



Network of Migration Research in Africa

NOMRA NEWSLETTER

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Goodwill message

Dear readers,

The issue of migration, and its many faces, is very high on the agenda of politicians, researchers, policy makers, and of course citizens. Migration in Africa, and out of Africa to Europe, is dynamic and very complex. Migration encompasses so many issues related to the economy, demography, education, health, culture, security, and human rights. Clear policies and actions are therefore needed from governments, bilateral and multilateral agencies and civil society to address their positive as well as negative consequences. However the discussion of migration is too often based on sentiments and too seldom on facts. To counter the tendency towards sensationalism in public discourse better understanding of the phenomenon of migration is more crucial than ever. There is therefore a high need for better data and research.

Especially on the African continent, good migration studies were too few and data was too scattered. That is why the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs has decided to finance the resuscitation of the “Network of Migration Research in Africa”, NOMRA. NOMRA will provide highly needed research, advice and training, to stakeholders both in Europe and Africa, to enable decision makers on both continents to really play a role as “migration managers”. I would like to use this opportunity to congratulate Prof. Aderanti Adepaju, the founder of NOMRA, with the work done so far, and we expect that this newsletter will make a much needed contribution to a better insight in the migration flows and to the migration management debate in Africa.

Ambassador Arie van der Wiel
Ambassador of The
Netherlands to Nigeria and ECOWAS
Abuja, Nigeria

Editorial

The Network of Migration Research in Africa (NOMRA) is a collaborative association of researchers and scholars interested and working on migration, especially international migration, in the region. The overall aim of the Network is to build a regional migration research network and research capacity to carry out cross-national, multidisciplinary and innovative research on socio-cultural, economic and political aspects of international migration in the region in order to advance knowledge on migration dynamics and policymaking in the region.

NOMRA's objectives are to: Assist in raising international migration issues and discourse at the highest political level and ensure that migration is adequately mainstreamed into development activities, develop capacities, and enhance knowledge in migration research through training of researchers and officials to help governments better understand migration management; provide high-level advice and research services for policy makers at national, sub-regional and regional levels and assist in raising the quality of international migration data collection, storage and analysis by migration authorities and by census and statistics offices in the region.

In pursuance of the stated objectives, NOMRA, as a central focal point for migration research in Africa, will be actively engaged in capacity building of researchers, and consequently of national officials to help governments to better understand migration management, and support regional initiatives. It will also assist young researchers in theoretical, methodological and policy approaches to migration research, and help develop empirical knowledge and provide broad-based and reliable data to guide decision making at national, sub-regional and regional levels.

This inaugural edition of its newsletter therefore includes features articles on topical issues of the moment - remittances, the diaphora and emigration of highly skilled persons. Reflective articles navigate a couple of issues related to international migration. Some research notes feature ongoing and completed research using innovative approaches. The new centres of excellence in migration studies are featured with information on what they do and intend to do. Please check out for the conferences and seminar section for a brief on past and upcoming events.

This edition is being widely disseminated to researchers, research institutions, government agencies, development partners, NGOs and other stakeholders in migration matters, within and outside the region. We welcome your observations and comments on this edition to help us improve on the forthcoming special editions which will feature recent research findings on topical themes to be elaborated by the Advisory Board. In particular, we welcome your contribution and incisive articles to upcoming editions, which we'll publish biannually.

Welcome to this bumper edition. Please read on and have a great time doing so.

Aderanti Adepoju
Coordinator, NOMRA

A. News from NOMRA Secretariat

To ensure effective coordination of the activities of the Network, five focal persons were nominated during the inaugural meeting of NOMRA held in Lagos, Nigeria, 2-3 June, 2007. The focal persons are: Dr. Ben hadj Abdellatif (North- Africa), Prof (Mrs.) Alice Afolayan (Anglophone -West Africa) Dr. Babakar Ndione (Francophone-West Africa), Prof. Eugene Campbell (Southern Africa), Prof. Germain Tshibambe (Central Africa), and Prof. John Oucho (East Africa). A sixth person will be nominated in due course to represent researchers outside the region. Members are encouraged to contact the focal persons in their respective regions.

African Migration Report

An annual African Migration Report will be published during the first quarter of 2008. The inaugural edition will address salient and critical migration and development issues in the region, with a focus on: The role of Regional Economic Commissions (RECs) in fostering intra-regional mobility: constraints and prospects; Bi-lateral and multi-lateral migration agreements between Africa and Europe; The dynamics of the changing geography of refugees flows from the Horn of Africa to the Great Lakes region and to the Mano River region and so on. Watch out for details in NOMRA's website.

Research

A call for research proposals was announced with a deadline of 15 September, 2007 on the following themes.

- African human resources losses and gains through migration from a gender perspective:
- Contribution of African migrants, Diasporic and African transnational communities to country-of-origin development:
- Disruptive occurrences and forced population mobility and health outcomes in Africa. (emphasis on conflicts, early warning systems, challenges and responses)
- Persistent poverty, irregular migration and trafficking in migrants
- Sub-regional integration: Intra-African migration and Africa-North relations (focus on integration and free movement in Africa, overview of integration in Africa, problems and prospects; trade relations with the North)

We received several interesting proposals which are being reviewed. Successful candidates will be notified shortly and a special bulletin of NOMRA will be issued to feature the selected projects.

NOMRA's Inaugural Scientific Conference

The report of the commissioned research will be made available to the Secretariat of NOMRA at least a month to the date of the proposed conference, tentatively fixed for April 2008. The two-day conference will be attended by about 30 participants. The participation of commissioned researchers, sub-regional focal representatives (who will serve as session organizers or discussants) and selected NOMRA members will be funded by NOMRA. Others will be encouraged to source for support externally.

Training

The first phase of NOMRA's training activities will involve training of trainers (TOT), followed by the training of government immigration officials on issues related to migration management, accurate data collection; bi/multi-lateral migration agreements and so on. NOMRA will also advocate the inclusion of pertinent migration questions in African censuses to improve the migration data regime. Skill audit of immigration personnel will be conducted to ascertain their qualification, training, job profile and training needs. Annual national/regional meetings of immigration officials will be targeted as entry points for intervention, training and dialogue.

The training of young scholars and researchers will be pursued with vigour in part to help bridge the generational gap in migration studies. A pre-conference training programme will be incorporated into the scientific conference of the Network. Experts will be invited to train junior scholars over two days preceding the conference. The trainees will also participate and share experiences during the conference.

A. 1 Significant events in international migration and development, 2006-2007

In the last two years, international migration has featured prominently at international and regional level. Foremost amongst these events are, at the international level:

- a) The report of the Global Commission for International Migration (Geneva, October 2005),
- b) The United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development (New York, September 2006)
- c) The Global Forum on Migration and Development (Brussels, July 2007).

At the regional African and European Union-African levels, the significant events include:

- d) The adoption of the African Union's Strategic Framework for a Policy on Migration (2006)
- e) the African Union's common position on migration and development (2004)
- f) The Euro-African conference on migration and development (2006);
- g) The Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development (Sirte, Libya 22-23 November, 2006)
- h) The Follow-up Meeting of the Rabat Process, (Madrid June 21, 2007).
- i) The EU-Africa Strategic Partnership scheduled to be held in Lisbon (December 8-9 2007).

At the sub-regional level, ECOWAS is fine-tuning its Common Position on Migration.

A.2 African Common Position on Migration and Development – an abridged version

In response to the challenge posed by migration, the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Executive Council of the African Union in KHARTOUM from 16 to 21 January 2006 adopted the decision EX.CL/DEC.264 (VIII). In this context, Council decided to convene an

experts meeting on migration and development in Algiers, Algeria at the invitation of the Algerian government in order to prepare a common African position.

Priority Policy Issues

Migration and Development: Migration can be an effective tool for development by enhancing income distribution, promoting productive work for growth in Africa, enhancing women empowerment and gender equality, and improving partnership amongst the developed and African countries and other stakeholders. However, poverty is one of the main causes of migration. Creating development opportunities in countries of origin would mitigate the main reasons for young people to engage in migration, thereby also dealing with the problem of brain drain.

Human resource and the brain drain: This issue is of great concern to African countries since essential skills for development in the region have been lost worsening the already inadequate capacity to meet development challenges. Many parts of the African continent are currently affected by a shortage of qualified human resources, created in part by the large-scale departure of professionals and university graduates. Thousands of African professionals including medical doctors, nurses, accountants, engineers, managers and teachers leave their home country each year to pursue better prospects in other countries – both on and off the continent. While this movement may have some limited beneficial effects in certain locales, in developing countries this “brain drain” is a handicap for sustainable development.

Labour migration: Labour migration is a current and historical reality in Africa impacting directly the economies and societies of African countries in important ways. Establishing regular, transparent and comprehensive labour migration policies, legislation and structures at the national and regional levels can result in significant benefits for States of origin and destination. For countries of origin, for example, remittances, and skills and technology transfers can assist with overall development objectives. For countries of destination, labour migration may satisfy important labour market needs. Labour migration policies and legislation that incorporate appropriate labour standards also benefit labour migrants, members of their families, and can have a positive impact on society generally. On-going processes of regional economic integration in Africa -through Regional Economic Communities (RECs)- are increasingly taking account of managed cross-border labour movements that lead to better labour allocation within larger labour markets. RECs constitute a key factor for facilitating co-operation in the area of labour mobility at the regional level and for promoting economic development.

Remittances: Remittances are one of the developmental effects of migration; and such effects are felt most distinctly at the individual or household level but also at the community or national levels. However, remittances are privately earned transfers and should not be confused with official development aid. Today, it is widely acknowledged that remittances play a significant financial role in developing nations as they form part of income from services and contribute to the country’s balance of payments. Official flows from developed and developing countries combined reach nearly \$100 billion annually and the actual figure (that is, including flows not channelled through formal financial systems) may be as high as

twice that amount. Remittances are therefore more sizeable than foreign aid. However, there are difficulties encountered particularly with respect to the high cost of effecting remittances.

Trade: The relationship between economic development, trade and migration is an important one. In addition, due to multilateral negotiations taking place within the framework of the World Trade Organization, the issue of the movement of persons for trade in services is becoming a subject of increasing relevance within international trade agreements.

African Diaspora: Strengthening and enhancing the involvement of the African Diaspora in the development process is a key aspect in fostering the migration-development nexus. The Diaspora is at the centre of the priorities of the African Union and provides for a special programme titled “Citizens of Africa” with the following objectives: - Establishment of a Diaspora expert database; - Systematic inclusion of Diaspora expertise in AU programmes; - Full involvement of the Diaspora in the Economic and Social Council of the African Union.

Migration and Peace, Security and Stability: Combating irregular migration and establishing comprehensive migration management systems can contribute to enhancing national and international security and stability. Conflict is a root cause of forced displacement. Displacement caused by conflict has destabilizing effects on national and regional security, with adverse consequences for the ability of host nations to provide protection to refugees and security to their own nationals. Since forced displacement is closely linked to conflict—both as a consequence and as a potential cause of further conflict—challenges posed by refugee and IDP movements must necessarily be addressed within the broader context of political and institutional efforts at the national, regional and Continent-wide levels aimed at strengthening political dialogue and institutions, and at preventing and managing conflict. Conflicts prevention and resolution as well as good governance contribute to addressing the root causes of migration.

Migration and Human Rights: Safeguarding the human rights of migrants implies the effective application of norms enshrined in human rights instruments as well as the ratification and enforcement of instruments specifically relevant to the treatment of migrants. Management of illegal or irregular migration should not jeopardize the human rights of refugees and the principle of non-discrimination should be adhered to. The fight against illegal or irregular migration must be waged within the context of strict observance of human rights and human dignity, of regional and international cooperation and shared responsibility among the countries of origin, transit and destination.

Migration and Gender: The increasing number of migrant women is an important emerging trend in today’s migration landscape. Many women are now moving independently of spouses or partners. It is estimated that women account for almost half of all international migrants. The increasing feminization of migration is a reflection of the changing demands for particular types of skills including the growing demands in the service industries especially for domestic workers, nurses, teachers and other typically female dominated professions. Migrant women’s vulnerabilities to exploitation are highlighted by the frequently abusive conditions under which they work, especially in the context of domestic

service and sex industries in which migrant trafficking is heavily implicated. It is therefore important to give particular attention to safeguarding the rights (labour, human rights, *inter alia*) of migrant women in the context of migration management.

Children and Youth: The changing age composition of migrant flows is reflected in the increasing number of children, adolescent and youth who are migrating independently of parents. Whether migration is forced, as reflected in the very high percentage of children in refugee camps, or voluntary, the special needs of children, adolescent and youth in terms of providing adequate health care, education, shelter and protection from rights violations, involvement in armed conflicts present special challenges to States. In many parts of the world, including certain regions in Africa, child trafficking is a critical challenge that must be addressed from different angles including targeted prevention campaigns, protection and assistance to victims of trafficking, training of relevant authorities on how to address trafficking challenges and prosecution of traffickers and their accomplices. Children born migrants should receive special attention.

Elderly: The stereotype that older people are immobile no longer holds true. People migrate at old age for different reasons. Though non-economic factors dominate elderly migration, economic factors could also prompt elderly migration like their non-elderly counterparts. The determinants and consequences of elderly migration need to be understood properly in order to cater for their needs and aspirations. Generally, older people are negatively affected by their uprooting from their environment. As a result their physical, health, and economic well being are compromised.

Regional Initiatives: There is need to ensure coordination in the development of common regional policies for the management of migration within the RECs taking into account national and regional specificities and facilitate ownership of migration processes by African countries through the promotion of capacity building initiatives at national, regional and continental level. A concerted effort that should sustain regional programmes and assistance that would enable transit/destination countries cope with the problem of migration management should be developed. Bilateral and multilateral efforts aimed at strengthened co-operation on labour migration assist in ensuring systematised and regular movements of labourers; responding to the supply and demand needs of domestic and foreign labour markets; promoting labour standards; and reducing recourse to illegal and irregular movements. The need for all parties to work together for the success of the new understanding contained in the common position is also emphasized.

Health: The linkages between migration and health concerns have recently been brought to the forefront in the international discourse on migration, notably in the context of the spread of communicable diseases such as, *inter alia*, HIV/AIDS. Migrants are especially susceptible to health risks because of their pronounced conditions of vulnerability, including their restricted access to health services, both during and after periods of mobility. Because of the complex nature of the relationship between migration and health, the elaboration of comprehensive strategies addressing health matters will necessarily require further research on the underlying health problems and vulnerabilities of migrant populations, and considerations of access and entitlement to basic health services.

Environment: Environmental factors play a role in causing population movements, and conversely, migration has an impact on the environment. For instance, internal migration, such as the process of urbanization is sometimes linked to environmental degradation and environmental disasters which force farmers and other rural populations off their land. Also, the presence of large numbers of displaced persons in refugee camps and IDP hosting areas can have negative effects on local environments. Environmental considerations are therefore playing an increasingly important role in the formulation of policies on migration and forced displacement.

Access to social services: Immigrants experience greater difficulties than other social groups in accessing services and hence in exercising their rights. The reasons for this are numerous including cultural problems “on both sides of the barrier” as well as discriminatory policies and practices in host countries. Often immigrants are unaware of their rights or are afraid to claim them; they do not understand the local language or are unfamiliar with the ins and outs of social services. Particularly in countries experiencing recent migratory waves, the social services are often not in a position – and sometimes are not willing – to reach out to immigrants, who much too often are not considered citizens with full rights. It is therefore necessary to improve information on the services available as well as on how to access them.

Recommendations for Action

To ensure that the challenges posed by the issue of migration to African and developed countries are effectively addressed, it is necessary to establish a common strategy for the management of migration which associates countries of origin, transit and destination, in order to find balanced solutions that take into account the interests of the countries concerned. It would be indeed illusory to try to treat the problems of migration by recourse only to security measures; hence the need for a comprehensive, integrated, concerted and balanced solution, whose objectives, policies and measures will be long-lasting. This approach should involve the treatment of problems of the movement of persons (legal, illegal and irregular migration), the protection of the rights of communities that are legally established, as well as the linkage between migration and development. It should also be based on actions to be taken at national, continental and international levels.

For details of action programmes at national, regional and international levels, visit

A. 3 Road Map for Action on Labour Migration and Development

(Adopted at the Africa-Europe Inter-regional Dialogue, “Labour Migration for Integration and Development,” Brussels, 4-6 April 2006)

Participants agreed that labour migration, if properly regulated, benefits all concerned: countries of origin and destination countries as well as migrants and national workers themselves. They stressed the need to ensure full involvement of the tripartite stakeholders as well as to keep labour migration on the international agenda for a coherent and concerted multilateral approach.

Challenges

Migration for Development

- Migration is predominantly perceived and treated as a security problem rather than an issue of decent work and economic development;
- Absence of targeted investment and development aid to emigration areas to support creation of decent work and thus reduce migration pressures;
- Inadequate incentives and conditions for returning migrants;
- Lack of implementation of mechanisms to facilitate labour mobility in regional integration schemes;
- Inadequate dialogue and lack of consultation and cooperation between countries of origin and host countries on mitigating brain drain in connection with skilled migration;

Interregional and regional cooperation

- Absence of a regular and consistent dialogue between Europe and Africa on labour migration, involving all relevant stakeholders;
- Lack of coherence in policies developed by various institutions in the field of migration and duplication of efforts in certain areas;
- Need to strengthen South-South cooperation on migration issues;
- Lack of institutional mechanisms to ensure full participation of social partners in regional integration process;

Legal framework

- Incoherent and unharmonized legislation within countries and among member States of regional integration initiatives;
- Inadequate level of ratification of ILO, UN and regional instruments;
- Poor enforcement mechanisms for legislation and regulations;
- Absence of promotional efforts of relevant conventions.

Data and information

- Absence of adequate resources to establish or strengthen structures responsible for the collection, analysis and dissemination of data on labour migration;
- Poor coordination and networking between statistics institutions at national, regional and interregional levels;
- Absence of reliable data on the diasporas needed to assess their potential to contribute to development of countries of origin;
- Disparities among existing definitions, indicators and criteria for the collection and analysis of data concerning labour migration; lack of application of UN and ILO recommendations for information on labour migration;

Strengthening Capacity

- Inadequate capacity of the tripartite stakeholders on labour migration issues;
- Inadequate recognition of the vital role of labour ministries as focal point on labour migration policies.

- Insufficient knowledge of core international standards and instruments on migrant workers;

Recommendations

Participants agreed on a basic “*Road Map*” comprising the following recommendations for concerted action by Governments and social partners in Africa and Europe. International organizations and bodies in Africa and Europe are asked to support the implementation of this road map and to give it the widest possible publicity.

Signposts for Governments in Africa and Europe include the following lines for action:

- Ensuring that development, decent work and rights for migrant workers prevail in the elaboration of migration policies and that unfounded security concerns are not used to undermine sound and efficient labour migration policies;
- Opening more accessible legal migration channels to meet labour market needs and reduce incentives for irregular migration;
- Considering regularising the status of irregular migrants to reduce abuse of vulnerable migrant workers;
- Taking measures to harmonize labour and migration legislation based on ILO core labour standards and instruments relevant to migrant workers;
- Ratifying the relevant international standards on migration,
- Adoption and full implementation by concerned States of the relevant EAC and ECOWAS instruments on labour mobility;
- Establishing or using existing tripartite mechanisms at national and regional level to ensure involvement of social partners in the elaboration and implementation of labour migration policies;
- Ensuring effective coordination among the various government departments and other concerned institutions at national level with a view to better regulating labour migration;
- Setting up migrant centres to provide information and counselling to would be emigrants and to migrant workers in their respective countries;
- Engaging in campaigns aimed at combating racism and xenophobia and at promoting integration of migrant workers in their host countries;
- Providing incentives, including fiscal incentives, for returning migrants to invest in their country of origin;
- Promoting measures to reduce costs for the transfer of migrant remittances;
- Supporting skills training for potential migrants and others to meet domestic needs in countries of origin;
- Initiating campaigns to combat xenophobia and racism and provide the public at large with information on the positive contribution that migrant workers make to the economies and societies of host countries;
- Increase targeted development aid of donor governments to training and job creation to identified areas of emigration in the countries of origin
- Adopting measures to mitigate the impact of skilled emigration and assist in improving possibilities for decent work for skilled workers in their country of origin.

A.4 ECOWAS embarks on a Common Position on Migration

Migration and its ramifications for regional integration and development has been an important concern of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) activities since its inception. During this period, ECOWAS adapted a Protocol on the Free Movements of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishments. The major highlight of the Protocol is the stipulation that all citizens of Member States have the right to enter, reside and establish in the territory of Member States. These rights of entry, residence and establishment are being progressively operationalized, albeit with constraints, by a process that facilitates the removal of all obstacles to the free movement of persons and the right of residence and establishment.

With the current dynamics of globalization, ECOWAS is now prioritizing the effective management of migration as an international phenomenon with an emphasis on considering ways and means to maximize the benefits from the migration-development nexus and minimize the negative aspects particularly relevant to trans-border crimes, illegal migratory tendencies, human rights, xenophobia, racism and the illegal exploitation of human resources, *inter alia*. This initiative has the highest level support from member states as exemplified in the mandate from the ECOWAS 30th Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government directing that the ECOWAS Secretariat defines an ECOWAS Common Regional Position on Migration. This initiative is intended to build upon the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movements of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment.

In pursuit of this mandate, the Secretariat established a special Task Force of Migration and following its transformation into a Commission, a Department on the Free Movement of Persons was created. Thus, the work on the definition of a common ECOWAS position on migration is in process. It is envisaged that this position would be balanced, integrated and comprehensive to include both intra-regional and extra-regional migration dimensions on the push and pull factors of migration. The position is also expected to be reflected within a proactive policy framework of a defined managed approach to migration.

B. Features Articles

B1. West African Financial Flows and Opportunities for People and Small Businesses,

Manuel Orozco.

The intersection between migration and development is increasingly acknowledged as an important and critical component of economic growth. West Africa is a historic hub for commerce and migration, where cross border trade and payments are a typical practice in this region. Dynamics within the region demonstrate the impact that remittances¹ and trade

¹Remittances are defined as the portion of one's earnings sent to families or friends to other countries or regions.

settlements², resulting from commercial exchanges or migrant workers, have on daily economic activities.

A study conducted on four West African countries by the author shows that (1) presently, the aggregate value of these transactions amounts to US\$2 billion annually in remittances from migrant laborers and perhaps as much as US\$8 billion in trade settlements that are crossing the border between, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal. This is a potential total of US\$10 billion crossing the border informally in only four West African countries. (2) Restrictive government policies, the inconvertibility of the currencies in the region, corruption and tradition have the effect of driving potentially legitimate business into a parallel economy. (3) There is a demand by small and medium sized enterprises currently operating informally for access to credit and financial products that are safer than carrying cash and that can settle their payments in the region, but there is a tendency by banks to ignore this segment of the market. (4) Microfinance institutions and credit unions cater to part of this informal market but they are prohibited by law from sending outbound payments to settle transactions abroad for their customers. (5) The use of technology may help provide options that will encourage greater use of formal systems.

As the study shows, there are inherent dynamics present in the region which include: (1) neglect by government, social and commercial institutions to the reality of these practices, (2) restrictive foreign exchange policies, (3) informality and its adverse effects on accessibility to financial institutions and the consequent impact on economic development and wealth generation, (4) expensive transaction costs, and (5) an overall fragile regional integration system. We conclude this study with recommendations designed to improve understanding of the issues and to implement practical applications that will enable migrant workers and traders to more efficiently transfer their money. Below, we present a brief summary of the principal causes of informality.

Trade and Migratory Corridors

Official statistics report that trade between Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal totals US\$1.1 billion in exports and in US\$1.3 billion in imports³ and the World Bank reports that US\$2.23 billion in workers' remittances and compensation of employees were received in 2003. Nevertheless, there is a large segment of trade and remittances that goes unrecorded and can be attributed to distortions resulting from bribes at the border or other “on the spot fines” leading to under or no recording.

Informal trade is difficult to track for obvious reasons. Funds transferred through formal channels such as banks are recorded; however, informal channels that are unregulated and unrecorded occur through cash to cash transactions that take place in person, through drivers, couriers, family, friends, acquaintances, friends of friends, and even through strangers at the port of departure. Funds cross the border in cash via pedestrians, car, bus, train and airplane primarily by persons deemed by the sender to be trustworthy. This activity is a very common

² “Trade settlements” are more than payments between businesses; they can be a funds transfer to settle an open account or advance payment invoice, or documentary collections or letters of credit, where the financial institution provides control over the exchange of title against cash.

³ *IMF Direction of Trade Statistics, 2005*

occurrence in West Africa and is the result of a long tradition of trade and migration dating back to pre-colonial times: cross-border between Northern Ghana and Burkina Faso are a case in point. Current borders are a relatively new phenomenon that has not stopped traditional movements across political borders. Civil strife and different levels of prosperity add to the movement of people in the region. According to a Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty 2004 study, it is estimated that one third of West Africans live outside their village of birth.

West Africa witnesses a dynamic and substantive volume of cross border payments among the countries in the region and these financial flows are characterized by a predominantly informal method of transferring funds and settling accounts. The money follows the migratory patterns, thus it is important to identify the corridors where trade settlements and remittances take place. Important trade and migration corridors exist between major cities that are trade hubs such as the Accra-Lagos, and countries such as Ghana-Burkina-Faso, Ghana-Nigeria, Mali-Nigeria, Mali-Senegal, and Nigeria-Togo. Coast-to-inland corridors are especially notable routes for trade settlements and remittance senders. Goods imported from abroad are introduced to the West Africa region at the principal seaports of Abijan, Cotonou, Dakar, Lagos and Tema and are distributed inland through small, medium and large size traders. Remittance senders tend to live in urban areas where wages are higher and business opportunities are greater and send money to families in rural areas inland and farther away from the coast.

Other important trade corridors include trade within traditional tribal migratory lands since tribal boundaries overlap political borders. Other crossings occur where there is no governmental presence and no physical demarkation of the border.

There are multiple causes of informality and the trajectory of trade within the region. In order to address the root of the problem it is necessary to have a better understanding of: 1) currency policy 2) tariffs 3) corruption 4) lack of formal mechanisms to facilitate financial flows and more formalized trade 5) tradition and acceptance of the status quo.

Currency Policy

Informal economies have traditionally played a major role in West African economies but certain policies, such as currency controls have led to distortions. For instance, the exportation of cash banknotes in all the ECOWAS countries is practically prohibited. Ghana only allows the exportation of the equivalent of c5,000 (US\$0.54) and Nigeria only allows N1,000 (US\$7.74).

Ghana is in the process of modernizing its currency policy may lift entirely the restriction that prohibits exports of banknotes. While the Francophone countries may freely circulate CFA F in the WAEMU⁴ region up to CFA F300,000 (US\$542) without justification, the banknotes may not be exported to other ECOWAS countries. In practice this means that outbound transfers must be completed through a bank with supporting documentation, but since only approximately 5% of the West African population has a bank account, most of this is done in the black market. In Ghana and Nigeria, outbound transactions through money

⁴ Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo.

transfer organizations (MTO's) such as Western Union or MoneyGram are completely prohibited, nevertheless cash leaves the country. In WAEMU, outbound payments are allowed through money transfer companies but are limited to CFA F1,000,000 (US\$1,807) per person, per day, per transaction in Senegal and CFA F3,000,000 (US\$5,422) per person, per transaction, per day. In a region that is highly mobile, cash based and where traders regularly settle payments that average US\$3,000, these restrictions have the effect of driving transactions into the black market and increases informality in the economy.

Corruption

Corruption is a costly issue in the region both for business who must pay “on the spot fines” to corrupt officials and to the government in terms of lost tax revenues. Some businesses estimate that 10% or more of their costs are attributed to under-the-table payments and kickbacks to the governments. Strong informal networks provide the means, motive and opportunity for government officials to profit from bribes.

Lack of Formal Mechanisms

Worldwide, there is a tendency by banks to cater to wealthier and larger clients and West Africa is no exception. Additionally, there is evidence of gender differences when it comes to access to credit. At banks more men than women held bank accounts. In contrast, microfinance institutions and credit unions cater to a majority composed of women: women are a lower lending risk since they typically make on time payments.

Options to Encourage Formality

There is no silver bullet. Change will take several years and must be demand driven in order to be successful. There are many structural adjustments that will need to take place as well as increased efforts to combat corruption. There is also an important role for the private sector

Change can be brought about by 3 principal actors over the short, medium and long term by the government, financial intermediaries and small and medium size businesses. The government must find a way to balance the need to regulate flows of capital with the need to provide a stable, predictable environment, conducive to trade, while not being overly restrictive. According to the World Bank, West Africa hosts the most numerous requirements in the world to transact business and businesses are suffering as a result. Financial intermediaries must acknowledge the demand by this previously untapped market and develop competitive products that may be effectively and efficiently used for cross border payments. This could include smart cards, greater points of sales, and cell phone technology. The financial sector should also work to improve customer service by reducing waiting time, work to eliminate corruption and insure deposits. The financial sector also has a role in ushering in change in the regulatory environment to develop methods that would provide greater flexibility for movement of capital in the region. Finally, small and medium sized business should work through associations and meet with financial intermediaries to get credit and other financial products. They should also encourage the introduction of new technologies such as smart cards and mobile banking and should not be afraid to report corruption.

B2. Highly skilled migration: balancing interests and responsibilities and tackling brain drain

Aderanti Adepoju

Introduction: framing the issue with a key question

Migration of skilled professionals to promote development is a global issue, and is of concern to both poor and rich countries, albeit from opposite perspectives. It is also a contentious issue because of the diversity of stakeholders and interest groups – with conflicting agendas. Rich countries need highly skilled professionals for knowledge-intensive economic activities, and, because of local shortages, these people must be recruited from poor and emerging market economy countries. For poor countries – especially Africa and Asia – the loss of specialists in IT, and in engineering and medicine, has impacted far beyond the numbers involved. This brain drain migration process denies these poorer regions the optimum utilisation of the skills of those now in diaspora.

Specialists in new technologies, engineering, medicine and healthcare are a small proportion of the emigrants from, for instance, sub-Saharan Africa, but they cost the region in a variety of ways and far beyond their numbers – not least because of the lost opportunity for the training of replacement cohorts: tertiary educational institutions lack experienced leaders to train those required for a variety of development activities and to undertake research for development. The large exodus of doctors has impacted negatively on the training of new doctors and on the quality of health services delivery and millennium development goals. A very similar scenario holds for the education sector, and other development agendas in poor countries are being compromised by the emigration of their scarce skilled manpower. A major challenge now facing sending countries is twofold: how to attract qualified nationals back from the OECD countries, and how to utilise effectively the rare skills of those remaining, for national development.

This paper provides a basis for discussions on how can we ensure that migration of highly skilled workers benefits both destination countries, in terms of matching labor demand and supply, and countries of origin, in terms of development. What sorts of joint approaches between public and private sector can help ensure a better balance of interests and results? And what measures do civil society organizations (CSOs) propose to tackle brain drain?

The key issues: the scope of the ‘problem’

In both rich and poor countries, economic and demographic factors underpin current debate and policy on the emigration of highly skilled professionals. To use Africa as an example: more than 100 000 sub-Saharan Africans living in Europe and North America are professionals – ironically, about the same as the number of expatriate professionals employed by aid agencies as part of the overall aid package – at a cost to the region of about \$4 billion¹.

The overall magnitude and impact of the brain drain is captured in a UN report which estimates, for instance, that ‘over the next decade sub-Sahara Africa will need to train an additional 1 million health care professionals’ concluding that ‘The leaders must find ways to retain more of the doctors, nurses, pharmacists and laboratory technicians it currently

produces.’ The report blames rich countries for contributing to the crisis by creating a ‘fatal flow’ of health professions from the regionⁱⁱ.

Sending countries’ policies and potential migrants’ perceptions often contribute to this crisis. In the Philippines, for example where the government and the private sector have each played a key role in the labour export process, the perceptions of the international labour market have also been intricately interwoven into the educational and work aspirations of Filipinos. Anticipating future demand for nurses, nursing schools have expanded dramatically with a remarkable increase in student enrolment in nursing programmes in recent years. Indeed, doctors are also studying to be nurses to enhance their chances of working abroad.ⁱⁱⁱ

At the micro level, migrant professionals are able to enhance their skills, as well as their income and living standards and those of their families, but many face problems of diploma accreditation, and are therefore often de-skilled through lack of appropriate employment, resulting in brain waste. Remittances, no matter how large or how desperately needed, do not compensate for the loss of the contribution of skilled emigrants through training and transfer of expertise to younger cohorts at home. So the loss at the macro level often has a long-lasting impact on development in both home and receiving countries.

Current policies and their flaws

The ‘battle for brains’, or ‘talent hunt’, is propelled by the dynamics of knowledge-based economies, and based on the possibilities offered by technology and the globalisation of economic activities. In many developed economies, highly qualified labour – for knowledge-intensive activities – is being recruited from poor and emerging market economy countries.

Examples abound. For Nigerians and Zambians, highly skilled professionals constitute about a half or more of expatriates living in OECD countries; 20 per cent of the nationals of Benin, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Lesotho, Malawi and South Africa in the diaspora are highly skilled professionals; more Ethiopian doctors are practising in Chicago than in Ethiopia; over half of Malawian nurses and doctors have emigrated, and more Malawian doctors practice in Manchester, UK, than in Malawi; 550 of the 600 Zambian doctors trained in medical school over the last decade have emigrated; Ghana has lost 60 per cent of its doctors to Canada, Britain and the USA; 75 per cent of Zimbabwe’s doctors have emigrated since the early 1990s, and half of its social health workers have relocated abroad since 2001. About 23 000 university graduates and 50 000 executives leave sub-Saharan Africa annually – and about 40 000 of them with PhD degrees now live outside Africa.^{iv}

Unilateral policies: Migrations such as these have recently become less problematic for qualified and skilled workers from the developing world to rich countries which have adopted (unilateral) policies to proactively and aggressively attract and/or recruit such professionals. Germany’s new migration law facilitates the recruitment of specialists in the technology sector by offering them permanent residence. France’s new bill on immigration and integration focuses on migrants with specific talents. Britain’s points system offers highly-skilled migrants a residence permit for a maximum of five years. The Netherlands government’s ‘inviting policy’ has simplified the admission, from developing countries, of highly qualified professionals on a points system – based on personal talents, age, education

and work experience.^v Africans with professional, technical and managerial skills have been enticed by the ‘diversity visa’ (or Green Card lottery) programme, to enter the USA. Many American and European companies are recruiting graduates from India’s top business-schools who are willing to begin their careers at lower entry-level positions than their locally available counterparts, and are able to function in multicultural environments, as most grew up speaking two or more languages.

Bilateral agreements: Some bilateral agreements can also contribute to the brain drain problem. The Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement bilateral trade agreement including a section based on GATS mode 4 approach on the free movement of natural persons is one example of encouraging emigration of highly skilled migrants.^{vi}

Highly skilled professionals were – and continue to be – attracted by the relatively high salaries and better living conditions in rich countries. Rich countries also engage in direct recruitment of professionals by means of unfair competition: they decide how many workers to recruit and from where, and select the best workers in the international market. Poor regions which lose their ‘best and brightest’ pay the price of producing the human capital for use by the rich countries, and simultaneously lose a significant proportion of the wealth needed to establish a foundation for future growth.

Policies and initiatives: These issues are finally starting to attract the attention of policy-makers. In 2004, an International Code of Practice on the Ethical Recruitment of Health Workers was drafted by the UK and South Africa, based on the British Commonwealth’s code of practice. The UK was the first to produce guidelines on international recruitment based on ethical principles, and the first to develop a Code of Practice for Employers in 2001^{vii}. Another example is the Pacific Island Countries, an area from which between 5 and 15 percent of doctors and nurses emigrated between 2000 and 2004. In 2005, the ministries of health of these countries – in partnerships with other government sectors, training institutions, recipient and destination countries, and international agencies (including WHO) and development partners – developed a Pacific Code of Practice for the Recruitment of Health Personnel, designed to better manage the migration of health workers to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Rim countries. The problem with ethical codes of conduct lies, however, with their enforcement.^{viii} To be effective, these have to be at the minimum of a regional scope and/or have a global remit, and also require international standards and monitoring.^{ix}

Other initiatives to help enhance positive impact of highly skilled migration include the South Africa–UK *Memorandum of Understanding on the Reciprocal Educational Exchange of Healthcare Concepts and Personnel* of October 2003 that created a structure for the reciprocal exchange of skills and knowledge, and facilitates the recognition of qualifications of South African health professionals. Under a hospital twinning programme, managers share experiences and best practices.^x Other good practices are the circulation of competencies programmes organized by the IOM through the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programme and in association with UNDP, the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals, the later replaced by the Return of Qualified African Nationals scheme. The MIDA project encourages Africa’s diaspora living in EU countries to share their expertise in medicine, agriculture and so on and to invest and participate in the development

of their country and aims to build relationships between host countries and countries of origin, to foster the positive effects of migration for their mutual benefit, and to limit the negative effects of brain drain, and as a form of co-development.^{xi}

External factors are also to blame for the negative impact of government policies on exodus of skilled professionals. The fiscal policies imposed by international financial institutions (IMF, World Bank) that restrict provision for health and education by poor countries often have adverse effect on the brain drain phenomenon. This is the case in Kenya where, for instance, in the face of shortage of 5.000 nurses in public facilities, 6.000 nurses are either unemployed or working outside the health sector because of a freeze on recruitment. It is imperative for governments to improve working conditions and enhance productivity through higher remunerations, revamp dilapidated equipments and infrastructure and promote workers rights in order to retain highly skilled workers.^{xii}

Brain circulation: In spite of the above, there is another change taking place. In many regions of the South, brain drain is being gradually transformed into brain circulation. Highly skilled professionals, pressured to leave their countries by uncertain economic conditions, have found China, India, Taiwan, South Africa and Botswana, attractive alternatives to Europe, North America and the Gulf States, thus transforming the erstwhile brain drain *from* Africa, into brain circulation *within* Africa, and other regions of the South. The acute shortage of doctors from South Africa following the emigration of white doctors shortly before majority rule in 1994 forced the government to recruit foreign doctors, especially from Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Cuba, the latter to work in the under-served rural areas. In Rwanda and Burundi, over a quarter of the teachers come from the DRC.

Replacement migration: The flow of migration is not unidirectional. Another phenomenon is “replacement migration”. In the past five years, Britain and Germany, in particular, have experienced an outflow of professionals, mostly to Ireland, USA and Australia, fleeing what they perceive as declining living conditions: relatively low salaries and higher taxes, rising inflation, and steep mortgage payments for first-time house owners. Concurrently their counterparts from Eastern Europe are occupying the vacuum in their trail. Polish health workers who have recently migrated in large numbers to Sweden are now being replaced by Moldovan health workers, thereby shifting the brain drain problem to other countries as well.^{xiii}

Highly skilled migration and the gender dimension

Globalisation has introduced new labour market dynamics, including a demand for highly skilled health care workers. A general increase in autonomous female migration has been recorded: no longer confined by national borders, professional women – both single and married – now engage in international migration. A significant proportion of these women are educated migrants who move independently to fulfil their own economic needs; they are no longer simply joining a husband or other family member.

Married women now leave their spouses behind with the children, who, in a reversal of responsibilities, are looked after by their fathers or by other female members of the family.

The remittances these women send home are a lifeline for family sustenance. This phenomenon of independent female migration constitutes an important change, and indeed can imply a turn-around, in traditional gender roles, creating new challenges for public policy and a role for CSOs in respect of advocacy, and public enlightenment.

Among examples of female professional migrants are the many female nurses and doctors who have been recruited from sub-Saharan Africa and the Philippines and are working in the UK's National Health Service, as well as in private care homes and as domestic servants in the Gulf States. In the UK, nurses and midwives are admitted through the UK Nursing and Midwifery Council (UKNMC). From a trickle recruited in 1998/99, their number rose sharply, with a peak in 2000/2001, and continued to rise steadily (as a result of changes in recruitment codes). A further unknown number were recruited by private agencies to work in care homes for the elderly. In Mexico, too, more women are now migrating independently, mostly to the USA; and since the 1990s, the exodus of Filipino nurses to that country and UK, has intensified. In 2002/2003, for example, 5,593 Filipino nurses and midwives were admitted to the UKNMC. By 2005/2006, 3,550 such personnel were recruited from India, up from 1,830 in 2002/2003.^{xiv}

Overall, women highly skilled migrants are in the minority compared to their male counterparts who dominate the IT and business sectors. The exception is for the nursing professionals

The role of civil society organisations, private sector, and governments and partnerships

Among the problems faced by all migrants – no less by skilled than unskilled – is lack of basic rights in the receiving country, and an attitude of xenophobia from the general populace. Public discourse, and sentiments and myths about migration in the North, affect whether migrants can be effectively included and integrated into the more 'open' societies. They also affect the ways in which this could happen – hence the critical nature of the role of civil society, and civil society organisations.

As already described, a major problem is the drain of skills from home countries. Business, particularly the professional business sector, benefits from a multinational skilled labour, and as a key stakeholder, is part of the cause of this drain and must therefore develop pragmatic approaches and solutions to the contentious highly-skilled migration from poor countries. The 'world-wide workers' labour database, an internet job site for the Oil and Gas industry, which facilitates the matching of employers and potential employees worldwide could be placed in this context. So also is the BP's Georgia Leadership Development Programme in the United States that provides training, career and succession planning to stem brain drain.^{xv}

As part of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) function, business must build partnerships with CSOs and governments to match the demand and supply of skills thereby minimising brain waste, promote the human rights of the highly mobile skilled migrants, and help create a conducive economic climate for domestic employment generation, and assist in the return of skills.^{xvi} Lessons learnt from the establishment of the Overseas Chinese Scholars Pioneering Parks and implementation of the IOM's Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals project could be useful in attracting back and retaining skilled

professionals.^{xvii} Partnerships such as these can fast-track and help sustain initiatives to identify and attract back engineers, medical doctors, professors, scientists, information technologists and other highly skilled professionals – and promote environments to productively utilise their expertise for national development.

As part of actions that could be taken in both sending and receiving countries, CSOs should organise pre-departure sessions, advocacy workshops, check if migrants have relevant documents and monitor the work of recruitment agencies. In recruitment, NGOs can partner with governments on establishing procedures and standards, and on offering services and a relationship with government and migrants that are *dramatically* more decent, economical, trustworthy and accountable than most private recruitment agencies. Furthermore, recruitment agencies should ascertain that the correct work conditions are in place before they send people to the country of destination, and should also set up cultural orientation programmes. CSOs from countries of origin should work together with diaspora organisations in gathering pertinent information on the conditions in the destination country and should be involved in campaigns to raise awareness.^{xviii}

All strategies to reduce the negative impact of brain drain developed by governments and CSOs should also involve migrants themselves. In the area of healthcare specifically, sustained and successful implementation of any human resources policy requires the support of health workers, more so that their knowledge of local conditions and incentives to stay or leave is critical for effective policy formulation. CSOs can also encourage local governments to institute employment policies in key areas such as health and education and to support measures to persuade the skilled professionals to stay at home and contribute to national development.^{xix}

Policymakers should consult with trade unions, within a social dialogue framework, in order to ensure that migrants' human and trade union rights are respected. Through the ILO's Tripartite model for consultations approach, for instance, the partners in Ireland have committed to systematic consultations at the national level to deal with issues such as residency status and work permits and developing a code of practice against racism in the workplace. This framework could be used for promoting CSR and monitoring compliance of the private sector (employers and recruiters) with agreed ethical codes of practice that ensure the protection of the rights of skilled migrants^{xx}. Agreements could be reached to extend union membership and protections to migrant workers, and to use collective bargaining as an instrument to ensure equal rights and treatment of foreign professionals with nationals.

Issues on which stakeholders can have added value

Migration matters should no longer be handled bilaterally; a regional, or even global, approach that harmonises migration policies is required. CSOs should advocate for:

- Openness and transparency and a spirit of co-responsibility by rich countries to help foster local development, reduce poverty and create domestic employment;
- Dialogue and consultation between various stakeholders to discuss common approaches to their migration concerns and interests, to share ideas and to enhance understanding and cooperation in the management of skilled migration;

- Compensation for the brain drain in the form of supporting projects which involve professionals going back to their countries of origin for short periods, to work in special health and education programmes, among others;^{xxi}
- Ethical recruitment of highly-skilled professionals based on multilateral agreements, to minimise adverse consequences on the development of source countries and also to address issues of the haemorrhaging poor countries' scarce skilled manpower resources;
- International standards and monitoring of ethical recruitment code of conduct; even the much-quoted Philippine's skills-export strategy has frequently led to compromising labour conditions imposed by receiving countries – at the expense of migrants' rights.^{xxii}
- Flexible residential rules in rich countries, to give skilled professionals the opportunity for virtual relocation without losing their residence rights; (this is also an issue for discussion in session 3 - circular migration)
- Support from receiving countries to help cover the investments of the countries of origin in training and education and in revamping the health sector could be achieved – in the form of a 'brain tax'; To reduce the negative impact of highly skilled migration, the primary response of governments and donors must be to support the health systems and the human resource base of developing countries.
- Strengthening linkages with diaspora communities overseas, providing infrastructural facilities and opportunities for overseas nationals to invest in their home countries; promoting active involvement of local communities in developing and implementing reintegration programmes for returnees; and fostering possibilities for investment and entrepreneurship.

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B3: Social Remittances of the African Diasporas in Europe

A. A. Mohamoud

Migration and development are interlinked issues which would play a crucial role in the development cooperation relations between the North and the South in the coming decades. The chief human agents making this process possible are the diasporas in the migrants who built up vast transnational networks (criss-crossing countries and continents) linking intersecting social, economic and political bridges that link their new places of residence with their original homelands. This strategic position makes migrants indispensable actors since they are the driving force and the key stakeholders in this particular development process.

Migration and development are areas that the migrants have already developed knowledge, expertise, practical experiences and constructed pathways and transnational networks which give them a comparative advantage of a far greater degree than the traditional mainstream development organisations in the host countries. In this respect, migrant groups and

organisations in the host country provide the most appropriate entry points, strategic actors and organisations at which concrete activities and actions can be initiated. This however necessitates that each host country in Europe develops the right policy instruments informed by the knowledge, expertise and practical experience that migrant individuals, groups and organisations have already accumulated in the migration and development field. Equally important, the creation of enabling environment in the sending countries is also required so as to make possible that migrants contribute to the development in their homelands in a considerable and sustained manner.

African migrants in Europe contribute to the development in the countries of origin in several ways through setting up community oriented projects; through investment in the local businesses; through the building and facilitating valuable transnational contact and networks with those remained back home; and through the transfers of badly needed social remittances in the building and strengthening of the political and governance institutions. Yet, most of the current policy research, analysis and discussions regarding migration and development focus largely on the financial remittances that the diaspora transfer to their respective home countries. Yet, financial remittances are not the only means through which diaspora influence developments in the homeland.

Social remittances of the African diaspora

Social remittances that the African diasporas in general have acquired in the host countries are ideas, practices, mindsets, world views, values and attitudes, norms of behaviour and social capital (knowledge, experience and expertise). African diasporas mediate the transfer of these social remittances from host to home countries and act as change agents in governance reforms in Africa.

Diasporas acquired social remittances through different ways - formal education, through professional experience in work places and through obtaining and internalising new social values, attitudes and norms of behaviour through their socialisation with the host society and the acculturation process they have undergone in the host countries. They also acquired valuable social remittances by constructing transnational networks linking the process of globalisation to the local conditions of their respective countries of origin. Particularly, the construction of transnational networks enables the individuals and groups in the diaspora communities to build up intersecting social, economic and political bridges that link their new places of residence with their original homelands. This is now possible thanks to the revolution in transport technology, which has made long distance travel very cheap and quick. The cheaper transportation allows diaspora to make more frequent trips to their original homelands and enables friends and families to reciprocate these visits, thereby cementing the transnational ties. Also, communications technology such as the Internet and e-mail and inexpensive phone calls enable widely dispersed diaspora to stay in contact cheaply and effectively in a constant manner for the first time in history, and are thereby able to exert far greater influence on their homelands than ever before.

In general, the social remittances that the African diaspora possesses and can transfer to Africa include innovative ideas, valuable transnational networks, knowledge, sound political contributions, policy reforms, valuable democratic habits and attitudes, appropriate peace making ideas and practices, new technological skills, norms of behaviour, work ethics, social values and cultural influence. Thus, these non-material social remittances are as

significant as financial remittances or perhaps even more yet it remains a neglected of both research and policy considerations.

Pathways diaspora transfer social remittances

The African diaspora uses different pathways (both informal and formal) to transfer their social remittances to their respective homelands. The informal pathways take the form of exchanges namely through letter, telephone calls, emails, internet chats or videos to transmit social values, attitudes and norms that have a transforming impact on the prevailing notion of those remained behind regarding social relations, ideas of political participation and practices, democracy and good governance, etc.

The formal pathways that the diaspora transmit their social remittance to the people back home take place when individuals in the diaspora return home permanently or for holidays and family visits. The formal channels also take place when the diaspora using their own ties, contacts and social affiliations meet and enter face to face talks with key political and social figures from the homeland as they visit to host country. Another modality that the diaspora transfers their social remittances to the home countries is through the facilitation of transnational networks to mediate and smooth the connection of overseas businesses with businesses in Africa that could not afford to promote their domestic products and secure markets abroad. Also, the African diaspora utilizes transnational networks to support positive political forces in the homeland by transmitting valuable new political ideas and practices that help the promotion of a democratic political life in the homeland.

At the moment, African diasporas transmit their social remittances to home countries in an ad hoc, limited and sporadic manner. This can be improved by making it more structured so as to become sustainable. Furthermore, the current pathways used by the diaspora need to be professionalized, strengthened and enlarged so as to become efficient routes of transmitting knowledge, know-how, expertise and networks to Africa. They also need to be recognised, valued and formally used by the government institutions and the mainstream development organisations in the host country. This can be possibly realised if the pathways that the African diasporas transmit their social capital to the home countries are strategically integrated into the routes that donor agencies and government institutions in the host country channel human resources to Africa.

Challenges and constraints in transferring social remittances

The challenges in both the host and the home countries are mainly the lack of an environment conducive to promoting the African diaspora's contributions to development in all of its multi-facts.

Challenges in the host countries: The challenges in the host countries are multifarious. The first challenge is the political ignorance of the social capital of the African diaspora residing in the host countries. The political disinterest results from the non-existence of knowledge and information about the social capital that the Africans in the diaspora have already obtained.

The second challenge is the downgrading of the social capital acquired by the African diaspora in the host countries. This is however a problem which is a widespread in many different sectors, particularly the development sector. More glaring, the downgrading of the

professional capacity of the skilled Africans in the host countries prevents them from sending to their countries of origin as expatriate experts in a regularized manner

The third challenge is the prevailing perception which sees the diasporas solely as a source of financial remittances. This perception gives an unjust impression as if the major contribution of the diasporas to the home countries is mainly transferring financial remittances. It also denies the intellectual capital of the diasporas as it ignores to see them as human resources. Furthermore, it unjustly overshadows other important roles that the diasporas play in promoting the overall developments in their respective homelands.

Challenges in the home countries: The challenges in the home countries are complex, but the most critical is mainly poor governance and the lack of an enabling environment featuring such conditions as personal freedom, basic civic rights, democracy and the rule of law.

Another challenge is the unwillingness of the governing elites in some of the home countries to reach out to and seek the assistance of skilled and professionals Africans in the diaspora for the development of the national institutions. This obstinacy has already costed a lot for the continent as it has kept away the considerable benefits that could have been gained from the still untapped social capital of the Africans in the overseas.

A third challenge is that many countries in Africa have not yet developed national strategies and policies specifically targeted towards involving the diaspora in the development efforts of the continent. However, developing policies and practical measures at the national level is a primary priority for engaging with the diaspora. Furthermore, to benefit from the social capital of the diasporas, African countries need to build effective links with them, identify realistic and feasible mechanisms that could be adopted in sustainable collaborations. More importantly, African governments should define feasible programmes that persuade and encourage the effective involvement of the diaspora in the development efforts in Africa.

Constraints in the African diaspora organisations:

The constraints are mainly the lack of the African diaspora organizations capacity both institutional and organizational to transfer their social remittances more effectively and a large scale manner to their countries of origin. African diasporas still operate on the margins of the host societies because of the weak social, economic and political position in which they find themselves in their new homeland. Furthermore, the organizations established by the African diaspora suffer from severe capacity constraints. Firstly, diaspora organizations lack the capacity to make their activities more visible to the wider public. Secondly, the social organizations of the African diasporas are still weak and remain informal. Thirdly, African diaspora organizations lack better channels to gain access to useful information and networks. Finally, compared with other migrant organizations, African associations are linked marginally with the mainstream development agencies.

Policy mechanisms in place in the host countries

The current policy mechanisms in place in the host countries regarding migration and development are largely directed on how the financial remittances transferred by the diasporas can be facilitated. These are reducing the cost of money transfers through formal and a regulatory system. In reality, developing a good knowledge base on the subject of migration and development is a precondition for the formulation of a sound policy document. This however not yet the case as the knowledge base currently available on the subject is not

sufficient enough to formulate sound policy proposals. Thus, investing in generating good and proper action- oriented research and analysis on the different, not only the financial, aspects regarding migration and development require that diaspora researchers and experts should be given the opportunity to initiate, lead and conduct research on the subject that produces timely information and analysis which contribute to the formation of sound policy positions and strategies regarding migration and development issues in both the host and the home countries.

In consequence, each host country has to draft a country Migration and Development Strategic Paper to recognise and design practical interventions on how the pathways, transnational networks that the migrants have already constructed and transfer their social remittances to the homelands can be formally used, supported, strengthened and expanded..

Diasporas as strategic actors for practical implementation

Migrants should be in the driving seat regarding migration and development projects initiated in the host countries. They should have the ownership and they should be empowered through effective capacity building to exercise this ownership rights. In this respect, migrant groups and organisations in the host country provide the most appropriate entry points, strategic actors and organisations at which concrete activities and actions can be initiated. Moreover, migrant individuals, groups and organisations are in practice the most appropriate channels through which migration and development projects can be effectively implemented in their respective homelands. It should also be noted that any migration and development projects that the diasporas as strategic partners and stakeholders do not from the outset participate in its conception, formulation and also its practical implementation is unlikely to achieve the expected results, even if it is correctly designed.

In order to avoid failures in the past, the project proposals of the new migration and development programme should not be hastily designed. Rather from the outset the drafting of the project proposals must be thoroughly discussed with the migrant experts and organisations as their inputs based on the lessons learned from past experiences, best examples and practices, positive exceptions and achievements of previous projects are crucial. It is also pertinent support the strengthening of the institutional and organizational capacities of the migrant organizations in the country through training, on job coaching and organizing workshops where information, expertise and experiences are exchanged.

Conclusion:

We propose, among others, that the various stakeholders undertake to:

- invest more on research and policy analysis of the social remittances dimension of the migration and development that the diasporas mediate.
- create *Migration and Development Funds* that support initiatives such as good governance, democratization, human rights and brain gain projects that the migrant organizations and groups initiate.
- foster a sustained institutional cooperation between Africa and the diaspora that facilitates the development of a collective strategy for peace, political stability and progressive social change on the continent.

- create an enabling environment in the home countries so as to make possible that migrants contribute to the development in their homelands in a considerable and sustained manner.
- make migration and development programme a developmental rather a migration policy. As it now stands, the current migration and development policy accords a high priority about controlling and regulating the flows of migrants aspiring to come to Europe.
- stimulate exchange of knowledge, experience and expertise among the diaspora organizations, civil society associations and the mainstream development agencies so as to gain better insights about their respective activities and as a stimulus for undertaking joint development projects in Africa.

C. Reflective briefs

C.1 Transfer of funds and investment: The economic and social uses of the money of international migration

Babacar Ndione

It is estimated that over 100 billion USD annual flows of financial transfers of migrant workers residing in the industrialized countries to developing countries. However, several studies agree that the estimates made from the international banking system greatly underestimate the magnitude of these financial flows, as a significant portion of remittances from emigrants is sent via unofficial channels. Despite this difficulty, there is no doubt that the transfers made by the emigrants are a substantial source of foreign exchange for the country and a major financial windfall for the communities of origin. Furthermore, the skills and experiences of migrants in host countries are likely to be built upon their return or migration to the national development effort, and to increase the institutional capacity in some key sectors of the economy. In short, thanks to these transfers of money and expertise, international migrants are able to provide important financial and technical contribution to the development of their country of origin.

For the countries of emigration and for international agencies, the question of the impact of remittances and skills of migrant workers is at the center of debate on the relationship between migration and development. There is no doubt that international migration of workers from the southern countries in turn generates significant cash flows, in particular the countries of the North to the countries of origin. However, if the scale of these remittances is now admitted, their actual impact on the economic development of countries' and regions' beneficiaries often remains controversial. Indeed, few studies have been able to show, as some literature posits, that the returns of money are vectors of a local economic development in the regions of departure. Quite the contrary, we may well ask ourselves if the money of international migration, responding in a manner consistent and sustained, a survival strategy for households of origin, is not likely to trigger in some contexts forms of economic dependence among people who benefit.

The migrants are perceived as actors in "development" or "co-development" or as promoters of economic and social projects. But what is the scope of their share in favour of their societies of origin? The financial stakes so often attributed to the flow of peremptory transfer emigrants, as well as the linkages established between migration and development, does not have to be reconsidered in light of the diversity of trajectories and individual projects, the process of inclusion in the countries of destination and professional experience?

We can consider three levels of impact of remittances by emigrants on the development of countries of origin: assistance to families of origin, social projects, community and economic investments of a productive nature. If one considers that the decision to migrate abroad is collective in nature and it meets a tacit economic arrangement between members of the household, taking care of basic needs of the family of origin (food, ceremonies, health, housing) by the migrant must be a primary function of money transfers. In this regard, the donations made by migrants can be analyzed as a response to the needs of survival of the household, reflecting the proportionate and balanced consideration of an initial donation: the support of the household at the start of the migration. In this sense, the migration is a family strategy, which responds to economic uncertainty in the household.

The actions of solidarity with the social environment and the community one originates from is another area of finance. It can absorb a sizable portion of remittances. Grouped in village associations or urban neighborhood, or within ethnic or religious organizations, migrants mobilize funds for the development of their regions and their areas of origin. It is generally social investment, cultural and symbolic (schools, health centers, drinking water wells, places of worship), and more rarely economic (production of goods). These forms of collective solidarity often express membership and commitment to a group identity. They usually also propel a real impetus for social change and transformation of local space. Donations of migrants constitute a palliative for social investments to complement, even substitute for the often inadequate public funding in the country of origin. The economic impact of these investments for its part remains rather marginal.

A no less important fraction of migrant remittances is likely to be used for economically productive investment, in particular through the creation of micro-credit facilities or direct jobs. Furthermore, the transfer of skills and knowledge acquired in the host country, when geared towards certain productive sectors of the economy, can contribute significantly to the development of countries of origin. Given these angles of analysis, it is important to review the economic impact of remittances from migrant on countries of origin, including highlighting the difficulties faced by migrants to reconcile, according to their means, investments in the productive sectors with family and community obligations.

C. 2 International migration policy in Africa: Issues and challenges

B.H Abdellatif

In the present context of globalization, and the new millennium perspective, the African continent is confronted with a series of recurrent crises: poverty and hunger in sharp contrast with over-consumption and waste in some segments of the society, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, population growth and pressure, forced migration due to civil unrest and wars, the ever-

increasing inequalities between and within countries and regions. Africa is also characterized by frequent conflicts and instability. It has also witnessed the negative impact of the politics of hate, violence, intolerance, exclusion and ethnic division. These problems have torn apart the fabric of many African societies in particular the Great Lakes and West Africa, and undermined the search for socio-economic development and integration of African economies. The current conflicts in different parts of the continent have created refugee flows especially children and women, migrants, catastrophe, famine and gross violations of human rights.

As in the other regions of the world, migration for employment has been a factor of economic development in Africa. For reasons such as drought and floods which are threatening human lives, population pressures and lack of arable lands, circular and seasonal labour has moved everywhere in search of employment. Also important is the inter-regional migration between Africa and other continents, creating on the one hand, pressures that reduce work-force excess capacity and, on the other hand, a drain of human capital in sending countries.

In a global perspective migratory movements have been facilitated by the development and intensification of communications and faster and cheaper modes of transport. Immigrants without the required documents are hired at low wages when needed and are easily expelled when their services are no longer required. Their entry is facilitated by well-organised criminal networks.

Recently migrants make their way illegally into developed countries. The example of North Africa borders is a testimony to the tragedy. Many African migrants are dying because no one wants to take positive action to address the situation in their favour. Near the Teboulba town (Tunisia) near Lampaduza, thousands of Africans are dying, and requires prompt humanitarian intervention. Women and children are also vulnerable and increasingly used for forced labour, slavery and sex industry hence, more efforts are also required to protect migrants and guarantee their rights.

The initiative of the free movement of persons of African workers within the African Economic Community or regional economic structures implies that each AU Member State should modify its legislation on the movement of non-nationals. This is a critical issue which requires a thorough analysis and real commitment of decision-makers to facilitate the free movement of persons for better African integration.

Africa's hope for managing migration problems efficiently depends on Member States' political will and commitment to implementing the Abuja Treaty, NEPAD, and others, which provide for the capacity building and the promotion and strengthening of the African Union, and the aspiration of the continent to face the new challenges. It is not only a question of coordinating and managing the phenomenon of international migration properly, but also a question of incorporating this phenomenon into the national economic development and international relationship to reinforce effective partnership. African countries should be prepared to face the new challenges of the new millennium by adopting some initial and important actions. These include efforts to: establish a network on migration management in

Africa and encourage research institutions (such as NOMRA); advocate for migration in development planning within the national policy planning and programme implementation focusing on the concerned localities, encourage tripartite programmes and activities between sending, transit and receiving countries; harmonise national and regional policies / instruments / practices and foster North-South dialogue and partnership on migration issues.

C. 3. The economic crisis and the brain drain: The case of the democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Germain Tshibambe Ngoie

The creeping crisis raging in Congo Kinshasa created an environment that allows us to revisit some evidence commonly accepted in several circles. Here, we intend to evaluate the relevance of the theory of the brain drain as a loss for the country of departure. The revisit of this thesis will relate to the migration of nurses who, for some time, emigrated from DRC to the countries of Southern Africa, including South Africa. This movement toward South Africa accelerated by 1994, the year of the demise of the apartheid regime. Statistics are imprecise, but South Africa because of its level of development has become a major destination country - or transit- for Congolese doctors.

Most of these medical personnel are young people between 30 and 40 years. Some female traders also leave the DRC to Zambia or Namibia. After mastering the English language in the country of transit and having undertaken adaptation programmes in medical practice in transit countries these Congolese migrants, equipped with updated concepts and in possession of documents to prove their experience, then move on to the "rainbow" country. To what extent then is the departure of Congolese doctors really a loss for the country of origin?

This reflection stems from a collection of biographical data with a few Congolese medical emigrants currently living in South Africa. The stories were taken to a logic that could identify the representations that doctors have of themselves, the country of origin and the country of destination. Doctor Kalo, forty five years, says that his departure from the Congo could not be seen as a loss to his country of origin because he studied at a university where the Congolese students no longer had access to scholarship which was abolished in the mid-80s in the context of the implementation of structural adjustment policies imposed by the international financial institutions. The drastic reduction of public spending has led to the lack of infrastructure and laboratory equipment. When he completed his studies in medicine, the job market had already been saturated,

In the context of the crisis afflicting the Congolese families, Kalo, an academic but unemployed, felt frustrated as he was unable to help the family, which has supported his studies. By emigrating, he became a "bright star" for the family left behind which he maintained by regularly sending remittances.

At the destination country, Kalo was impressed by the conducive working conditions that

stimulate the growth and creativity of the medical staff. Although South Africa has a lot of attractions for migrants, Congolese medical personnel are acquiring and accumulating capital which in the long run can benefit their country of origin, in the even of their return. They can contribute to the reconstruction of their country of origin, if the domestic environment is conducive to a permanent or virtual return. During their periodic home visits, they can make their expertise available in clinics and also help in capacity building, through training of their resident colleagues.

The sustained economic crisis that led to emigration and brain drain leads us to revisit the question if indeed such emigration is a loss for the country. The skills of these doctors may not have been optimally utilised were they to stay at home, hence a "brain waste"? We are cautioned however by the bankruptcy of the state that led to the health sector being the most abandoned, especially in poor rural areas. In rural areas, there is one doctor for every 10,000 inhabitants, giving room for quacks to thrive as was the case of a Congolese citizen arrested in a city in the country presenting himself as a doctor when he came to spend a year at the Faculty of Medicine at the University without a first degree! This situation is worrisome for the country of departure. The reconstruction of the DRC is a sufficient condition to help reduce the flight of skilled health personnel in search of Eldorado elsewhere, whether in Europe or Africa. While the successful reconstruction of the country, it is hoped that the significance of "push factors" will be diminished. This is the most difficult task for all of us to accomplish.

C.4 Research on African international migration: opportunities for young researchers.

John O. Oucho

Previous research on African international migration has underlined the growing importance of brain drain and expressed hope that it results in brain gain, which is good for migrants' homeland development. Unfortunately, much of the information is based on anecdotal evidence as no serious research has been undertaken on the two interrelated phenomena. Moreover, with the countries of destination in the developed North adopting stricter immigration control measures, the much-publicised brain drain currently amounts only to 'brain circulation' — a process which involves inevitable periodic or permanent return of immigrants to their countries of origin. African governments, individually and through the African Union (AU) as well as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) have been drumming support for brain drain, rather than for stemming it, largely on grounds that the emigrants send back large amounts of remittances which spur national development. The amounts of remittances stated by these institutions, the World Bank, UNDP, IOM and others far surpass those attributed to foreign direct investment (FDI) and overseas development assistance (ODA). Yet the sources of these figures are shaky and call for thorough research among both the remitters and the recipients.

The Development Research Centre on Migration Globalisation and Poverty at the University of Sussex, has undertaken impressive research in countries such as Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire

on African migration in the context of poverty reduction and development in general. But given that the research is dominated by scholars from the North, African scholars remain conveniently consigned to the periphery. Recently, the Centre for Migration Studies has been established at the University of Ghana with the support of the International Migration Institute (IMI), Oxford University thanks to the generous support of the Netherlands government to the CMS. Once again, that is an overture from the North to the South without African institutions becoming involved at its inception. Opportunities are emerging for more serious work on African international migration. For instance, the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick is embarking on both systematic research and a PhD programme on African migration in the context of African-European interrelations, to be spearheaded by Professor John Oucho, an eminent African migration scholar. But even this is at the behest of the European Commission who granted him a Marie Curie Chair, based on the programme which he conceived of — yet another overture from the North, albeit with a twist likely intended to benefit Africa.

In view of what has been unfolding, what opportunities exist for young researchers in Africa? The most immediate opportunity is for young, upcoming Africans to undergo training in migration research that could inform policy and programmes. Since migration is studied by various disciplines — geography, economics, demography, sociology, anthropology and statistics, for instance — it presents an opportunity for a composite disciplinary menu on which young researchers would be fed. The younger researchers would be inducted into systematic research by seasoned scholars from Africa as well as from the North, on issues that matter most on the continent.

There are legitimate reasons African international migration should be studied from an African perspective. First, by involving African researchers, it will be possible to enhance capacity building of African institutions on research, policy and programme implementation. Second, the research agenda would reflect African perceptions, apprehensions and aspirations which do not come out clearly in migration agenda developed in the North. What might be of importance to the North may in fact turn out to be of no significance in Africa. Third, African researchers, policy makers and programme implementers — indeed all stakeholders — know which issues bite most on African migration and on requiring technical and other support from the North, should articulate their demands better, using research materials within their grasp. If NEPAD-G8 interests on migration have to graduate from rhetoric to concrete activities, they should engage African researchers or pair them with their European colleagues to operate on the same wavelength.

The Network of Migration Research in Africa provides the opportunity to spearhead research on African international migration through it researchers, policy makers, planners and other stakeholders will network and keep abreast of migration issues within, outside and affecting Africa in various ways. There has never been a better opportunity for Africa to tackle migration research in a systematic manner as the NOMRA initiative provides. Africa should strive to establish and nurture home-grown migration research institutions with the express mandate to further its own agenda, and engaging the North in collaborative ventures as and when necessary.

D. Research Notes

D 1. Women in motion: a research note

A. Tanle

Migration theories on rural-urban migration up to the late 1970s generally recognized only men as migrants and regarded women mostly as associational migrants who accompanied their husbands or close relations to urban centres. As a result, male migration in sub-Saharan Africa has been widely documented. Within the last two to three decades, however, the phenomenon of independent migration among women has intensified within and between countries. This research note focuses on independent migration of women from a rural district (Wa district) to Kumasi and Accra (the two leading cities in Ghana) for the *kaya yei* business. In Ghana, the term *kaya yo* (*kaya yei*, plural) refers to a woman who is a commercial head porter (Abur-sufian, 1994; Attah et al 1997).

Using a snowball sampling technique at both the origin and destination, 86 non-migrants and 92 return migrants were interviewed in the Wa district of the Upper-West Region of Ghana while 100 migrants from the same region were interviewed at both Kumasi and Accra, the two major places of destination. A questionnaire and focus group discussion guides were used for the data collection.

The socio-demographic background of the non-migrants and return migrants at the place of origin shows a largely young illiterate female population: 61 per cent of the non-migrants and about 80 per cent of the return migrants were 34 years or below; about 6 out of every 10 return-migrants and more than 8 out of every 10 non-migrants had never been to school. The illiteracy level among the respondents is therefore higher than the national average of 50.2 per cent of women with no formal education (Ghana, 2003a). Perhaps this explains why those who migrated engaged in the *kaya yei* business since it does not require any formal knowledge in education. Over two-thirds of both the return-migrants and the non-migrants were married.

Migration network exists among the non-migrants (potential migrants), return migrants and the migrants (*kaya yei*) at the destinations. Return migrants to places of origin provided information about destination to potential migrants while migrants at destination provided initial support in the form of food and accommodation to the new arrivals.

In a focus group discussion at the Wa district, the men considered the migration as a cost to their economic activities since women play very important role in agriculture in the Wa district. Some other men regarded the out-migration of women as an affront to their position in the patriarchal system. To them, the major constraint was not only the loss of the productive capacity of the women but also the reproductive and other domestic roles of the women were being affected due to the frequent out-migration of women.

The findings at the destination indicate that majority of the women, who migrate, although young, were married (55.4 per cent), and some of them even migrated with their youngest children to the destination. But whether or not the children get the needed attention at the

destination from their mothers who are often busy carrying various goods in the daytime, is another question altogether. Another dimension of migration among married women as observed in the study is that most of the married women migrated without the knowledge of their husbands (58.0 per cent). This practice, as mentioned in one of the men's focus group discussion at the place of origin, is leading to instability in marriages. The psycho-social aspect associated with female migration is also emerging. For example, it was found that some women migrated in order to escape from forced marriages at home (Tanle, 2003).

In general, out-migration from Wa district to Kumasi and Accra has been very useful to the women as some reported that they had acquired some personal belongings and had also remitted sent money to close relations at home. Yet others also claimed that their physical appearance and outlook has improved. But these achievements are not without a cost to their health as most of them live in poor accommodation at the destination. For instance, information from the focus group discussion at the destination reveals that most of the *kaya yei* (over 70 per cent) lived in kiosks where they experience difficulties such as serious mosquito bites during the nights, leaking roofs whenever it rains and overcrowding in some kiosks as some of them lived with their children (Tanle, 2003).

Furthermore, the study indicates that some of the *kaya yei* had boyfriends at the destination. During the focus group discussion at Kumasi, for example, it was reported that such relationships sometimes led to unwanted pregnancies. For example, Safula (about 24 years) indicated that:

Some kaya yei have boyfriends in this town who accommodate them and also provide them with some financial support. When they become pregnant they either go back to Wa to stay, give birth and later come back to this place or they continue to stay with their boyfriends until they give birth or they may decide to abort the pregnancy.

For those who become pregnant and terminate the pregnancies, it means that they engage in unprotected sex which could expose them to the risk of contracting STIs including HIV/AIDS. In Ghana, the media has reported cases of HIV/AIDS infections among the *kaya yei* in Accra (Annoh, 2005). Those who terminate pregnancies are likely to engage in unsafe abortion since most of them cannot afford the cost of abortion at private clinics, and may not also want to undergo the procedure at government hospitals since abortion is illegal in Ghana except under certain critical conditions. The consequences of unsafe abortion therefore could be either death or infertility in the long-run

Although the women believed that they have benefited from migration through improvement in their economic situation, physical appearance and remittances to their relations at home. These are dimensions which are also likely to influence further migration from the area of origin. Thus, migration provides the women with economic and social independence which they could not have achieved at their place of origin. The migration of women from rural areas of the Wa district to the two cities has implications for the discourse on gender-based migration.

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D.2 Seasonality, migration and health in Niono, Mali – an innovative research approach

Sally Findley, and Seydou Doumbia,

In Mali, Niono has a reputation for having the biggest and most ferocious mosquitoes in the country. Because of the Canal du Sahel, the irrigation canal connecting Niono's farm lands to the Niger River, there is water year round in the irrigation canals and nearby fields. Mosquitoes love sunny, wet areas, such as a rice paddy where the rice is not yet too tall, and thus Niono has gained its not unenviable reputation. Unfortunately, the mosquitoes have brought high rates of malaria, which is virtually year-round in Niono. Since the mid 1990s, researchers from the Malaria Research and Training Center have been working in this area to identify the mosquito species and then to use this information as part of the worldwide effort to develop a malaria vaccine.

Even though recent reports from Mozambique indicate a promising new vaccine candidate, we may still be years away from an effective preventive vaccine for this disease which is the leading killer, particularly of young children, in Sub-Saharan Africa. Recognizing this need for alternative preventive strategies, many groups have been promoting impregnated bed nets, use of prophylactic medications among high risk groups, and environmental controls of mosquitoes. The problem with most of these solutions is that many families don't know about them, can't afford them, and if they can, do not have ready access to them. Complicating matters is the fact that malaria is not the only serious disease families have to contend with. Particularly for infants and children under age 5, a person with malaria may simultaneously suffer from measles, diarrhea, and malnutrition. Offering malaria prophylaxis or treatment then can only be part of the solution. To be efficient and responsible, efforts to control malaria needed to be multi-disease.

Beginning in 2001, a collaborative team of researchers lead by Sally Findley, Mailman School of Public Health, and Seydou Doumbia, Malaria Research and Training Center, National Medical School of Mali, has been testing out an innovative approach to increase prevention and timely treatment of malaria and co-morbid illnesses. The project builds on the state-of-the-art program for reducing childhood illnesses, the Integrated Management of Childhood Illnesses (IMCI), developed jointly by UNICEF and WHO. With this program, prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of the five major childhood illnesses is integrated, so that each visit to the community health center is used to the maximum. In addition, this program incorporates 16 prevention activities, such as hand washing before feeding or nursing a child, breastfeeding recommendations, use of anti-malarial during pregnancy and for young children, and getting all immunizations. The IMCI program is now in use in over 100 countries, but it is not without problems. It turns out to be very difficult to implement, even though it sounds like an easy concept for “one-stop” shopping at community health centers. One of the most challenging aspects is to promote the preventive activities among villagers who do not frequently go to the health centers. The innovative part of our project is that we have incorporated our understanding of the seasonality of mosquito populations and of disease transmission into the delivery of IMCI. Our first hypothesis is that a calendar based on epidemiological risk for a disease can be used to improve targeting of scarce human and financial resources towards activities with the greatest potential for benefit during a given month. The second hypothesis is that application of the quarterly climate forecasts, downscaled to be valid for the region under consideration, can further improve the targeting of scarce resources. We know that climate forecasts are used to guide planting and food distribution programs. We propose using them to also guide the public health interventions. For example, if we know that a season is going to be particularly wet, we would further tailor the delivery of IMCI to prepare for the higher than expected malaria and diarrhea risk, the two diseases associated with the rainy season.

To test these hypotheses, we launched a study in 2001 in 11 Niono villages. We have started by monitoring disease and health prevention behaviors in these villages and at the local health centers, in order to document both seasonality and inter-annual variability of childhood illnesses. We focus on 6 diseases for children under age 5: malaria, acute respiratory illness (ARI), diarrhea, measles, meningitis, and malnutrition. These are the target diseases of IMCI, with the exception of meningitis, which we added because Niono is in the “meningitis belt.” At this time we have village-based observations for 2001-2003 and community health center consultation rates for 1996 – 2003. We will continue the baseline monitoring for another year and then begin testing the seasonal and climate-adjusted implementation of IMCI.

The first thing we did was examine the seasonal disease patterns with the historical data from the health centers. Using our knowledge of the seasonality of disease transmission, we have designed a monthly calendar for implementing the IMCI activities. If a disease is in one of its “peak” months, all diagnostic and treatment activities related to that illness should be implemented fully. The calendar builds in a lead time of 1-2 months for most preventive or preparatory activities. For example, if diarrhea peaks during the hot, rainy period of July – August, health workers would implement village water sanitation activities (making sure latrines are emptied and cleaned; checking village drainage) in May-June, concentrate on teaching hand washing and clean water storage practices in June, make sure that ORT packets were available from both the local health center and in the village in June, and teach

the danger signs and ORT in June-August. For other months, long-term prevention activities can be considered, such as improving drainage and removal of potential mosquito breeding sites from around the home. Thus, for each month of the year, we have designed a calendar of 5-6 activities which should be priority for community and village health workers as well as village healthy committees. We estimate that if appropriately implemented, this “Season Smart” implementation of IMCI could save each family between \$950 and \$2162 in the outlays they have to make for medications, consultations, transportation, and lost work time. For a population of 16,000 children under age 5, there would be a reduction of 1467 consultations.

As part of a demographic surveillance system, in 2001-2002 we surveyed 333 households with 4755 individuals in 6 villages in irrigated and dry-farm areas in the Niono District, Segou region of Mali. 27% had illness episodes between survey rounds. Of 954 reported illness episodes, 46% were malaria, 28% were ARI, 5% were diarrhea, and 2% were measles. Illness rates for the irrigated villagers were significantly higher than those of the non-irrigated villagers for malaria; ARI, and diarrhea. 21% of families had migrant members, 311 immigrants and 253 emigrants. 77% of the immigrants went to irrigated villages (short-term labor migrants); while 90% of the emigrants had left non-irrigated villages (Chi-square = 205, $p < .001$). Malaria and ARI were the most common illnesses among migrants. Labor migrants from the non-irrigated to the irrigated zones had 66% more malaria episodes ($F = 3.16$, $p = .08$). Migrant workers in the irrigated villages contribute to their higher illness rates.

E. Announcements

E1. The Centre for Population Studies, Maputo, Mozambique

The Centre for Population Studies is a multidisciplinary centre within the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. It was founded in 1995 by a few group of lecturers basically geographers and population studies scholars from the University. The centre does not have full time staff members and all members do teach at different departments of the university. There are three units in the Centre, namely Public Opinion, Demography and Migration, managed by a director and three coordinators of the units. An MA degree on Population and Development was introduced in 2005.

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E. 2 The Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

The Centre for Migration Studies was formally established in October 2006 at the University of Ghana to undertake research, teaching and training, capacity building, policy assessment, development and dissemination in the area of migration. The Centre is located in the Faculty of Social Studies. Its key objectives include to:

- Co-ordinate past and current research activities on migration by Faculties, Departments, Institutes and Centres.
- Undertake research activities on migration related issues from a multi-disciplinary approach.
- Promote migration studies at the graduate level through a multi-disciplinary approach.
- Advise on, and inform the formulation of a national policy on migration through the provision of relevant data on migration and related issues.
- Collaborate with relevant institutions, departments and agencies working on migration and related issues.
- Build capacity through short-term training programmes in specific areas.

The Centre is governed by an Advisory Board and managed by a Management Committee and an Inter-Faculty Working Group made up of representatives from various cognate university departments and Institutes. Day to day administration is undertaken by the Head of the Centre and a Deputy Head and assisted by an Administrative Secretary and core support staff.

Members of the Centre, prior to its official establishment, had undertaken a number of research activities on migration including the hosting of an international conference on migration and development in Accra with support from the UNDP in 2004, and the launching of a book titled 'At Home in the World? International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghana and West Africa', edited by Takyiwaa Manuh (2005). Since the formal commencement of activities in January 2007, the Centre has undertaken the following activities:

- Compiled an annotated bibliography on studies undertaken on migration issues in Ghana with support from UNDP.
- Undertaken a migration survey on pilot basis comprising 300 households in selected areas of Ghana, also with UNDP support. The pilot survey is to be expanded into a national survey to inform policy on national migration issues.
- With support from NUFFIC and in collaboration with institutions in the Netherlands, the Centre is in the process of implementing various activities aimed at strengthening the capacity of the University of Ghana to contribute to and influence the understanding of and approach to migration issues and policy in Ghana

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E. 3 The Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, UK

The Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (CRER) is located in the School of Health and Social Studies, University of Warwick. It is best known for postgraduate training and research on ethnic relations, in the past concentrating on race and ethnic relations in the United Kingdom, involving people from South Asia, Muslims and other minority ethnic groups. From academic year 2007-2008, CRER will spearhead research and PhD studies on African international migration in Euro-African relations thereby opening a window of opportunity for African and European researchers to work together on a common area of interest. The Centre has many monographs and books published on these issues, with the exception of the last one on which such publications will appear in the very near future.

The recent appointment of Professor John O. Oucho as holder of Marie Curie Chair in CRER has given a significant boost to the Centre and the University of Warwick in the study of international migration. He is determined to spearhead research, training and networking on African international migration in the context of Euro-African relations thereby innovating on the current practice of doing so mainly from either perspective. A world-renowned scholar of both voluntary and forced forms of internal and international migration, he has wide experience on various African countries having worked in universities in his native home of Kenya for over two decades, Ghana for three years and Botswana for eight years, and as United Nations expert in South Africa for one year. He has written extensively on migration in Eastern and Southern Africa, was for four years in the network of the Southern African Migration Project and is aspiring to improve work in the Greater Horn of Africa. His widely read university texts based in extensive research include *Urban Migrants and Rural development in Kenya* (1996) and *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya* (2002) as well as journal articles and numerous conference papers.

Specialist mentoring : John Oucho has a special responsibility to advise and mentor PhD students in the School and CRER throughout the duration of their PhD.

New research and PhD area: In the next three years, Professor Oucho will mentor researchers and tutor new PhD students in the following research themes.

Year 1: Participation of Africa's Brain Drain, Migrant Associations, Migrant-Stayer Networks and Diaspora in Africa's Development.

Year 2: Changing Gender Relations and Roles among Africa's Brain Drain and Diaspora.

Year 3: NEPAD-United Kingdom and French Partnerships in Managing Africa's Brain Gain and Diaspora for Euro-African Interdependent Development.

The basic premise of this new PhD area is to provide training to European and African researchers, personnel in public and private sectors as well as NGOs and civil society activists working on emigration, immigration and Diasporas. Through research, will be addressed substantive issues in the migration-development nexus; open a window for interpreting implications of Africa's brain drain and diaspora for development in individual African countries and in mutually agreed upon relations between African and European

countries; and equip students for the writing of theses or research reports. This will enable students to understand and appreciate development perspectives of contemporary African immigration to Europe and its implications for as well as prospects of changing African-European relations.

Students will either undertake original research or analyse secondary data to prepare their theses on topics approved by selected multi-disciplinary teams of researchers, and will be required to make presentations in seminars/ conferences, ultimately leading to their choices of research topics on which to prepare theses. All student research will address issues pertaining to the three sub-themes that have already been explained. To strengthen their research capability, PhD students will attend a research methodology course offered by lecturers in CRER, School of Health and Social Studies and other departments of the University of Warwick.

Summer School: CRER will be running a Summer School on International Migration and Development from 2008. This programme will be facilitated by the staff of CRER, as well as from the wider University of Warwick, the European CRER network and other CRER networks to be initiated. Participants of the Summer School will be European and African PhD students, young researchers and practitioners with an ambition to cut out careers in research; the course will enable them to forge links among themselves for future activities and will permit exchanges, cross-fertilisation between research and practice, thereby informing policy and helping to develop appropriate programmes.

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E 4. The African Diaspora Policy Centre, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The African Diaspora Policy Centre (ADPC) is a platform of knowledge and expertise in the area of migration and development. The Centre particularly contributes to better development in Africa by providing a platform that enables African diaspora in Europe to connect more closely with the continent as a collective force, pool their resources and proactively undertake initiatives for the promotion of peace, better governance and brain gain in Africa. The Centre is unique in acting as a valuable strategic link between African diaspora communities in Europe and Africa. In this regard, the Centre is filling an important strategic gap in the European countries and, the Netherlands in particular. The added value of the Centre is to assist in the tangible contribution of the African diaspora to the efforts geared to the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals in Africa in 2015 and beyond.

The Centre focuses on three interlinked themes:

Peace building: to mobilise the African diaspora in the Netherlands coming from the conflict-torn countries located in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa regions to play a proactive role in the promotion of peace and political stability in their respective countries of origin.

Better governance: to help make African diaspora expertise available for the construction of effective, responsible, transparent, accountable and democratic systems of governance in Africa.

Brain gain: to involve African diaspora professionals, academics and researchers in the Netherlands and Europe in a ‘brain circulation scheme’ designed to mitigate the adverse effects of the brain drain in Africa.

The ADPC achieves its goals by conducting evidence-based policy-related research, organizing expert meetings and conferences, undertaking capacity building training, facilitating contacts and networking relations and providing consultancy and information services.

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E. 5 Moroccan NGO “Migrations and the Law”

The Moroccan NGO “Migrations and the Law” was created in May 2007 by specialists in migration who have decided to bridge the gap between theory and practice in the field of migration. It includes academics and researchers as well as barristers specialized in migration law from Morocco and abroad. The NGO will be undertaking research and studies, organizing training and especially doing legal aid in the field of all types of migration.

The NGO is starting collaboration with the Southern Refugee Legal Advocacy Network (SRLAN) in Nairobi, and the African and Middle East Refugee Assistance (AMERA) in UK.

The Executive Board :

Elmamdmad, Khadija	Chair	Law Professor /Barrister
Boucetta, Fadel	Vice-Chair	Barrister/PhD Candidate
Drissi, Mhamed	Secretary General	PhD Economics, Director at the Ministry of Justice
Jamal, Bahija	Deputy Secretary General	Doctor in Law
Achour, Loubaba	Treasurer	Law Professor
Saidi, Salama	Deputy Treasurer	PhD Demography, Consultant
Barrou, Nadia	Advisor	Barrister

El Ghali, Kenza Advisor
Kounda, Abderrahim Advisor
Member of the Red Crescent

Professor, Civil society activist
PhD Law/Chemistry/Biology,

All the members of the Board have either written or worked in the field of migration and/or the Law.

The Charter of the Association

The “Migrations and the Law” association is an autonomous and an independent NGO created on 26 May 2007 by researchers, lawyers and other persons interested in migration and migrants’ rights. The objective behind its creation is to promote research, studies and actions in relation to all types of migration (internal and international, voluntary and forced, legal and illegal, individual and collective) and all branches of the Law (domestic and international, private and public).

The association undertakes its activities by reference to the Moroccan Law and to the legal international instruments, regional and universal, relating to Human Rights and to the rights of all migrants, such as the instruments concerning migrant workers, foreigners, refugees and displaced persons and those protecting all Human Rights.

The main purposes of the “Migrations and the Law” NGO consist in promoting research and studies relating to all types of migration and all branches of the Law as well as enforcing the rights of all migrants and offering legal assistance to them.

The work of the “Migrations and the Law” NGO is voluntary and a non profit work, based on taking collective decisions, sharing knowledge and information between all its members, in respect of the diversity of their competences and abilities and on the solidarity between them.

The association has the following goals:

- Promoting an academic and a practical dynamic in the field of migration and national and international Law;
- Reinforcing links and partnerships with national and international organisations; undertaking activities in the field of migration and/or the Law in Morocco and abroad;
- Livening up a specialized network of Academics and members of NGOs working in the field of migration and/or the Law, in Morocco and abroad;
- Collaborating with the official institutions, in respect of its autonomy;
- Sponsoring migration specialists and notably migration lawyers.

For further information, please contact:

Khadija ELMADMAD

Law Professor, Barrister and International Consultant

Chair of the NGO “Migrations and the Law”

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E. 6 Journal of Population Research

The Journal of Population Research (JPR) is a bi-annual journal of the Department of Demography and Social Statistics, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. A peer reviewed and internationally circulated journal, it publishes reports of original research, theoretical articles and timely reviews, as well as brief communications in the interdisciplinary field of Demography and Social Statistics. The Journal serves as a forum for social scientists, public health and health professionals, and most especially those who share a common interest in understanding demographic, social and health-related matters. Reviews of books and other publications relevant to Demography and Social Statistics are also published.

JPR welcomes scholarly manuscripts that address all aspects of the discipline of Demography and Social Statistics. Thus the trans-disciplinary areas covered by JPR include, but are not limited to, Demography, Social Statistics, Anthropology, Sociology, Geography, Biology, Public Health, and Environmental Sciences. The journal publishes basic, applied and methodologically oriented research from all these disciplines, including measurement, analytical techniques and strategies, and computer applications in Demography and Social Statistics. Manuscripts can be submitted at any time of the year.

Instructions for contributors: The journal looks for original papers on current research and practical programmes, short notes, news items, book reviews, reports of meetings and professional announcements. Constructive critiques and discussions of published articles and letters, which are of relevance and interest to the readership, will be published at the discretion of the Editor-in-Chief. Articles must be written in English. Each article should be accompanied by a certification that the work reported in the article is the bona fide original work of the author(s) and that the contents of the articles as such, or in any modified form, have not been published or submitted elsewhere.

The article should be sent to the Editor, preferably in a floppy disk (In Microsoft Word Window document). However, at the initial submission of manuscripts for consideration, three (3) hard copies are to be submitted. Articles will be reviewed initially by the editorial board and when found suitable prima facie, will be sent to two referees for peer review. After final acceptance, the disk, along with the final and exactly matching printed versions, should be submitted. Authors must accept full responsibility for the content of their articles. It is also for the authors to seek the permission of people whose copyrighted material they may use in preparation of their manuscript.

Manuscripts submitted to the journal should not normally exceed 25 printed pages. All copies of the articles should be typed in double space on standard white paper of A-4 with a margin of 11/4" on all sides. Manuscripts which exceed this maximum space limit may not be processed for assessment until compliance with the rule is effected. The title of the paper, running title, author's name and affiliation and complete address, including e-mail address should appear on the first page of the article. These details should not be typed on any page of the article so as to maintain anonymity while sending the article to the referees. When

there is more than one author, the correspondence will be sent to the first author, unless otherwise requested.

Authors are entitled to two copies of the issue in which their articles appear, are expected to subscribe to the journal and encourage their institutions to subscribe as well. Manuscripts, comments on article and other communications concerning editorial matters should be addressed to:

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F. Conferences past and upcoming

F.1 Conference on Understanding the Dynamics of African Migrations

September 18-21, 2007, Alisa Hotel, Accra, Ghana

From September 18-21, 2007, a workshop on ‘Understanding the Dynamics of African Migrations’ was held in Ghana, jointly organized by the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford, U.K., and the Centre for Migration Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon. This was the first activity under the African Migrations Programme of the IMI. The workshop brought together over 60 participants from across Africa, and from Europe and Mexico, with the main goal of learning about new empirical research, and breaking existing conceptual, language, and disciplinary boundaries.

The workshop combined overview papers on all the regions of Africa- West, Central, Southern, North, and the East and Horn of Africa- noting similarities, differences and convergences in mobility, and presentations of new or ongoing research on patterns and contexts of migration, methodological issues in the study of migrations, challenging migration categories, and a focus on receiving societies. The final day was devoted to the sharing of experiences with established migration networks and programmes around Africa and the rest of the world and the lessons to be learnt, as well as an exchange with invited policy makers from government, bilateral, multilateral donors and agencies to establish priority areas for research. The workshop concluded with a session on research gaps, the priorities for future programmes and funding opportunities.

Main issues and conclusions from the workshop were on the usefulness of migration as a category was raised; instead mobility was suggested as a more encompassing term; continuities in existing traditional migration patterns were noted, as well as more diverse and complex post colonial developments, including old and new destinations, directions and movements, and emigration into Africa by more diverse populations such as the Chinese, in addition to Lebanese and Syrians. The contested causes of migration and mobilities were discussed, including poverty and war, although it was also noted that development could also

promote migration. Thus the policy emphasis on the links between poverty and migration, or trade and migration needed to be interrogated.

The perennial issue of data on African migration was raised, but caution was also expressed about official statistics and data on migration, and the political pressures attending such data, thus casting doubt on its reliability. Instead it was stressed that there was the need for researchers to conduct their own surveys and research, and distil empirical data. Ethical issues on research on migrants, refugees or displaced persons were also discussed, as well as the mix of research methods, approaches and theoretical/conceptual frameworks. The workshop agreed on the need for comparative research and perspectives to be conducted by multidisciplinary research teams, using a range of methods, and the awareness of contexts, through making linkages between the macro and micro, as well as the local, national and global.

F.2 Policy Seminar on Migration and Development: Diasporas and Policy Dialogue, October 24, 2007, Institute of Social Studies (ISS) Kortenaerkade 12, The Hague,

A policy seminar on Migration and Development: Diasporas and Policy Dialogue, was held in The Hague on Wednesday 24 October 2007 at the Institute of Social Studies (ISS), from 8:30-17:00. About 60 people will participate in the policy seminar, supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The overall purpose of the policy seminar was to facilitate an open policy dialogue among diverse stakeholders in the migration and development field such as diasporas, academic researchers, development practitioners, policy makers in the government institutions, civil society organisations and the private sector. A related purpose of the policy seminar is to provide a platform in which information, knowledge, expertise, experiences, new ideas, insights and different perspectives are exchanged and shared by all these diverse stakeholders concerned with migration and development issues both in Netherlands, other European countries and beyond.

The added value of the seminar is to facilitate the inclusion of the diasporas voices in policy deliberations at the local, national and international level, and to mainstream the diaspora voices in the policy discussions in the field in a more structured and formalized manner. The African Diaspora Policy Centre is currently drafting a policy report on these issues to be distributed prior to the conference. A brief text for the seminar is available on the website of the ADPC : www.diaspora-centre.org

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F.3 Collaborative Activities: The Hague Process and NOMRA

The Hague Process Regional Initiative Workshop on Migration in West Africa and the Maghreb – Towards joint responses to the protection gap: challenges and opportunities. Lagos 2-3 November, 2007

Organised under the auspices of the Network of Migration Research in Africa (NOMRA), and The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration (THP Foundation)

- Participants include officials of ECOWAS and the Maghreb, officials of Diplomatic/ Foreign Services of countries of origin and destination; representatives of field NGOs as well as local, national and international human rights agencies (i.e Human Rights Watch, OHCHR, UNHCR); leading scholars in the field of regional migration, human security, labor migration and development

The works objectives are

- Critical assessment of the regional agenda and cooperation gaps
- Awareness building on issues of vulnerability and discrimination

Building covenants for change

- Review of stakeholders' responsibilities and capacity (States, Regional Bodies)
- Identification of opportunities for effective partnerships between origin, transit and destination countries to ensure a protection continuum in the field.

Toward long-term solutions

- Contribution to a sustainable regional co-operation and policy dialogue on labour migration
- Contribution to a change in the perception of migrants and the understanding of their potential contribution to host communities and the challenges they face to fully exploit their talents.

Day 1: Opening discussion on migration flows between West Africa, Maghreb and Europe: Review of the intergovernmental processes and initiatives (Rabat Conference, EU-Africa Summit on Migration and Development): progress made and limitations

- Recent patterns and trends in inter-regional labour migration and policy challenges both for ECOWAS and Maghreb countries as countries of departure, transit and destination.
- Recommendations and working priorities

Day 2 : Human security challenges: acknowledging the gaps and emerging issues from departure to transit and settlement: common strategies and concrete responses

- Mapping of existing and replicable initiatives/ innovative proposals with regard to:
- (Legal) protection for migrants in transit across borders
- National and local covenants to counter discrimination in countries of destination
- Sustainability and effectiveness of the policy dialogue, including bi or multi-lateral agreements between national or regional entities.
- Recommendations and working priorities

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**F.4. Union for African Population Studies Fifth African Population Conference:
Arusha, Tanzania, December 10-14, 2007**

Conference Theme: The emerging issues on Population and Development in Africa.
The Fifth African Population Conference will bring together multidisciplinary scientists, policymakers, practitioners, and partners to discuss these and other population and development challenges facing the continent. Participants will engage in scientific and policy discourse to help Africa engage meaningfully in its population development agenda. The success of the conference will be measured by not only the quality of scientific papers and how many people attended, but even more importantly by how much progress the continent will have made in addressing poverty, population, and health issues in the next decade as a result of presentations and networks forged at the conference. One formal session is devoted to Migration and urbanization

For further information, contact www.uaps.org

G. Publications Received

G.1 Just Published

Adepoju, A., van Naerssen, T. & Zoomers, A. (eds.), 2007 International Migration and National Development in sub-Saharan Africa. Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum Series.
