees. There may also be issues about the quality of the remittance data. Remittance receipts are exactly \$50 million in every year from 2001-2005, raising questions about whether these reflect actual reports or guesstimates.

Table A1.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 89 | 106 | 170 | 273 | 345 | 464 | 573 | 773 |
| percent of population | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 3.7 | 4.0 | 4.7 | 5.1 | 5.8 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | 48 | 150 | 126 | 140 | 80 | 67 | 50 |
| percent of GDP | .. | 10.5 | 16.0 | 6.5 | 8.7 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 1.9 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Table A1.2 Distribution of migration, 2005

(percent of total)

| | Immigrants | | Emigrants |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| Benin | 6.5 | Cote d'Ivoire | 88.4 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 3.1 | Niger | 1.0 |
| Ghana | 8.3 | Nigeria | 0.6 |
| Mali | 39.0 | France | 0.5 |
| Niger | 12.3 | Italy | 0.4 |
| Other identified | 0.0 | Other identified | 0.6 |
| Unidentified | 30.8 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Sociological and cultural factors have a role in determining migration patterns in Burkina Faso. The Fulani population in the Sahel region of northern Burkina Faso supplies a large proportion of the country's emigrants. According to Hampshire and Randal (1999), emigration is to some extent determined by ethnic identity, with some of the Fulani subgroups unlikely to emigrate unless desperate. Konseiga (2005a) notes that some migration results from marriages, divorces, widowhoods. Moreover, the dependence on one's parents traditionally lasts into the late 30s, so many young people use emigration as a means of escaping such constraints, and as an initiation process and adventure. Konseiga (2005b) emphasizes that pastoralists are unlikely to migrate because, unlike farmers, they cannot safely leave their flock behind.

The main body of the report provides data on high-skilled emigration to OECD countries. But Thiombiano (2000) cites a large high-skilled emigration from Burkina Faso to Cote d'Ivoire, and that in total 74 percent of those educated at college level have left the country.

2. Ethiopia

Immigration to Ethiopia increased sharply, both in terms of the number of people and relative to the population, from 1970 to 1990, but then dropped by over half in numbers and from 2.3 percent to 0.7 percent of the population, reflecting the severe economic problems and political violence afflicting the country (table A2.1). At the same time, remittances have mushroomed from \$5 million in 1990 to \$134 million in 2005, as the Ethiopian diaspora has increased significantly (table A2.2). More than half of the total 446,000 Ethiopian emigrants are in high-income countries, including the roughly 79,000 Falasha (Ethiopian Jews) who left for Israel. But according to the official data, the largest émigré Ethiopian community is in the Sudan, including former refugees who never returned home. Over four-fifths of immigrants in Ethiopia were either born in Eritrea when the two countries were united, or have escaped the famine and wars in the Sudan.

Table A2.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 395 | 392 | 404 | 584 | 1,155 | 795 | 662 | 555 |
| percent of population | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 0.7 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | .. | 12 | 14 | 5 | 27 | 53 | 134 |
| percent of GDP | .. | .. | .. | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.2 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Distribution of migration, 2005

(percent of total)

| Immigrants | | Emigrants | |
|------------------|------|------------------|------|
| Djibouti | 0.7 | Germany | 4.5 |
| Eritrea | 53.0 | Israel | 17.8 |
| Kenya | 0.1 | Saudi Arabia | 5.9 |
| Somalia | 29.4 | Sudan | 28.9 |
| Sudan | 1.7 | United States | 17.9 |
| Other identified | 0.0 | Other identified | 16.5 |
| Unidentified | 15.1 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Exploitation of Ethiopian women emigrants is a serious issue. Many women use Moslem pilgrimages as a pretext to go to Saudi Arabia, drawn by false and misleading information on job opportunities and conditions (Kebede 2001). Some are required to sign domestic service contracts they cannot read after payment of part of the fee, with clauses such as prohibitions on leaving the house without permission and large penalties if they quit their jobs. These requirements make them extremely vulnerable to abuse from their employers. Kebede (2001) reports many cases of rape or attempted rape by male employers and women left in jail with no legal support. Even with government-provided employment services, there is no pre-departure training or information provided on living conditions in destination countries. In response to this situation, a private employment agency was established by Ethiopian women who used to live in Lebanon to provide women with skills training and orientation.

3. Ghana

Migration in Ghana is a longstanding tradition. Virtually all ethnic groups claim to have emigrated from somewhere else (Anarfi and others 2003). Ghana shifted from a country of immigration during the colonial era and up to the late 1960s to a substantial source of emigrants as economic troubles deepened in the 1970s and 1980s. With the return of economic progress from the mid-1990s, however, immigration to Ghana has increased significantly, from 4.6 percent of the population in 1990 to 7.5 percent in 2005 (Table A3.1). Ghana does not provide data on the composition of its immigrant population, so the only data available on Ghanaian

migration is from partner countries. Emigration from Ghana is largely to other West African countries (particularly Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria—table A3.2), which account for two-thirds of total emigrants. Emigration from Ghana is largely dominated by men, with the exception of the substantial flows to Cote d'Ivoire (Anarfi and others 2003), and often takes place without appropriate exit documents (Adepoju 2005). Forced migration has occurred both to and from Ghana. It is one of several countries of asylum for fleeing civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire (Anarfi and others 2003), Ghana expelled foreigners in 1969, and Ghanaians were expelled from Nigeria in 1983, although many returned in the late 1980s (Higazi 2005). A growing share of the poor emigrated from Ghana over the 1990s, owing to declining employment opportunities in the urban sector and declines in the terms of trade of cash crops (Litchfield and Waddington 2003). The probability of migration was positively related to the level of education, previous migration experience, access to irrigation, household size, and the availability of networks, and negatively related to the household dependency ratio and the potential for off-farm employment (Tsegai 2004)

Table A3.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| million persons | 352 | 385 | 421 | 494 | 717 | 1038 | 1505 | 1669 |
| percent of population | 3.9 | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 4.6 | 5.9 | 7.6 | 7.5 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | .. | 1 | 4 | 6 | 17 | 32 | 99 |
| percent of GDP | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.9 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Despite sharp increases in remittances since 1990, they remain less than 1 percent of GDP (table A3.2). Remittances from outside Africa are estimated at 37 percent of the total (including internal remittances), while emigrants outside Africa are only 12 percent of Ghanaians sending remittances (Mazzucato and others 2005). It can be difficult to distinguish between internal and external remittances, as transfers from an internal source may have been financed by transfers from abroad. Ghanaians who worked while abroad, had better jobs, stayed abroad longer, and maintained contact with their families are more likely to send money home and sent larger amounts (Black and others 2003a). Returned migrants also benefited from the experience: less-skilled emigrants showed a significant improvement in occupational level, with those who left when they were younger showing the most improvement.

Addison (2004) reports that the cost of remittance transfers is falling due to increased competition. A large proportion of remittances come through foreign exchange bureaus, which are more prevalent than either banks or formal money transfer operators (only about 5 percent of Ghanaians have a bank account). Trust is an important element of these transfers, as they typically involve the exchange of a large number of bills that take time to count. Remittances also are provided in the form of goods, largely consumer durables.

Statistics on emigration of health professionals are disturbing: the share of doctors emigrating in the total trained in a given year rose from 60 percent in 1995 to 94 percent in 2002

(Anarfi and others 2003). In turn, Ghana is a significant importer of Cuban doctors (Bach 2003). The share of nurses and midwives leaving is reported as averaging 20 percent of those trained from 1995-2002, although it is very difficult to obtain accurate data on nurses emigrating (Buchan and others 2003). However, the number of nurses emigrating dropped by more than half in 2003, in part due to the United Kingdom's prohibition of recruiting of African health professionals by the National Health Service (Quarthey 2006). The raw numbers may understate the impact of emigration on nursing in Ghana, as 95 percent of those leaving are highly experienced.

Table A3.2 Distribution of migration, 2005
(percent of total)

| | Emigrants |
|------------------|-----------|
| Burkina Faso | 7.1 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 34.2 |
| Germany | 3.6 |
| Nigeria | 17.7 |
| Togo | 4.3 |
| United States | 8.2 |
| Other identified | 16.5 |
| Unidentified | 8.5 |

Note: No information is available on the distribution of immigrants

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

4. Lesotho

Emigration from Lesotho is conditioned by its being surrounded by South Africa, by its dependence on South Africa for income, and by the strong ethnic ties between Basothos in the two countries. Historically, Lesotho was established by the Basotho king and eventually sustained, albeit in much reduced form, by British intervention against the Boers. As a result, many Basotho pay only marginal attention to the border between the two countries, and some writers emphasize that the degree of distinction between the two countries is not always clear. Coplan (2001) concludes that South Africa lacks the resources, political will, or even moral authority to prevent or reverse immigration from Lesotho. A survey found that travel to South Africa was a way of life for the overwhelming majority of Basotho, and that most respondents saw the border as unnecessary (Gay 2000). Eighty percent of Lesotho's emigrants go to South Africa (table A4.2), propelled by small farm size and marginal ecological conditions (Afolayan 2001), the much greater economic opportunities in South Africa (particularly the need for labor in the mines), and since the late 1990s, political instability and slow economic growth. Emigration to South Africa is thus a dominant feature of Lesotho's economic life. A 2003 survey found that 37 percent of those interviewed reported a family member working in South Africa, 26 percent a family member permanently settled there, and 18 percent that admitted holding South African identification cards (Cobbe 2004). Immigration to Lesotho is minimal, about 0.3 percent of the population, owing to the lack of economic opportunities.

Table A4.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 4 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 |
| percent of population | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | 122 | 263 | 224 | 428 | 411 | 252 | 355 |
| percent of GDP | | 81.6 | 61.0 | 77.3 | 69.5 | 44.1 | 29.3 | 24.4 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Remittances fell dramatically from 1990 to 2000, and despite some recovery by 2005 remained at 24 percent of GDP, which is very large compared to most developing countries but less than one-third of the peak level in 1985 (table A4.1). Since the mid-1990s, the demand for immigrant labor in South Africa's mines has fallen sharply, and South African policies have remained relatively hostile to immigration (see below). Economic growth fell to 2.2 percent per year from the completion of major infrastructure projects in 1998 to 2005, compared with 4.7 percent in the decade before.

An interesting aspect of Lesotho emigration has been the deferred pay scheme established in 1974 to control remittances by miners in South Africa. In principle, mining companies transfer 30 percent of their wage bill to a collective account at Lesotho Bank (Sparreboom and Sparreboom-Burger 1996). At the end of their one-year contract, mine workers receive a deferred pay certificate which they can use to withdraw their funds in Lesotho (they are also permitted to make two emergency withdrawals during the year). The fund's administrative responsibilities include enforcing contributions by the mining companies. The system was not very popular with mineworkers: participation in voluntary schemes for mine workers from Botswana and Mozambique is considerably lower than Lesotho's compulsory scheme, and calls for its abolition figured in the wage negotiations in 1994. However, the government of Lesotho benefits because it has use of the funds until the miners are paid at the end of each year (Sander and Maimbo 2003).

Table A4.2 Distribution of migration, 2005
(percent of total)

| | Immigrants | | Emigrants |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| Botswana | 1.4 | Mozambique | 10.0 |
| South Africa | 50.9 | South Africa | 80.5 |
| Tanzania | 1.4 | Tanzania | 0.3 |
| Zambia | 1.2 | United Kingdom | 0.1 |
| Zimbabwe | 1.5 | United States | 0.1 |
| Other identified | 2.0 | Other identified | 0.3 |
| Unidentified | 41.6 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

5. Mali

Immigration to Mali, a poor, landlocked country with a per capita income of less than \$400, remains minimal. Remittances declined from 1995 to 2000 in dollar terms, but then doubled over the next five years (table 5.1). During this period, the CFA, which is tied to the euro, appreciated strongly against the dollar, and the more than doubling of the dollar amount of remittances from 2000 to 2005 reflects an increase of just under 60 percent in terms of CFA (about 90 percent of Malian emigrants go to countries whose currency is tied to the euro). Even so, the rise in remittances seems odd, given that about half of Malian emigrants go to either Cote d'Ivoire or Nigeria, countries which have experienced economic recession and political instability over the past few years. As the same dollar figure is given for 2002-2005, it is possible that reporters could have assumed the same nominal value in the absence of information.

Table A5.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 95 | 82 | 71 | 61 | 60 | 63 | 48 | 46 |
| percent of population | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | 23 | 59 | 67 | 107 | 112 | 73 | 155 |
| percent of GDP | .. | 2.8 | 3.3 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 3.0 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Destinations for Malian emigrants vary considerably. International migrants may go to France, to the peanut plantations of Senegal and Gambia, the cotton and cocoa plantations of Cote d'Ivoire, and to neighboring regions seeking seasonal availability of grass for herds (Findley 2004). Many migrants travel to neighboring countries for relatively short (less than six months) periods, while emigration to Europe tends to be for longer periods. Short-term circulation to neighboring countries may rise during a drought, but emigration to Europe may fall due to a lack of resources. Hence surveys show that the total amount of emigration from drought-stricken regions does not change greatly during drought. And higher income is associated with higher rates of long-term emigration, but lower rates of short-term (Russell and others 1990).

Table A5.2 Distribution of migration, 2005
(percent of total)

| | Emigrants |
|------------------|-----------|
| Burkina Faso | 24.8 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 40.7 |
| France | 3.7 |
| Gabon | 2.7 |
| Niger | 2.9 |
| Nigeria | 9.5 |
| Other identified | 7.2 |
| Unidentified | 8.5 |

Note: No information is available on the distribution of immigration
Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

The government cooperates with French efforts to return unauthorized emigrants in France, and works with international organizations to attract educated Malians (Martin and others 2002). The government has established a ministry devoted to the Malian diaspora which (for example) provides information on the availability and costs of money transfer services and maintains an inventory of skills that can contribute to Mali's educational system and small business development. The government also provides information on foreign employment opportunities (Sander and Maimbo 2003). These efforts have helped mobilize support from France, including a 2.6 million euro project to cofinance local development projects, support reintegration of migrants, and mobilize Mali's scientific diaspora.

Mali also receives considerable resources from the diaspora for public projects. A mid-1990s survey found that 70 percent of emigrants to France from the Kayes region (the main source of Malian émigrés) are active members of village associations, which play an important role in development (AFFORD 2000). Over 10 years, village associations financed 146 projects for a total of 19.4 million French francs. Raunet (2005) reports that 22 percent of total remittance receipts comes from groups financing local community projects. Survey respondents also felt that return migration has encouraged democratic reforms, although concerns have been expressed about the importation of 'decadent' western values, particularly concerning the role of women and children. For example, one European official noted Malian concern that traditional aspects of local culture, such as polygamy and genital mutilation, were illegal in European destination countries (Martin and others 2002).

Remittances equal about 3 percent of GDP for the country as a whole. However, remittances make up a very significant share of income in the Kayes region, the main source of Malian emigrants. Ammarrasi (2005) reports an early 1990s survey showing that remittances account for 80 percent of household resources in areas of the Senegal River valley. Azam and Gubert (2004) find that large remittance receipts in Kayes have lowered incentives to work. Emigration of some household members is viewed as insurance against a shortfall in consumption during bad times. However, emigrants cannot easily monitor work effort, leading to some moral hazard. Households with significant access to remittances show worse agricultural performance than households without members abroad, even though remittances have contributed to the adoption of improved agricultural technology.

6. Mauritius

Of all the sample countries, Mauritius is the least affected by migration. Immigration is less than 2 percent of the population (table A6.1). One of the few middle-income countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, it is protected by the Indian Ocean from irregular migration. The government effectively controls entry, and the number of visa overstays is limited (Hein 2004). China and India account for about half of the stock of immigrants (table A6.2). Government policy is not to accept immigrants for unskilled work, and entry permits generally are not issued for domestic service. However, some of the ‘skilled workers’ permitted entry have job titles such as knitting operators, painters, metal sorters, fish cutters and apprentices (Hein 2004). The government also follows a strict policy of rotating guest workers to avoid the problems with guest worker programs in Europe.

Remittances have grown over the past decade in dollar terms, remaining between 3 and 4 percent of GDP. Most emigration is to high-income countries (table A6.2). Easier entry rules for highly-educated workers have encouraged substantial emigration from Mauritius in recent years, and 56 percent of its college-educated citizens live abroad. Mauritius has a greater percentage of managers that cite the skills and education of workforce as major constraint on their operations than in South Africa, Malaysia, Indonesia and India (EU 2006). The government is increasing efforts to attract more investors and skilled professionals by broadening eligibility for work permits and residence permits.

Table A6.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 16 | 21 |
| percent of population | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.7 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 132 | 177 | 215 |
| percent of GDP | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3.5 | 4.0 | 3.3 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Table A6.2 Distribution of migration, 2005
(percent of total)

| | Immigrants | | Emigrants |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| China | 37.0 | Australia | 14.3 |
| France | 10.7 | Canada | 6.0 |
| India | 15.9 | France | 27.8 |
| South Africa | 5.6 | Italy | 9.6 |
| United Kingdom | 7.2 | United Kingdom | 25.2 |
| Other identified | 12.5 | Other identified | 8.6 |
| Unidentified | 11.1 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

7. Nigeria

During the oil boom from the early 1970s to the early 1980s, Nigeria became a significant destination for immigrants from other West African countries, and immigration reached almost 2 percent of the population, according to official statistics (table A7.1). The extent to which immigration during this period (which was heavily weighted towards unskilled workers from neighboring countries—Black 2004) was accurately measured is unclear. But the severe downturn in the economy with the decline in oil prices led to the expulsion of many foreigners in 1983, with the government claiming that many were engaged in street begging and prostitution, or employed in business and trade without permission (Afolayan 1988). Some 1.3 unauthorized migrants left the country in 1983, leading to camps along the border as some of the other West African states closed their borders against the influx of refugees. Fully 80 percent of immigrants in 2005 came from other West African countries. While emigration to West Africa also is significant, North America and Europe accounted for more than 40 percent of Nigeria’s emigrants in 2005.

Table A7.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 158 | 704 | 1315 | 348 | 447 | 582 | 751 | 971 |
| percent of population | 0.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | .. | 22 | 10 | 10 | 804 | 1,392 | 2,273 |
| percent of GDP | .. | .. | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 2.3 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Some 11 percent of highly-educated Nigerians live in OECD countries, in part due to limited opportunities for tertiary education in Nigeria (Black 2004). The government has made efforts to generate benefits from the many highly-educated Nigerians residing abroad. An office was established for diaspora activities and a database on the skills of emigrants was set up (Ammarrasi 2005). AFFORD (2000) notes the strength of Nigerian hometown associations, in part due to the trauma of the civil war, which underlined the importance of having a secure home base in times of trouble. Nigerians abroad also play an important role in local politics. For example, the Association of Nigerians Abroad has campaigned for democracy and against human rights violations, while the separatist movement enjoys considerable support among the diaspora (Carling 2006).

Table A7.2 Distribution of migration, 2005
(percent of total)

| | Immigrants | | Emigrants |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| Benin | 21.2 | Benin | 6.2 |
| Chad | 2.4 | Cameroon | 9.5 |
| Ghana | 16.5 | Chad | 15.3 |
| Mali | 11.8 | Niger | 5.1 |
| Niger | 7.8 | United Kingdom | 11.7 |
| Togo | 10.3 | United States | 18.6 |
| Other identified | 10.7 | Other identified | 25.0 |
| Unidentified | 19.3 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Weak enforcement of laws and ease in counterfeiting documents have made Nigeria a center for the trafficking of women and children. The government sponsors information campaigns on child labor and has beefed up police and immigration units dedicated to fighting trafficking (Black 2004). Nevertheless, trafficking remains a serious problem, and creative approaches to circumventing enforcement in both Nigeria and Europe are evolving. For example, under-aged girls seeking asylum in the Netherlands are placed with foster parents until their cases are resolved. Many Nigerian girls requested asylum and subsequently disappeared from their foster homes. It turned out that the asylum system was being used by traffickers to smuggle girls to the Netherlands (Carling 2006).

8. Senegal

Immigration to Senegal remained relatively stable from 1990 to 2005, although rapid population growth led to a decline in the share of immigrants in the population to below 3 percent (table A8.1). Unlike several other West African countries, remittances increased strongly over this period, more than doubling as a share of GDP. This is probably due to the fact that about 45 percent of emigrants are to high-income countries, and emigration to crisis-plagued Cote d'Ivoire is more limited from Senegal than from Burkina Faso and Mali. Nevertheless, the official data listing no emigrants from Senegal to Cote d'Ivoire cannot be correct; Fall (2003) reports that there were 100,000 Senegalese in Cote d'Ivoire in 1998. While the total of emigrants (estimated on the basis of partner country reports) of 463,000 is not huge relative to the population of 11.7 million, some areas of Senegal have a large concentration of emigrants. For example, Hearing and van der Erf (2001) note villages where one in every two households have migrants abroad.

Table A8.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 176 | 155 | 119 | 170 | 293 | 320 | 297 | 326 |
| percent of population | 3.8 | 2.9 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 3.7 | 3.5 | 2.9 | 2.8 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | 26 | 77 | 79 | 142 | 146 | 233 | 511 |
| percent of GDP | .. | 1.4 | 2.6 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 5.3 | 6.1 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Table 8.2 Distribution of migration, 2005

(percent of total)

| | Immigrants | | Emigrants |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| Cape Verde | 4.4 | France | 19.5 |
| France | 8.2 | Gabon | 4.0 |
| Guinea | 38.5 | Gambia, The | 26.6 |
| Guinea-Bissau | 11.5 | Italy | 15.3 |
| Mali | 8.3 | Mauritania | 9.3 |
| Mauritania | 14.1 | United States | 2.6 |
| Other identified | 5.6 | Other identified | 14.2 |
| Unidentified | 9.4 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Hearing and van der Erf (2001) report data from a survey on information available to Senegalese emigrants. The majority of those leaving had some information on the intended country of destination, but very few knew anything on admissions procedures, indicating the high level of irregular migration. Migrants made only limited use of agencies as a source of information. Sander and Barro (2003) note the importance of ethnic and religious networks that facilitate departure, arrival, and integration into destination countries.

Senegal has taken steps to promote the welfare of emigrants. Agreements in the 1990s with France and Gabon provided that salaried emigrants would be entitled to social benefit provided by destination countries. The government also has encouraged return through cooperating with France, although programs in the 1980s showed poor results in terms of the sustainability of businesses and loan repayments (Diatta and Mbow 1999), while efforts in the 1990s had few participants (Raunet 2005).

The government also promotes the involvement of the diaspora in economic and social development. Ammarrasi (2005) notes the considerable contribution of emigrants to local communities. More than a third of émigrés from Senegal are members of a village association, and there is evidence that emigrants' use of telecommunications technology has contributed to social transformation in rural areas. Russell and others (1990) describe the practice of setting up

‘secondary villages’ among emigrant groups that take responsibility for building and furnishing schools. It is possible that these efforts, or emigration in general, have contributed to a breakdown of traditional authority. For example, Guilmoto (1998) notes that the influence of village, caste, lineage and extended family is seen to be eroded by emigration out of rural areas, as well as by state intervention.

Migration plays an important role in spreading the AIDS epidemic in Senegal. A study of 11 villages around Matam in the north found that 27 percent of returning male migrants were infected with HIV, compared with less than 1 percent of males who had not migrated (Thiam and others 2003). And 40 percent of migrants to African countries with high rates of infection reported having risky sexual behavior, such as sexual contact with prostitutes or casual partners. Nevertheless, less than 2 percent of the adult population is HIV-positive, compared to the average of nearly 9 percent for Sub-Saharan Africa. Success in restraining the epidemic is attributed to early government interventions plus cultural and religious constraints on sexual activity.

Formal means of transferring money to Senegal include the postal system, which involves long delays; bank transfers between accounts, which are reliable but expensive; and money transfer operators, which are even faster but very costly (Sander and Barro 2003). There is some evidence of improvements in the efficiency of money transfers. For example, the Kara International Exchange allows migrants to deposit money with a business in New York. The migrant is given a number which she communicates to the beneficiary in Senegal, who can obtain the funds at a local business (Addy and others 2003). This arrangement provides for the bundling of many small transactions so that transfers can be effected at lower rates. Growing amounts of remittances are being transferred through telephone or fax (Tall 2003). Microfinance institutions are cooperating with banks to offer transfer services, and banks are compensating for their limited networks (only 6 percent of the population have bank accounts) by offering points of service at telecenters and cybercafes (Sander and Barro 2003). Banks also are forming alliances with Western Union and Moneygram to boost their participation in the money transfer business.

9. South Africa

Probably more has been written on migration to South Africa than any other African country, yet intense controversies remain over the number and impact of immigrants. Official data report 1.1 million immigrants (table A9.1), but of African countries, immigrants are reported from only Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe (some of these communities originated in movements of tribal groups in the 19th century) (Solomon 1996). Estimates of irregular immigration vary from 500,000 to 8 million (Crush and Peberdy 2003, Solomon 1996). The techniques used to estimate the number of irregular migrants, essentially extrapolations from repatriations and visa overstays, are clearly imprecise. Border controls are ineffective due to lack of resources (Minnaar 2001 cites the use of horse and foot patrols to patrol parts of the border owing to petrol shortages). There is some evidence that much irregular immigration is not intended to be permanent. A survey in Swaziland found that 56 percent of respondents had a strong or moderate desire to go to South Africa for a period of

up to 2 years, but only 32 percent expressed a strong or moderate desire to live in South Africa (Simelane and Crush 2004). Shaw (2001) claims that West African criminal networks, mainly Nigerian, have contributed to the growth of organized crime in South Africa.

Table A9.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 961 | 962 | 983 | 1815 | 1225 | 1098 | 1022 | 1106 |
| percent of population | 4.2 | 3.7 | 3.4 | 5.5 | 3.3 | 2.6 | 2.2 | 2.3 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | 15 | 36 | 67 | 39 | 136 | 105 | 344 | 658 |
| percent of GDP | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

The decline in legal immigration since the early 1990s reflected a more restrictive stance on immigration since the ending of apartheid (Crush and Peberdy 2003), evidenced by the greater difficulties employers faced in obtaining permits for foreign workers. Crush and McDonald (2001) claim that beyond some limited amnesties for immigrants that had been in the country for extended periods of time, the post-apartheid government has shown little appetite for immigration. Klaaren and Ramji (2001) find that South Africa's policing policy towards immigration changed little after the demise of apartheid. Landau (2005) claims that nativism has helped create 'zones of exception' where South Africa's normal legal provisions are suspended so that police can use illegal methods against, and exploit money from, migrants. And Danso and McDonald (2001) note that the coverage of immigration in the South African press has been largely anti-immigrant. This in part reflects fear of competition on the part of poor workers. Interviews suggest that African, non-national small scale entrepreneurs have more access to capital and are more educated than their South African counterparts (Peberdy and Rogerson 2000). And some researchers claim that employers discriminate in favor of immigrants, perhaps due to the willingness of irregular migrants to work for low wages in poor conditions, owing to their greater vulnerability than native workers (Zuberi and Sibanda 2004). Some softening of the stance towards immigrants can be found in the immigration law adopted in 2003. However, the governments still seeks to control irregular migrants through deportations rather than pressure on employers to comply with the law (Human Rights Watch 2006).

Controversy surrounds the reasons for, extent, and impact of high-skilled emigration from South Africa. The number of emigrants is significantly underestimated, as official records only count those who declare their intention to emigrate when leaving the country (Bhorat and others 2002). Calculations of flow data on highly-educated emigrants in major receiving countries find that professional emigration is more than 3 times official figures. The net loss of skills is also due to a significant decline in skilled immigration. Wocke and Klein (2002) cite an ILO study finding that a chronic shortage of skilled labor has impaired economic growth and hindered development of labor-intensive sectors. A survey in 1998 of highly-educated workers found that 65 percent of skilled whites felt their standard of living had deteriorated since apartheid ended in 1994, while 65 percent of blacks felt theirs had improved. A 2002 survey of

725 skilled workers found that 70 percent had thought of emigrating, but only 7 percent intended to leave within the next six months (OECD 2003). The probability of leaving was found to be very high for 2 percent of those surveyed, and high for 10 percent.

The scarcity of health workers appears to be concentrated in the public sector. The Department of Health estimates more than 4 thousand unfilled vacancies for physicians and almost 33 thousand unfilled vacancies for nurses, representing a little over a quarter of the total number of vacancies for these two groups (OECD 2003). By contrast, there appears to be a surplus of nurses in the private sector. Emigration of nurses appears to have risen over time, supported by the growth of overseas nurse associations and other support networks, particularly in the United Kingdom (Bach 2003). Overall, however, emigration is not the fundamental reason for shortages of health professionals, as the 32,000 nurse vacancies in the public health sector are matched by 35,000 registered nurses in South Africa that are inactive or unemployed. The major reasons given for emigration of health professionals were crime, affirmative action, the deteriorating state of public education, uncertainties about the future, the fragility of the economy, the transferability of South African qualifications to OECD countries, integration into a knowledge-based global economy, and the activity of foreign recruitment agencies.

Table A9.2 Distribution of migration, 2005
(percent of total)

| | Immigrants | | Emigrants |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| Botswana | 2.2 | Australia | 11.2 |
| Lesotho | 18.8 | Canada | 5.6 |
| Mozambique | 24.4 | Mozambique | 19.6 |
| Swaziland | 7.3 | Namibia | 5.1 |
| Zimbabwe | 46.1 | United Kingdom | 22.0 |
| Malawi | 1.0 | United States | 10.6 |
| Other identified | 0.2 | Other identified | 17.3 |
| Unidentified | 0.0 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

South Africa's remittance transfer system is in the process of change to cope with shortfalls in the formal system of transfers. Postal services can be unreliable and slow (Gupta and others 2006), and many post offices cannot handle money orders owing to the costs and risks involved (Sander and Maimbo 2003). The speed and security of postal transfers depends in part on the post office in the receiving country and its ties to South Africa (CGAP 2003). Many rural bank branches closed during the 1990s owing to the economic decline, a rise in violent robberies, and the spread of internet banking among higher income groups which undercut the rationale of local banking structure. Where available, ATMs are an increasingly popular means of getting around restricted banking hours, although they recently have become the target of bombings to obtain cash (Washington Post 2007).

The formal system is innovating to overcome some of these disadvantages. The post office has introduced a new PIN money order which provides for on-line, immediate funds

transfer (CGAP 2003), although this appears to be limited to within-country transfers. Nevertheless, informal transfer agents apparently remain strongly competitive. One survey reported that a 250 rand transfer abroad cost 22 rand if done by a friend, 40 by postal order, 50 by a taxi driver, 80 to 125 by a money transfer operator, and 160 by a commercial bank. Moreover, regulatory provisions tend to exclude irregular migrants and, by adding to transactions costs, low-income migrants, from formal systems.

10. Uganda

Economic disintegration and conflict have severely depressed Ugandan living standards, and immigration has fallen precipitously since more prosperous times (table A10.1). The principal destination countries for Ugandan émigrés are the United Kingdom and Tanzania, with emigrants to the latter often escaping civil conflict (table A10.2). By end-2005 there were 38,000 Ugandan refugees and asylum-seekers.

Table A10.1 Migration and remittances over time

| | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Immigrants | | | | | | | | |
| thousand persons | 953 | 777 | 678 | 634 | 550 | 610 | 529 | 518 |
| percent of population | 10.3 | 7.2 | 5.4 | 4.3 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 1.8 |
| Remittances | | | | | | | | |
| million US\$ | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 238 | 642 |
| percent of GDP | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4.0 | 7.4 |

Sources: United Nations Population Division, World Bank Remittances and Migration website

Official data on remittances show a sharp rise from 2000 to 2005, but historical data are not available (Table A10.1). Sander and Maimbo (2003) attribute the rise in remittances to the liberalization of financial markets, particularly the allowing residents to open domestic accounts denominated in foreign currency. Postal orders are the cheapest means of transferring money (6,000 shillings to send 100,000), and commercial banks and money transfer operators the most expensive (17,000 to 35,000 shillings to send 100,000).

Table A10.2 Distribution of migration, 2005
(percent of total)

| | Immigrants | | Emigrants |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------|
| Burundi | 15.7 | Canada | 7.7 |
| Congo, Dem Rep. | 13.2 | Rwanda | 3.5 |
| Kenya | 6.4 | Tanzania | 23.4 |
| Rwanda | 19.2 | United Kingdom | 39.7 |
| sudan | 29.6 | United States | 8.7 |
| Tanzania | 11.1 | Sweden | 1.6 |
| Other identified | 0.7 | Other identified | 7.0 |
| Unidentified | 4.2 | Unidentified | 8.5 |

Source: World Bank Remittances and Migration website

The problems besetting Uganda over the past few decades have led to a large exodus of skilled workers. It is estimated that Uganda lost more than half of its professional and technical manpower during the rule of Idi Amin from 1971-79, with continuing outflows over the subsequent decades (Black and others 2004). But at the same time, Russell and others (1990) claim that education expanded faster than the absorptive capacity of the economy, so that trained workers were unable to find jobs at home. In the late 1980s, Uganda attempted to limit the emigration of professionals and civil servants by foreign exchange restrictions and the requirement of clearance for foreign travel, but these had disappeared by 2000. A number of Ugandan diaspora groups in both North America and Europe provide assistance with development or promote conflict resolution in the home country (www.uganda.com/diaspora.htm).

REFERENCES

- Adams, Richard. 2006. "Remittances in Poverty in Ghana." World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3838. February. www.worldbank.org.
- Adams, Richard and John Page. 2003. "International Migration, Remittances, and Poverty in Developing Countries. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3179.
- Addison, E. K. Y. 2004. "The Macroeconomic Impact of Remittances in Ghana." Bank of Ghana. Accra.
- Addy, David Nii, Boris Wijkstrom, and Colleen Thouez. 2003. "Migrant Remittances – Country of Origin Experiences." International Migration Policy Programme. www.impprog.ch. Geneva.
- Adepoju, Aderanti. 1988. "International migration in Africa South of the Sahara." In *International Migration Today, Vol.1 Trends and Prospects*, edited by Reginald T. Appleyard. Paris: UNESCO.
- _____. 2002. "Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievements, Constraints, and Prospects for Intra-regional Migration." *International Migration*. 40(2):4-28.
- _____. 2005. "Creating a Borderless West Africa: Constraints and Prospects for Intra-Regional Migration." UNESCO
- AFFORD. 2000. "Globalisation and Development: A Diaspora Dimension." African Foundation for Development. London.
- Afolayan, A. A. 1988. "Immigration and Expulsion of ECOWAS Aliens in Nigeria." *International Migration Review*. 22(1):4-27.
- _____. 2001. "Issues and Challenges of Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries." *International Migration*. 39(4):1-38.
- Ammassari, Savina. 2005. "Gestion des migrations et politiques de developpement: Optimiser les benefices de la migration internationale en Afrique de l'Ouest." International Labour Office. Geneva.
- Anarfi, John and Stephen Kwankye with Ofuso-Mensah Ababio and Richmond Tiemoko. 2003. "Migration to and from Ghana." Working Paper C4. Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty. University of Sussex.
- Antropologi. 2005. "Burkina Faso: Thousands of migrants now living as strangers in their homeland." www.antropologi.info
- Aredo, Dejene. 2005. *Migrant Remittances, Shocks and Poverty in Urban Ethiopia: An Analysis of Micro Level Panel Data*. Addis Ababa University.

Asiedu, Alex. 2004. "Some benefits of migrants' return visits to Ghana." *Population, Space and Place*. 11(1):1-11.

Asmelash, Bruk. 2006. "Overview of Remittance in Ethiopia." Prepared for the Fourth International Conference on the Ethiopian Economy. Addis Ababa. April.

Azam, Jean-Paul and Flore Gubert. 2004. "Those in Kayes: The Impact of Remittances on their Recipients in Africa." University of Toulouse and DIAL, IRD, Paris.

Ba, Hamidou. 2005. "Legislations Relatives aux Travailleurs Migrants en Afrique de l'Ouest." International Labor Office. Dakar.

Bach, Stephen. 2003. "International Migration of Health Workers: Labour and Social Issues." Sectoral Activities Programme Working Paper. International Labour Office. Geneva.

Banki, Susan. 2004. "Refugee integration in the intermediate term: a study of Nepal, Pakistan, and Kenya." New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No. 108. Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Geneva.

Bhorat, Haroon, Jean-Baptiste Meyer and Cecil Mlatsheni. 2002. "Skilled Labour Migration from Developing Countries: Study on South and Southern Africa." International Migration Papers No. 52. International Labour Office. Geneva.

Birdsall, Nancy., Behrman, J. & Chuhan, Punam. 1988. "Client choice of health care treatment in rural Mali." Paper presented at annual meeting of Population Association of America, New Orleans, April.

Black, Richard. 2004?. "Migration and pro-poor policies in Africa." Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty." University of Sussex.

Black, Richard, Russell King, and Richmond Tiemoko. 2003a. "International Workshop on Migration and Poverty in West Africa." March 13-14. University of Sussex.

Black, Richard, Russell King, and Julie Lichfield. 2003b. "Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa." Centre for Migration Research. University of Sussex.

Black, Richard, Lyndsay McLean Hilker, and Claire Pooley. 2004. "Migration and Pro-Poor Policy in East Africa." Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty. University of Sussex.

Black, Richard, Claudia Natali and Jessica Skinner. 2005. "Migration and Inequality." *Equity and Development*. Background paper for World Bank's World Development Report 2006.

Buchan, James, Tina Parkin, and Julie Sochalski. 2003. "International Nurse Mobility: Trends and Policy Implications." World Health Organization. WHO/EIP/OSD/2003.3 Geneva.

- Bump, Micah. 2006. "Ghana: Searching for Opportunities at Home and Abroad." Migration Policy Institute. Washington, D.C.
- Carling, Jorgen. 2006 "Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking from Nigeria to Europe." International Organization of Migration.
- Castle, Sarah and Aisse Diarra. 2003. "La Migration Internationale des Jeunes Maliens: Tradition, Necessite, ou Rite de Passage ?." London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.
- CGAP 2003 "Supporting remittances in Southern Africa." Consultative Group to Assist the Poor. www.cgap.org.
- Clemens, Michael and Gunilla Pettersson. 2007. "New Data on African Health Professionals Abroad." Center for Global Development Working Paper No. 95.
- Cobbe, Jim. 2004. "Lesotho: Will the Enclave Empty?" Migration Information Source. Migration Policy Institute. Washington, D.C.
- Coplan, David B. 2001. "A River Runs Through It: The Meaning of the Lesotho-Free State Border." *African Affairs*. 100:81-116.
- Crush, Jonathan and David A. McDonald. 2001. "Introduction to Special Issue: Evaluating South African Immigration Policy after Apartheid." *Africa Today*.
- Crush, Jonathan and Sally Peberdy. 2003. "Criminal Tendencies: Immigrants and Illegality in South Africa." Migration Policy Brief No.10. Southern African Migration Project. Johannesburg.
- Danso, Ransford and David A. McDonald. 2001. "Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Print Media in Post-apartheid South Africa." *Africa Today*
- Delap, Emily, Boureima Ouedraogo and Bakary Sogoba. 2005. "Developing Alternatives to the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Mali and Burkina Faso." Save the Children. United Kingdom.
- De Souza, Roger-Mark. 2006. "Using Return Migration As a Development Tool—Are the Right Policies in Place?" Population Reference Bureau. Washington, D.C.
- Diatta, Marie Angelique and Ndiaga Mbow. 1999. "Releasing the Development Potential of Return Migration: The Case of Senegal." *International Migration*. 37(1):243-266.
- Docquier, Frederic and Abdeslam Marfouk. 2004. "Measuring the international mobility of skilled workers (1990-2000): release 1.0." Policy Research Working Paper Series 3381. World Bank
- EU. 2006. "EU-Mauritius Country Strategy Paper." European Union. Brussels.

Fadayomi, T. O. 1994. "Brain Drain from African States: Empirical Evidence and Policy Implications." *African Population Studies*. 9(1).

Fall, Abdou Salam. 2000 "Enjeux et defies de la migration internationale de travail ouest-africaine." Cahiers de Migrations Internationales. International Labor Office. Geneva.

Fall, Papa Demba. 2003. "Migration internationale et droits des travailleurs au Senegal." UNESCO. SHS/2003/MC/5.

Findley, Sally E. 1989. "Choosing Between African and French Destinations: the Role of Family and Community Factors in Migration in the Senegal River Valley. Paper presented at Department de Demographie, Universite de Montreal, March 14.

_____. 2004. "Mali: Seeking Opportunity Abroad." Migration Information Source. Migration Policy Institute. Washington, D.C.

Findley, Sally E. and Salif Sow. 1998. "From Season to Season: Agriculture, Poverty and Migration in the Senegal River Valley, Mali." In Appleyard, Reginald, ed. *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries; Volume 1: Sub-Saharan Africa*. Ashgate:Brookfield, Vermont/Aldershot, England

Gastrow, Peter. 1999. "Main trends in the development of South Africa's organised crime." *African Security Review*. 8(6)59-65.

Gay, 2000. "Lesotho and South Africa: time for a new immigration compact." In David A. McDonald, ed., *On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa*. St. Martin's Press. New York.

Genesis. 2003. "African Families, African Money: Bridging the Money Transfer Divide." Study done for FinMark Trust. Genesis Analytics. Johannesburg. April.

Golooba-Mutebi, Frederick and Stephen M Tollman. 2004. "Survival to livelihood strategies for Mozambican refugees in South Africa." *Forced Migration Review*. 20(28-29).

Gubert, Flore. 2005. "Migrant Remittances and their Impact on Development in the Home Economies: The Case of Africa." In *Migration, Remittances and Development*. OECD. Paris.

Guilmoto, Christophe Z. 1998. "Institutions and Migrations: Short-Term versus Long-Term Moves in Rural West Africa." *Population Studies*. 52:85-103.

Gupta, Sanjeev, Catherine Pattillo, and Smita Wagh. 2006. "Impact of Remittances on Poverty and Financial Development in Sub-Saharan Africa." International Monetary Fund Working Paper. December. Washington D.C.

Gustafsson, Bjorn and Negatu Makonnen. 1993. "Poverty and Remittances in Lesotho." *Journal of African Economies*. 2(1):49-73.

Hampshire, K and S. Randall. 1999. "Seasonal labour migration strategies in the Sahel: coping with poverty or optimizing security?" *International Journal of Population Geography*. 5(5):367-85.

Hearing, Liesbeth and Rob van der Erf. 2001. "Why do people migrate?" Eurostat.

Hennop, Ettiienne, Clare Jefferson, and Andrew McLean. 2001. "The Challenge to Control South Africa's Borders and Borderline." Monograph 57. www.issafrica.org.

Human Rights Watch. 2006. "Unprotected Migrants: Zimbabweans in South Africa's Limpopo Province." 18(6). July.

IOM. 2005a. "Policy Approaches to Migration and Development." MC/INIF/281. International Organization of Migration.

_____. 2005b. *World Migration*. International Organization of Migration.

Kabki, Mirjam, Valentina Mazzucato, and Ernest Appiah. 2004. "'Wo benane a eye bebre': The economic impact of remittances of Netherlands-based Ghanaian migrants on rural Ashanti." *Population and Space*. 10(2):85-97.

Kebede, Emebet. 2001. "Ethiopia: An Assessment of the International Labour Migration Situation: The Case of Female Migrants." GENPROM Working Paper No. 3. Gender Promotion Program. International Labour Office. Geneva.

Klaaren, Jonathan and Jaya Ramji. 2001. "Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa after Apartheid." *Africa Today* (stapled to Crush and McDonald)

Konseiga, Adama. 2005a. "New Patterns in the Human Migration in West Africa."

_____. 2005b. "Household Migration Decisions as Survival Strategy: The Case of Burkina Faso." IZA Discussion Paper No. 1819. Institute for the Study of Labor. Bonn.

_____. 2005c. "Regionalism in West Africa: Do Polar Countries Reap the Benefits? A Role for Migration." Institute for the Study of Labor Discussion Paper 1516. Bonn

Lachaud, Jean-Pierre. 1999 "Envoi de fonds, inegalite et pauvreté au Burkina Faso."

Lassailly-Jacob, Veronique, Florence Boyer, and Julien Brachet. 2006. "South-South Migration: Example of Sub-Saharan Africa." European Parliament.

Litchfield, Julie and Hugh Waddington. 2003. "Migration and Poverty in Ghana: Evidence from the Ghana Living Standards Survey." Sussex Migration Working Paper No. 10. Sussex Centre for Migration Research.

Loup, Jacques. 2005. "The Economy of Solidarity: Expatriate Workers' Remittances to Sub-Saharan Africa." *Foundation pour L'Innovation Politique*. June.

Lucas, Robert E.B. 1987. "Emigration to South Africa's Mines." *The American Economic Review*. 77(3):313-330.

Lucas, Robert E. B. and Oded Stark. 1985. "Motivations to Remit: Evidence from Botswana." *Economic Journal*. 93:901-18.

Lurie, Mark N. 2004. "Migration, Sexuality and the Spread of HIV/AIDS in Rural South Africa." Southern African Migration Project.

Macchiavello, Michela. 2003. Forced migrants as an under-utilized asset: refugee skills, livelihoods, and achievements in Kampala, Uganda. *New Issues in Refugee Research*. Working Paper No. 95. United Nations High Commission on Refugees. Geneva.

Madakufamba. 2005. "Cross-border movement of people in southern Africa." *Regional Economic Development and Integration News Features*. No. 82. October

Maharaj, Brij. 2004. "Immigration to post-apartheid South Africa." *Global Migration Perspectives* No. 1. Global Commission on International Migration. Geneva.

Martens, Jonathan, Maciej 'Mac' Pieczkowski, Bernadette van Vuuren-Smyth. 2003. "Seduction, Sale and Slavery: Trafficking in Women & Children for Sexual Exploitation in Southern Africa." International Organization of Migration Regional Office for Southern Africa. Pretoria.

Martin, Philip, Susan Martin and Patrick Weil. 2002. "Best Practice Options: Mali." *International Migration*. 40(3):87-101.

Mattes, Robert and Wayne Richmond. 2000. "The Brain Drain: What do Skilled South Africans Think?" in *Losing our Minds: Skilled Migration and the South African Brain Drain*, Crush, Jonathan, David McDonald and Vincent Williams, eds. Southern African Migration Project. Johannesburg.

Mazzucato, Valentina, Bart van den Boom, and N. N. N. Nsowah-Nuamah. 2005?. "The impact of international remittances on local living standards: Evidence for households in Ghana." Mimeo. Ghana Transnational Networks Research Program.

McDonald, David and Jonathan Crush. 2002. "Thinking About the Brain Drain in Southern Africa." Southern Africa Migration Project. Migration Policy Brief No. 8.

- Minnaar, Anthony. 2001. "Border Control and Regionalism: The Case of South Africa." *African Security Review*. 10(2):
- Mochebelele, Motsamai T. and Alex Winter-Nelson. 2000. "Migrant Labor and Farm Technical Efficacy in Lesotho." *World Development*. 28(1):143-153.
- Mutume, Gumisai. 2002. "Reversing Africa's 'brain drain'." *Africa Recovery*. 17(2):1-9.
- Myburgh, Andrew. 2004. "Explaining Emigration from South Africa." 72(1):122-148.
- Nunn A. J., H. U. Wagner A. Kamali, J. F. Kengeya-Kayondo, and D. W. Mulder. 1995. "Migration and HIV-1 seroprevalence in a rural Ugandan population." *AIDS* 9(5):503-506.
- Nwajiuba, Chinedum. 2005. "International Migration and Livelihoods in Southeastern Nigeria." *Global Migration Perspectives No. 50*. Global Commission on International Migration.
- OECD 2003. "The International Mobility of Health Professionals: An Evaluation and Analysis Based on the Case of South Africa." *Trends in International Migration*. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Paris.
- Oucho, John O. 2006. "Migration and refugees in Eastern Africa: A challenge for the East African Community." In *Views on Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Edited by Catherine Cross, Derik Gelderblom, Niel Roux, and Jonathan Mafukidze. HSRC Press.
- Peberdy, Sally and Christian Rogerson. 2000. "Transnationalism and Non-South African Entrepreneurs in South Africa's Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprise (SMME) Economy." *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. 34(1):20-40.
- Pizarro, Gabriela Rodriguez. 2006. "Specific Groups and Individuals: Migrant Workers." UN Economic and Social Council. Commission on Human Rights. E/CN.4/2006/73/Add.2
- Plath, Joel C., Holland, D.W. & Carvalho, J.W. 1987. Labor migration in Southern Africa and agricultural development: some lessons from Lesotho. *Journal of Developing Areas*. 21:159-76.
- Quartey, Peter. 2006. "Migration and Development: Challenges and Opportunities for Sending Countries Ghana Country Case Study." Report prepared for German Marshall Fund of the USA. Washington, D.C. July 22-26.
- Quartey, Peter and Theresa Blankson. 2004. "Do Migrant Remittances Minimize the Impact of Macro-Volatility on the Poor in Ghana?" Global Development Network.
- Rado, Emil. 1986. "Notes towards a political economy of Ghana today." *African Affairs*. 85(341):563-572.
- Raunet, Mireille. 2005. "Motivating Migrants for Social and Economic Developments in Mali and Senegal." In *Migration, Remittances and Development*. OECD. Paris.

Riccio, Bruno. 2003. "More than a Trade Diaspora: Senegalese Transnational Experiences in Emilia-Romagna." In Khalid Koser, ed. *New African Diasporas*. Routledge : London.

Russell, Stanton Sharon, Karen Jacobsen, and William Deane Stanley. 1990. "International Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa". World Bank Discussion Papers Africa Technical Department Series No. 101. Washington D.C.

SADC Today. 2007. "Visa-free entry for key tourist source countries by 2008."
sadctoday@sardc.net

Sall, Babacar. 2005. "Migration, Remittances and Economic Initiatives in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Migration, Remittances and Development*. OECD. Paris.

Sander, Crestin and Issa Barro. 2003. "Etude sur le Transfert d'Argent des Emigres au Senegal et les Services de Transfert en Microfinance." Working Paper No. 40. Social Finance Program. International Labor Office. Geneva.

Sander, Cerstin and Samuel Munzele Maimbo. 2003. "Migrant Labor Remittances in Africa: Reducing Obstacles to Development Contributions." Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 64. World Bank. Washington, D.C.

Sander, Cerstin, Peter Mukwana and Altemius Millinga. ?. "Passing the Buck. Money Transfer Systems: The Practice and Potential for Products in Tanzania and Uganda." MicroSave-Africa & Australian Development Cooperation.

Shaw, Mark. 2001. "Towards an understanding of West African criminal networks in Southern Africa." *Africa Security Review*. 10(4)

Solomon, Hussein. 1996. "Strategic Perspectives on Illegal Immigration into South Africa." *African Security Review*. 5(4)

Sparreboom, Theo and Pete Sparreboom-Buger. 1996. "Migrant worker remittances in Lesotho: A Review of the Deferred Pay Scheme." Working Paper No. 16. Enterprise and Cooperative Development Department. International Labour Office. Geneva.

Tall, Serigne Mansour. 2003. "Les émigrés senegalais et les nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication." Technologie, entreprise et societe, document du programme No. 7. Institut de recherché des Nations Unies pour le developpement social.

Thiam, Macoumba, Rebecca Pery, and Victor Piche. 2004. "Migration and HIV in Northern Senegal." Population Reference Bureau. www.prb.org.

Thiombiano, Taladidia. 2000. "L'Exode des Competences au Burkina Faso." Centre d'Etudes, des Documentation, de Recherches Economiques et Sociales. Universite de Ouagadougou. Burkina Faso.

Tiemoko, Richard. (2004) "Understanding the Opportunities for and Challenges to Migrants' Investment in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana." In *At home in the world? : international migration and development in contemporary Ghana and West Africa* . edited by Takyiwaa Manuh

Tsegai, Daniel and Maria Plotnikova. 2004. "Migration and Household Income Differentials in the Volta Basin of Ghana: A Sample Selection Approach." Paper presented at Canadian Economics Association 38th Annual Meetings. June.

UN. 2004. *World Economic and Social Survey 2004*. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. New York.

UNCTAD. 2006. "Using Commoditized Revenue Flows to Leverage Access to International Finance: With a Special Focus on Migrant Remittances and Payment Flows." United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. UNCTAD/DITC/COM/2006/9

Van Rooyen, Johann. 2003. *The New Great Trek: The Story of South Africa's White Exodus*. University of South Africa.

Van Vlaenderen, Hilde, Serigne Mansour Tall, and Gora Gaye. 2004. "Senegal" in Cotula, Lorenzo and Camilla Toulmin, eds. *Till to tiller: International migration, remittances and land rights in West Africa*. International Institute for Environment and Development. Issue Paper no. 132. London.

Wocke, Albert and Saul Klein. 2002. "The implications of South Africa's skills migration policy for country competitiveness." *Development Southern Africa*. 19(4):441-454.

World Bank. 1993. Mali: Assessment of Living Conditions.

World Bank. 2006. *Global Economic Prospects 2006*.

Wouterse, Fleur and Marrit van den Berg. 2004. "Migration for Survival or Accumulation: Evidence from Burkina Faso." Wageningen University and Research Center, Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences.

Yameogo, K Robert, Robert T. Perry, Andre Yameogo, Chantal Kambire, M. Kader Konde, Deogratias Nshimirimana, Robert Kezaala, Bradley S. Hersh, K. Lisa Cairns, and ZPeter Strebel. 2005. "Migration as a risk factor for measles after a mass vaccination campaign." *International Journal of Epidemiology*. 34(3):556-564.