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**The nomadic status of African people in Southern Region: a hindrance of development or a tactic for development?<sup>i</sup>**

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**Key words:** Southern Africa, Migration, Cross-border, Labour Migration, Brain-Drain, Remittances and Xenophobia.

**Abstract:**

Since the earliest contacts with Europeans, Americans, Indians and Arabic Africans have been exposed to a permanent mobility. It can be said that they have never experienced sedentary living. Studies have demonstrated that in the past migration in Southern Africa is above all linked with trade and labour migration and the brutality of colonialism, which made peoples flee from the colonial system. If in the past mobility benefited the colonial states through slavery, a cheap labour force and deferred payments, it now seems that migration is still playing the same role through the loss of skills during or after professional training to the benefit of hosting countries. Among Southern African countries the Republic of South Africa has become a hosting country of both skilled and unskilled labour from all over the sub-Saharan countries, including Asia. In the meantime, South Africa is also a victim of emigration of home-trained skills. It is an intricate issue. To make things worse, the data of migrants is not only out of date but there is a lack of an accurate data base. So what can be done? The objective of this paper is to discuss the evolution of international migration in the Southern African region. This includes studies done by the Southern African Migration Project in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

**1. Introduction**

"We have lost a young woman in South Africa. We have raised R3,500 (500 US dollars) but we need R5,000 (714 dollars). We want to transport the body home to her relatives in Zimbabwe. But it is difficult," Joyce Dube, director of the Southern African Women's Institute for Migration Affairs (SAWIMA), May, 2007)<sup>ii</sup>.

"That kind of money can help the parents of the deceased for three or four months. Instead they are sending them a body in a casket," Steve Shumba<sup>iii</sup>. Like hundreds of thousands of other migrants from the SADC region, the woman came to South Africa, the continent's economic powerhouse, to look for greener pastures".

Southern Africa is far more than a region bordered by the Atlantic Ocean and tropical grasslands in the North West and by the Indian Ocean in the north east. It has a different history from that of the tropical middle belt across the continent to the north, as Thompson (1996) points out. It is a region that pretends to have an economic, political and social cohesion committed to increased regional cooperation and integration, as Klareen and Rutinwa (2004:1) pointed out in their Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa, report No.1. Is importantly a region of long history of intra-regional labour migration dating back to the mid-nineteenth century (Black et al 2006:80).

The Southern African region has two economic organisations with more than ten country-members, namely the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Both organisations have a common goal to reduce poverty and maintain political stability and are strongly committed with population mobility.

As Klareen and Rutinwa state in their report, the commitment of the SADC states is reflected in a series of Protocols to which they are signatory. The Protocol dealing with the cross-border migration of people within SADC (the so-called Draft Free Movement Protocol of 1995) owed too much to European precedent (Schengen) and too little to the political and economic realities of the region. As a result, the Protocol (and a modified version called the 'Facilitation of Movement Protocol') was rejected by certain states in the region (primarily the migrant-receiving states).

As a Mozambique national SAMP partner and researcher, I am in a position to say that SAMP as a research institution has done much to influence the decision-making of Southern African States to have their migration policy and regulations or laws disseminated. Throughout this year I have attended several meetings all related to the migration issue. In March I organised the migration national workshop with the objective to discuss with interested public the SAMP results relating to Mozambique as well as the SAMP policy. Decision-making academics, UNFPA, OIM program officers, as well civil society organisations, border officers and women's organisation attended. In May I had the privilege to attend the workshop for the dissemination of the South Africa migration Act of 2002 in Maputo, a workshop organised by the Ministry of Interior of Mozambique and the Home Affairs Department of South Africa. I also attended in Johannesburg the "Female migrants and the impact of remittances in the SADC region" workshop jointly organised by the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women and the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) at South Africa's Witwatersrand University. These recent events show that the issue of migration has gained relevance either as a field of study or as a political and economic issue. All these meetings have involved different players and have served to show that SADC states "are not just sitting and waiting for the caravan to pass" with relation to migration.

At this stage two issues have revealed the weaknesses of SAMP studies, which are: firstly, the brevity of studies within the Lusophone and Francophone Southern African countries and; secondly, most of the studies undertaken throughout the ten years of SAMP's existence have South Africa as the core in the sense that only South Africa has been the main victim of irregular immigration. If we pretend to have a real picture of Southern African migration it would be pertinent to look in both directions. For example, the second national census of population and housing done in 1997 by the National

Institute for Statistic (see INE 1999) found that there were about 3,000 South Africans in Niassa province, a province located a far distance from Maputo, the capital city of the Republic and without a common border with South Africa. So what have been happening over ten years of their residence, and what about the other provinces? The Mozambican Media have also reported other movements of South Africans who have crossed illegally to Mozambique by sea, allegedly for fishing, diving, etc. Apart from brain-drain what have these immigrants contributed to their country?

## **2. Data: an overview**

I am working with data collected by SAMP, GCIM<sup>iv</sup> and UNFPA reports and some statements made during the mentioned recent meetings and some studies undertaken by different migration experts, mostly data collected and projected before 2000, or collected after 2000, and some without correlation to current events. Such events as: those in Mozambique which finished its repatriation movement after the long civil war in 1994 and Angola in 2005, when Malawi is no longer the refuge for Mozambicans; and conversely, when Malawians come to Mozambique in search of land<sup>v</sup>.

It is well known that several events have occurred in the region after 2000, such as the end of the civil war in Angola, the repatriation of refugees and the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe since 2000. The UNFPA report of 2006 referred that Zimbabwean women are finding creative ways of supplementing their family income by purchasing goods from Mozambique, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia as cross- border traders to resell in their own countries, where runaways' inflation has put consumer items beyond the reach of the average buyer.

Other events have been bilateral agreements related with visa exemptions signed by different Southern African countries such as Mozambique and South Africa effective from May 2005; Mozambique and Swaziland, effective from October 2006, etc.; and the new immigration Act of South Africa of 2002. The situation might have reduced the number of people who used to cross the borders illegally. However, it emerged from information gathered during the Migration national workshop in March, 16<sup>th</sup> March 2007, Maputo as well as the workshop on dissemination of South Africa Immigration Act of 2002 in 29<sup>th</sup> of May, 2007, in Maputo, that Mozambicans who go for seasonal jobs in plantations in Mpumalanga province (South Africa) have become overstays because they are waiting for their payments, since they are paid after 30 days of work. This has put the employers at an advantage since they do not pay these illegal and call the police to arrest and deport them.

Data collected through SAMP or other academic sources resulted from random surveys on specific issues and as national surveys in a few cases. In Mozambique due to the highly cost of realising a national survey the few SAMP studies were realised in specific areas. In the meantime only one study that referred to Migration and Poverty was a national survey, and except for one province it was not considered. Only South Africa, it seems, has used its data collected from the Immigration offices, although it refers only to people who cross the borders in regular situations in a country that has 53 land borders, 10 airports and 7 sea ports (Department of Home Affairs 2007). In general the studies on migration that I had access refer that:

- a) There is a general lack of data of migration across the region since the departments of Immigration do not have the conditions to store and record the

- numbers of people who are travelling. Only recently (no more than three years ago) In Mozambique only two borders introduced an informatics system to record data, namely the Maputo international airport and the Ressaño Garcia border that links with South Africa. Therefore over fifty crossing ports that link Mozambique and neighbouring countries are still using manual ways to record entries and exits.
- b) Data related to the both Southern African Lusophone countries of Angola and Mozambique exists as a certain source in Portugal, but require official authorisation to be used. Apart from this Angola and Mozambique are less represented in SAMP studies;
  - c) There is general inaccuracy on migration data;
  - d) The migration rates are inferred by demographic accounting where net migration was simply calculated as residual. Thus managers do not know where emigrants went or where immigrants came from, but that the vast bulk of the movements across African borders are not from overseas;
  - e) The Republic of South Africa is the main destination area of people from the Southern Africa region;
  - f) The remaining southern Africa countries are transit ports either to South Africa or overseas, mainly to New Zealand, Australia, United Kingdom and United States.
  - g) There are a growing number of refugees in other Southern African countries.

### **3. Migration a Southern Africa concern**

Since migration is a major concern within the SADC states the Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa (MIDSA) was established in 2001 with the first Forum in Ezulwini, Swaziland, when the member states resolved that MIDSA should undertake a regional, SADC-wide scope of citizenship, migration, immigration and refugee legislation. MIDSA is a project on legal harmonization of immigration and refugee law<sup>vi</sup>. It has four objectives: a) to collect information on national legislation in a single publication as a source for policy-makers; b) to identify points of similarity and difference in national immigration law between SADC-member states; c) to investigate the possibilities for harmonization of national immigration policy and law; and d) in the interests of good governance and regional cooperation and integration to make specific recommendations for harmonization. A second parallel, SAMP study is investigating the issue of harmonization of migration data collection systems within SADC.

The Klaaren and Rutinwa report to MIDSA report No.1, 2004 stated that with respect for Immigration and Migration there had been a relatively recent change in SADC migration laws. At least five countries have significantly changed their migration laws within the past ten years: Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Lesotho was indicated in the midst of a fundamental revision of its statute. In relation to Migration Control and Refugee Protection the majority of SADC members have ratified the key international instruments relating to refugees, and have enacted legislation to deal with the phenomenon. That instrument is a complement of rights' treaties; and preserves the principles of asylum and *non-refoulement*, which have implications for migration controls. The refugees in SADC countries are defined according to the 1951 UN convention on refugees and the 1969 OAU Convention on refugees in Africa.

Several scholars have widely discussed that historically, the so-called Southern African Region was exporting unskilled labour to South African mines and plantations

for more than a century. There is, however, a significant unrecorded migration to South Africa that is difficult to estimate. For many men in the region, migrating to South Africa for employment has almost become a tradition, which is, of course, reinforced by two major issues as SAMP studies have proved. Firstly, the employment prospect for returning migrants is usually very low. Secondly, the South African labour market tends to pay relatively higher wages. Whether those who have been migrating consider it attractive economically to permanently settle for employment in South Africa, despite all the risks associated with being and foreign immigrant still remains a moot point.

Scholars and politicians have put efforts into analysing and giving suggestions to curb the issue: if migration is a hindrance for development, or a tactic for the development. If it is a tactic it cannot be seen as government initiative, but importantly as a 'peoples' initiative' in the context of survival in various ways since they have been exposed to poverty, political instability, natural hazards, etc. and have lost hope in their governments. As a matter of fact that strategy of migration is the panacea of the people's problems. Scholars have argued that poverty is not solely an issue of government mismanagement, but is also a consequence of different global processes in which Europe and America have a significant responsibility. It has also been argued that the strategy of "controlling people" through passports, fences, etc. has been insignificant. Southern Africa region as the entire African continent, registered an uncountable number of moves which occur internally or are those observed across the region and outside the continent. So what is to be done?

#### **4. The state of Migration of Southern African Countries**

##### **4.1 Population and economic situation**

SADC is a regional organisation formed by Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

**Table 1: Selected population data of Southern African Development Community**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Infant mortality Total per 1,000 live births</b>	<b>Life expectancy M/F</b>	<b>% of Illiterate (&gt;15 years) M/F</b>	<b>HIV prevalence rate (%) (15-49) M/F</b>
Angola	133	40.1/43.0	17/46	3.0/4.4
Botswana	46	34.3/32.8	20/18	24.0/31.9
D R Congo	114	43.2/45.3	19/46	2.6/3.9
Lesotho	61	33.6/34.5	26/10	19.5/27.0
Madagascar	73	54.7/57.2	23/35	0.7/0.3
Malawi	105	40.8/40.0	25/46	11.5/16.5
Mauritius	14	69.5/76.1	12/19	0.9/0.2
Mozambique	94	41.3/41.9	-	13.0/19.2
Namibia	39	46.3/45.6	13/17	15.4/23.8
Tanzania	104	45.8/46.4	22/38	5.8/7.1
Zambia	91	38.9/37.8	24/40	14.0/20.0
Zimbabwe	61	37.5/35.8	-	15.6/25.0
South Africa	40	44.5/45.2	16/19	15.0/22.5
Swaziland	67	30.5/29.4	19/22	26.7/40.0

Source: UNFPA 2006:102 (selected indicators form Less Populous Countries/Territories).

Curtain (1996: 465) went so far as to assert that throughout Africa, economic changes meant that people had to concentrate where resources endowments have made development possible. People have moved from a broad distribution based on agriculture largely for their own consumption into new patterns of concentration at railroad junctions, mines, plantations, administrative centres, or at port cities that grew up along the coasts to handle the export trade. The change of residence usually began with a temporary move, often seasonal and undertaken by young males alone. The migrants then returned again and again, brought their families or married in their new homes, and finally stabilised as new residents. This pattern of seasonal migration as a phase leading to a permanent change of residences was common to all North and tropical Africa. In South Africa, however, another form of migration developed that involved a regular and systematic oscillation of workers between nearly self-subsistence farming in the African reserves and wage work for 'European' farms, mines, or in the towns. The governments in southern Africa discouraged stabilisation of labour in the new centres.

Wars, political instability and natural hazards have compelled people to seek work and refuge in other areas. Undocumented migrants in the region perceive South Africa as their principal destination. This has to do with a number of factors, including geographical proximity, socio-cultural affinity across borders and economic advancement in areas of destiny relative to the areas of origin. Apart from this, the important role played by recruitment agencies has contributed to attract more people to move.

#### **4.2 Internal migration**

Like other regions of Africa or elsewhere, there is a long history of internal migration. This feature has many reasons and is still continuing. Some countries, for example, hardly hit by the civil wars in Mozambique, Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo and more recently the economic political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe have forced people to be internally displaced, that is, people mostly moving from the rural to urban areas.

The growth of rural impoverishment and the unemployment in urban areas has facilitated the desire of people to move instead of remaining at home. Following the global trend, scholars have found that as in the region migration has become feminised. Women who were not born in the cities have been found involved in the informal economy and are involved in cross border migration to maintain their income.

Scholars have argued that links between rural and urban areas developed by migration are significant in promoting remittances, in encouraging community level initiatives for the construction of public facilities and infrastructures and linking rural procedures to urban markets. In general the rapid urbanization of Southern African countries and its feminisation result from the intense rural-urban migration.

#### **4.3 A Background of Forced labour/Coerced Labour**

In much of Africa the harshest period of rule was the period before the First World War. Then the transition took place, sooner in some colonies and later in others, from an economy based on the most brutal and naked compulsion, to one based more substantially on economic incentives and constraints (Feierman 1996:494), that is, forced or coerced labour known in southern Mozambique as *xibalo* (the duration was about one month), and forced labour of blacks who were subject to the 'moral and legal obligation'

to work for the state or private individuals. That was introduced in November, 1899 (Harris, 1994:168). Forced labour served to push increasing numbers of men to South Africa where, as “volunteers”, they could earn far higher wages than at home.

Wage labour gave young men disadvantaged by their lowly birth or awaiting an inheritance, the opportunity to escape the dominance of the elders. By finding work in South Africa, men could accumulate enough money to purchase a brideprice without recourse to the *numzane* (homesteads’ heads). Migrant labour provided a source of bridewealth for a young man without sisters or for brothers who had “eaten” the brideprice of a sister seeking to leave her husband.

Freund (1984) and Harris (1994) argued that labour migration developed at the intersection of two powerful tendencies. On the one hand it initially offered to the migrant the possibility of returning home having achieved a particular target in cash, whether under compulsory or voluntary circumstances; youths could escape from exploitation by elders and grasping chiefs. On the other hand it appealed enormously to capitalists of all sorts who were able to procure a wage force without paying for long-term subsistence costs or family support; all they needed to offer was a wage to cover the immediate survival needs of the individual worker while on the job together with a cash sum to be introduced into the rural household.

Through deferred payments colonial governments gained benefits from the sending countries of the labour force to receiving countries, such as the Republic of South Africa, a country which, for more than a century has benefited from cheap labour from Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho. Plantations and minerals in southern Africa constituted the engine for labour migration.

Mozambicans, Sotho, Swazi, Zimbabweans and Tswana as well as other Southern African countries situated in the Indian Ocean such as Madagascar and Seychelles have received or exchanged several peoples or sent peoples to other regions in the process of production for colonial countries. Colonial countries have benefited from this labour. As Harris points out, Mozambican labour was very expensive since, on top of the high cost of transport, the Portuguese had imposed onerous fees on both recruiter and worker. Harris (176) stated that in 1900 at least 163 Mozambicans, driven by unemployment caused by the Anglo-Boer War left Lourenço Marques on three year contracts to work on sugar plantations of Reunion for monthly wages of less than 30s.

The SAMP studies undertaken since 1996 have demonstrated that even though these countries gained their independence from the early 1960’s to 1990, and with the end of the Apartheid in South Africa the situation has not changed. South Africa has become the core of African development thus an attractive area for immigrants. Conversely, South Africa has lost skills that benefit of Europe, New Zealand and North America.

If in the past those who gained through this immigration were the Europeans, nowadays it is South Africa that has benefited from the political and economic instability across the southern African States. Apart from the so-called traditional countries who used to send their peoples to South Africa through labour agreements, in the last decade countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Nigeria, Senegal, have also contributed to the flow of immigration to South Africa.

In recent years, it has become increasingly obvious that the process of migration in Africa towards other African States and outside the continent are related to the

differentiations in development among countries, emphasised by the failure of African states to manage their respective populations and economies. If in the past African states have moved, it is because they were under agreements which were informal and facilitated by networks which have been designed and established for years, and mostly related to culture, religion, kinships and friendships. Also, the recruitment agencies have contributed to sending people who, when they have finished their contract do not return.

Several SAMP studies have demonstrated the degree of dissatisfaction of South African citizens in relation to the immigration of other African citizens. There are several recruitment agencies, the most popular being the TEBA, LTD<sup>vii</sup> (mining) established in Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho. Other recruiting agencies working in Mozambique are ALGOS (which recruits mine and farm labour) and TOLA, which recruits farm labour.

Research done by Lincoln and Mararike and published by SAMP in 2000 indicated that migrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe were prominent in the agricultural labour market of the Northern Province of South Africa. Mozambicans were mostly seasonal labourers of commercial agriculture. The scale of migration from Mozambique as well as with Zimbabwe is very significant despite the obstacles of entering South Africa, especially for those who have crossed borders and do not carry proper documentations, or do not have a work contract or a work permit. Most of these immigrants are attracted by the hope of a job on that side of the border.

#### **4.4 Remittances**

Remittance is defined by several agencies as migrant earnings (cash and goods) sent back to countries of origin, which is considered by scholars (of international migration) to be important for poverty reduction. Although exact numbers are hard to identify, the sums are enormous, either in cash or in goods. The UNFPA report of (2006:12) pointed out that, for example, remittances represent a high share of GDP in small countries like Lesotho, to be as much as 26 per cent.

Black et al said that international remittances appeared to be much smaller in Africa than in any other world region, representing just 10 per cent of external finance in 2001, compared to 63 per cent in South Asia, and 56 per cent in the Middle East and North Africa. However, this is partly because almost two thirds of Sub-Saharan countries simply do not report any data on remittances, suggesting that investment in a monitoring system would be of some value.

It has been reported that migrant workers have played a central role in developing the Witwatersrand into the greatest centre of gold production in the world Harris (Op cit pg228).

The annual report of TEBA-LTD said that in the first semester of 2005, 54463 miners working in South Africa remitted .199, 38 ZAR to Mozambique. (TEBA,LTD 2006). Black et al (pg 125) pointed out that actually Mozambique was the single largest supplier of mine labour to South Africa with annual remittances in “kind” channels totalling US32 million. The next statements resulted from the meeting held by the South African International Affairs and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women and the South African Institute of International Affairs, in Johannesburg, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2006):

"It is difficult to calculate the amounts involved in remittances. We need to persuade banks to relax the process of opening a bank account for migrants. We also need to persuade them to reduce charges on money transfers for migrants," Burton Joseph, a director at South Africa's department of home affairs, told the meeting. "State departments such as the National Intelligence Agency are interested in formalising the remittance of funds by migrants to combat money laundering," he said.

Wade Pendleton, a professor at the Southern African Migration Project at the Witwatersrand University, took part in a 57-page study "SADC Migrants, Remittances and Development". He told the gathering that globally, 250 billion dollars are remitted by migrants annually. "Recent estimates suggest that the value of remittances from South Africa alone may be as much as R6 billion (around 856 million US dollars) annually," he said. "But I think this is an underestimation." The study focused on 4,700 households in Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe and involved 30,000 people. It found that food tops the list of necessities that cause people to migrate and remit money. Others, in order of importance, are school fees, clothing and transportation, Pendleton said. "Many of the migrants maintain their links with home through money."

Willie Kachaka, an official at Malawi's state-owned National Statistics, said eight percent of the country's population are migrants. Women constitute 46.7 percent of the migrant population, including nurses working in South Africa, Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. "Studies show that 75 percent of remittances are used to purchase food," he said.

Researchers say remittances still do not move via financial institutions. "More than 90 percent of the remittances in the SADC region are done informally. The migrants hand money, for example, to a taxi driver to deliver to their children or relatives at home. It is 95 percent reliable and safe," said Sally Peberdy, project manager at the Southern African Migration Project at Witwatersrand University. African women have been travelling for decades to earn money. In the 1960s, women constituted 42 percent of migrants in Africa. Nowadays it is 50 percent, Peberdy said. "It is not a new thing. It has been overlooked by researchers." Stringent immigration requirements impede travel. "A lot of women bribe their way through the border posts because it is difficult to get a visa. You need to fill in forms and present a bank statement," she added. This affects researchers' data collection as border jumpers or those who bribe customs officials are not documented.

As can be seen on these statements and from the data that I have shown that there is a varied data on the issue. The recent SAMP survey on Migration and Remittances (MARS)<sup>viii</sup> realized at the household level by the year of 2004 for 5 SADC countries: Botswana, Lesotho, Southern Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe attested that the remittance flow was within the region itself. However South Africa and Zimbabwe had large overseas Diasporas. One recent survey of Zimbabweans living in the United Kingdom, found that 75 per cent regularly remitted funds back home, most to support family members. With regard to regional remittances transfers, the primary source countries for migrant remittances were South Africa and, to a lesser degree, Botswana. The same study founded that despite evidence of growing feminization of migration globally, most migrants continue to be male. In Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland over 80 per cent of migrants were male. Most female migrants were from Zimbabwe and to a lesser extent, Lesotho. The annual amounts of money remitted to migrant sending

households by country in rand were: Botswana (8,306), Lesotho (7,800), Mozambique (1,760), Swaziland (4,800) and Zimbabwe (1,093). In every country remittance were sources of income for the majority of the households. Lastly the survey showed very little evidence of re-investment of income in entrepreneurial or other income-generating activity.

#### **4.5 International Migration within the Southern African Region: South Africa the Africans' Paradise**

##### **4.5.1 International migration: an overview**

Southern Africa's location at the southern extremity of Africa was far removed from contact with the outside world before the maritime revolution of the fifteenth century. Thompson (Op cit pg 242) argued that archaeologists have admitted that several centuries before the modern era, some of the so-called indigenous people in the region received sheep and cattle from their northern neighbours, and from the second century AD onwards, perhaps earlier, Bantu-speaking farmers with knowledge of iron-working began to move into the region from the north, while the inhabitants of the southern ends of Americas and Australasia still depended on hunting and food gathering and on implements of stone and wood.

Freund (Op cit pg 48) argued that the slave trade in Southern Africa was a factor in the accumulation of capital which helped to fuel the Industrial Revolution. The causal link cannot be traced directly to the trade itself and Euro-African commerce in general was just one element in a complexity of economic activities: the plantations, their exports, their consumption of foodstuffs and textiles from Europe, North America (and, on a small scale, Africa) and the general development of shipping, to name only the most obvious. Slaving played its part in laying the foundations of capitalism within this broader structure made possible by the expansion of world commerce.

Oliver and Atmore (1987: 53) argued that the basis for the early meetings between Africans and people from the rest of the world was trade. In South Africa such encounters were usually over land. In tropical Africa European and African merchants, even those engaged in the wretched slave-trade, met essentially on an equal footing. They treated each other with a mixture of suspicion and respect. Europeans and Arabs were careful to acknowledge the authority of African rulers and pay attention to the manners and customs of African people. In South Africa the Europeans were present from the beginning, not as traders but as settlers.

The discovery of great diamond deposits near the junction of the Orange and the Vaal rivers in 1868 hastened the inevitable process whereby the self-governing African peoples and states lost their independence and were brought under European rule (Oliver and Atmore, Op cit, pg 61). The opening of the diamond mines greatly increased the demand for labour, and Africans converged upon Kimberly from all over southern Africa. In the early days of mining the companies regularly paid these workers in guns and ammunition, and so thousands of Africans returned to their homes with fire-arms (pg 64).

It has been argued that ever since the earliest stages of contacts with Europeans, Americans, Indians, Arabic peoples (based in the Indian Ocean) and Africans have been exposed to a permanent mobility, and have never experienced a status of sedentary living. Studies have demonstrated that in the past migration in Southern Africa is above all situation linked with trade of textiles from Europe and India, spices, precious metals,

cassava and maize and slaves), when labour migration and the brutality of the colony states made peoples flee from forced labour migration and repressive colonial regimes. If in the past the mobility benefited the colonial states through slavery, cheap labour force and deferred payments, it now seems that migration is still playing the same role through the loss of skills during or after their academic or professional trainings. It is an intricate issue.

In recent years, issues of international migration and asylum have risen to the top of the international agenda. The pressures and opportunities linked to the process of globalisation have led to an increase in the number of people moving from one country and continent to another. At the same time, insecurity and armed conflict in many of the world's poorest countries and economically marginalised states have triggered new waves of displaced people (Borjas and Crisp 2005; Boswell and Crisp 2004: 1).

According to the African Union: the State of African Population of 2006 indicated that migration has always been a major issue among African populations. Of the 150 million migrants in the world, more than 50 millions are estimated to be Africans, with an increasing percentage of female migrants. Given that the number of migrants is rising and that this is likely to persist in the foreseeable future, the management of migration has necessarily become one of the critical challenges for African States in the new millennium. Furthermore, the increase in the number of women migrating on their own calls for special attention and has thus become a major concern. The United Nations has estimated that over 16 million people in Africa are living in a country other than that of their birth.

The above-mentioned report attested that the issue of international migration, its overall impact on the economy and society in African countries, and the tension, or xenophobia, between African nations must be considered, including both positive and negative effects of "brain-drain". One aspect of the brain-drain that requires greater scrutiny is how to more effectively tap the resources abundant within the African Diaspora – not simply the generous remittances so many send to families and communities, but also the know-how they have acquired that could be applied to development "back home". This resource can easily be effectively tapped and converted into "Brain Gain". While remittances are becoming a major source of financial resources, it must be emphasised that they are privately earned funds and should not be construed as part of official development assistance.

The discourse around the issue is whether migration is a hindrance or a drive for development. Scholars such as Boswell and Crisp have argued that migration can contribute to development or reform in source countries through transnational migrant networks which can transfer resources, information and ideas to those at home. Immigration can also bring tangible economic benefits to countries of destination, providing a cheap and flexible source of labour to fill gaps in labour supply or cushion seasonal and cyclical fluctuations. That situation happened in the colonial past when cheaper labour was used for plantations; on mines and in the construction industry (refer to Harris). Many receiving societies have recognised how immigration can be culturally enriching, providing a source of fresh talent and ideas. From the perspective of migrants, the possibility of temporary or permanent migration can be a means of supplementing incomes, supporting families at home, or having access to a better way of life. For refugees, it can mean safety from conflict, violence or persecution.

Yet far more media and public attention has been focused on the negative impacts of migration. Emigration can impede development in source countries through the loss of skilled and creative workers, and by delaying the need for economic restructuring to create more jobs. In many countries of destination, migration, and especially asylum, is seen as imposing an inordinate burden on welfare systems and public resources, while economic migrants are often seen as threatening the jobs and wages of native workers. Immigration has also been increasingly seen as a threat to a shared cultural identity and even to security, especially after the events of 11 September 2001.

The response of most receiving states has been to restrict access to asylum systems and to close most legal routes for immigration. Yet this has had unintended consequence of forcing many would-be migrants and refugees to resort to the use of human smugglers and traffickers to reach countries of destination. Many have lost their lives being smuggled via dangerous land and sea routes, including eaten by wild animals (the examples of people who try to cross the Kruger Park in South Africa, full of wild animals and the Limpopo River that is full of crocodiles) while others have been subject to gross exploitation and human rights abuses in countries of transit and destination. Tougher measures on asylum and illegal immigrants in receiving countries have meanwhile forced many to live in sub-standard conditions with precarious legal status.

Southern Africa is not an exception of international migration; firstly as the source of migrants and secondly as the receiving of immigrants. Skilled migration is currently a topic of hot debate in the region and it has attracted a wide range of claims and counter-claims, particularly in South Africa where the emigration of skilled nationals has generated considerable public attention during and since the demise of Apartheid (McDonald and Crush 2002:1). If in a recent past the brain-drain in South Africa was dominated by the whites it seems that actually black people have also been emigrating overseas. It seems that the most important source of brain drain comes from highly qualified people and nurses.

In other SADC countries, the longstanding brain-drain debate is a great deal more sophisticated. At independence in the 1960s and 1970s, most countries inherited a woefully underdeveloped local skills base. For example, in Mozambique at the time of independence there were only 10 per cent educated people, and thousands got education after independence since they benefited from bilateral or multilateral education agreements with former socialist countries such as USSR, Cuba, Czech Republic, China and Eastern Europe. During the 1990s' people started to go for training to western countries. However, much advanced training had to take place outside the country. Governments sending students overseas confronted the challenge of drawing them back again once trained. Local training became a much more attractive and cost-effective alternative and there was dramatic expansion of higher education in most SADC states. Independence also saw a major expansion in the numbers of highly skilled expatriates arriving in these countries, primarily from Europe, North America and the rest of Africa. Organisations such as the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) also set up programmes to encourage skilled nationals to return home.

The first movement of skilled blacks to South Africa during of Apartheid is mentioned by McDonald and Crush who pointed out that from the 1970s, a silent drift of skills began from SADC and other African countries (particularly Ghana and Uganda) to

the 'independent' South African homelands of Transkei and Bophuthaswana. That movement involved an estimated 7,000 highly skilled Africans by the late 1980s.

In the early 1990s, the end of Apartheid produced fears within SADC of a renewed brain-drain to South Africa from the rest of the region. Initially, these fears seemed justified. Skills migration to South Africa from all other SADC States jumped significantly in the run-up to the 1994 election. Some 200 medical doctors reportedly left Zimbabwe for Botswana and South Africa in 1992 alone. Experts projected further losses and a significant impact on struggling local economies.

The following statements come from those who attended the International workshop on "Female Migrants and the Impact of Remittances in the SADC Region", which brought together some 30 researchers and civil society activists from around the fourteen member Southern African Development Community (SADC). The seminar took place on May 30, 2007 in South Africa's commercial hub of Johannesburg where it was said that about 49,000 Zimbabweans cross into South Africa every month. Estimates put the percentage of women between 20 and 55 of the total, Ayesha Kajee, senior researcher at SAIIA, told IPS at the gathering. "Nobody has any idea about the exact number of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa." Dube reckons that the conservative figure of three million being touted by various researchers and civil society groups is an underestimation. "I think the number is more than that," she told IPS. "Zimbabweans are not the only Africans coming to South Africa."

Malawi's neighbour Mozambique, a former receiving country of Mozambicans refugees, started to produce economic migrants after the 1992 peace deal between the FRELIMO government and RENAMO rebels. Until then, Mozambicans did not migrate, thanks to the country's socialist system. All of that changed because of the structural adjustments introduced by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). "That forced people to migrate internally and across the border," Ines Raimundo, a lecturer of human geography at Mozambique's Eduardo Mondlane University, told the gathering. She said an increasing number of Mozambican women now travel to China, Brazil, Thailand, Hong Kong and Dubai to trade. "The SADC market is saturated. As a result, women travel to other continents," Raimundo said.

#### **4.4.2 Cross border migration**

People alongside the region have a long history of buying and selling goods within the region especially with countries which share the same borders. People have crossed borders not solely for selling, but for paying visits to friends and each other, especially between Tanzania/Mozambique, Malawi/Mozambique, Mozambique/Swaziland, Mozambique/Zimbabwe. There are other motives such as study and medical treatment. South Africa comprises a significant trading partner for people from several Southern African countries, as the recent study undertaken by SAMP on Border Monitoring Cross Border has indicated. In the case of Mozambique, some of these crossings were facilitated by kinships ties and by the border facilitation agreement signed between the Government of Mozambique and Malawi and Swaziland and Tanzania during the 1980's

due to the military situation in Mozambique, and more recently with the end of the Apartheid and the recent visa exemption between Mozambique and South Africa<sup>ix</sup>.

The SADC countries have agreed to facilitate the movement of people and goods and the harmonization of their currency. By January 2008 the Free Trade Area will be implemented, which consists of eliminating duties for goods produced within the region., that is the Custom Union by 2010, the Common Market by 2015, the Monetary Union by 2016 and then the Single Currency and Economic Union by 2018.

According to SAMP, this program indicates the importance of understanding the dynamics of small- scale cross-border trade to enhance border management and movement through border posts. The majority of these traders (approximately three quarters) are women. Businesspeople and entrepreneurs fear that this integration will definitely help the cross-border traders since, according to an unpublished study on Border Monitoring Cross Border; people interviewed declared that their enemies were the Custom services and the Immigration officers, who they try by all means to avoid.

One of the issues of cross borders or irregular migrants are those who are in an illegal situation because they do not possess valid documents; they are overstays and simply do not carry any documentation with them. To possess a passport means that a person must at least be registered in his or her place of birth. However, in Mozambique it has been reported that many people who have reached the age of military service (18 years) were not registered. Several Mozambicans have lost the habitué of living with ID's due to their state of mobility due to the civil war and floods. It is a "vicious cycle" because to have a passport requires an ID and that depends on a birth certificate, but mostly people have lost their identification due to the reasons mentioned or because they were not registered.

#### **4.5.3 The Brain-drain in Southern Africa**

"The brain-drain has recently emerged as a major policy issue in Southern Africa. Although precise data on the extent of the skills exodus is lacking, all the countries of the region have expressed concern about the impact of an accelerating brain drain on economic growth and development and on the quality of service delivery in the public sector. The impact of the drain brain is being exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS epidemic which is debilitating and killing off large numbers of people in their most productive years" (Crush, Pendleton and Tevera 2005:1).

The demand for skilled workers can result in the emigration of a substantial number of skilled workers from source countries. This fact is at the root of one of the major debates surrounding international migration and can represent a significant loss for developing countries. Countries spend considerable resources in training highly skilled professionals: When they leave, the sending country loses both emigrant skills as well as its initial investment (UNFPA 2006: 7).

Recent World Health Organization surveys (quoting UNFPA) said that the intention to migrate is especially high among health workers living in regions hit hardest with HIV/AIDS. There are 68 per cent in Zimbabwe. There are more Malawian doctors currently practising in the northern English city of Manchester than in the whole of Malawi (pg 8). Only 50 out of the 600 doctors trained since the independence are still practising in Zambia.

According to the recently published SAMP report (2006) on “The Brain-Drain of health professionals from Sub-Saharan Africa to Canada”, there were a significant number of African-trained health workers migrating every year to developed countries including Canada. In reference to the same report the South African Medical Association estimated that at least 5,000 South African doctors moved abroad in 2002. About 300 nurses leave South Africa each month. By analysing the statistics the authors indicate that the health sector is the most affected by the brain-drain in a region where the life expectancy is the lowest in the world. Unfortunately none of these reports that I have used for this paper have information about the situation in Lusophone and Francophone countries.

However, a recent study conducted by myself to the European Commission in Mozambique on “Migration Profile of Mozambique” and information that I could gather in a workshop that I attended last year on “Migration in the Lusophone countries”<sup>x</sup> revealed that Mozambique is one of the few countries with lower levels of Brain-Drain, unlike Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome the other Lusophone African countries. The little information that I could gather in different ministries in Mozambique only indicated the number of people who were trained overseas, but without accurate information of where they are integrated. However, a recent study undertaken by researchers on the Centre for Population Studies on “Mobility of trained people”<sup>xi</sup> indicated that: one of the main reasons of mobility of lecturers of Tertiary education in Mozambique were: a) economic. The sampling of those interviewed indicated that 40 per cent needed to increase their income and thus have more than one job and b) uncertainty of their careers, since it takes time to move from one category to another.

Half of the full-time lecturers interviewed have additional contracts with other institutions of higher education, which reveal a trend of mobility. Of the percentage of lecturers interviewed with full-time and part-time contracts, about 20 per cent have more than one contract link. The lecturers with higher mobility are those who have Licenciatura (equivalent to B Honours), mostly males under 50 years. This obviously affects their programs of training for post-graduate degrees. Some of them are lecturing in subjects other than their own. What makes matters worse is the absence of agreements between private and public universities in relation to lecturers’ exchange.

The study undertaken by SAMP on Potential Skills Base Survey<sup>xii</sup> administered in 2003 on final year students, 10,000 were interviewed in training institutions across the region (i.e. universities, technikons, teacher training, colleges, and nursing training colleges). Students were asked, for example: “Do SADC students think they will leave for good”? Around 25% said it was likely they would move for less than two years and 23% said for more than two years. When asked if they do leave, are they more likely to leave the region or relocate to another country within SADC? It was found that the most likely destination is North America (31%), followed by Southern Africa (29%) and Europe (29%). Southern Africa was the first choice of students from Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Europe was the first choice of South Africans. The same report concluded that South African and Botswana students tended to look more outside the region while those from the other countries saw destinations within the region as most desirable. Unfortunately in this study there were no insights about Lusophone and Francophone countries, or about members of SADC. Perhaps from Lusophone countries the picture would be Portugal while from Francophone countries France would be the

major destination of their students. The SAMP report found that the primary losers from the brain-drain of new skills were likely to be Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho. The primary beneficiaries were likely to be North America and Europe and within the region, South Africa and Botswana. South Africa, at the same time, is the most likely to lose home-trained skills. South Africa is likely to be both a victim and a beneficiary of the drain-brain.

South Africa, apart from being the receiving country has also become a country of emigration, particularly of its skilled labour. The destination of emigrants from South Africa is United States of America, Australia, United Kingdom, New Zealand and Canada as shown on table (Table 2).

**Table 2: Migration of Professional South Africans**

	1989-92	1994-97
Immigration	6,714	3,295
Emigration	3,721	7,534
	1989 and 1997	Destinations
Emigration	82,811	Australia, Canada, New Zealand, UK and USA
Professionals	23,400 health professionals 8,921 practitioners 6,844 nurses 7,642 other health professions	
South Africa residents in the US in the year of 2000	63,558	

Source: Black et al 2006:6 and 117, Brown, Kaplan and Meyer 2002:103 (Table 4.3)

In the meantime the Black's et al report registered the following flows to Europe and US between 1995 and 2000 as seen on Table 3.

**Table 3: The flows of emigrants to Europe and US**

Country	To Europe	To US	Total Europe and US	Average annual emigration rate 1995-2000 in %*
Angola	2,056	82	2,138	0.02
Botswana	208	14	222	0.01
D. R. Congo	4,175	262	4,437	0.01
Lesotho	15	8	22	0.00
Madagascar	584	37	621	0.00
Malawi	514	55	569	0.01
Mauritius	2,700	54	2,754	0.24
Mozambique	221	45	266	0.00
Namibia	607	26	633	0.04
South Africa	10,825	2,323	13,148	0.03
Swaziland	18	13	31	0.00
Tanzania	759	435	1,194	0.00
Zambia	584	213	796	0.01
Zimbabwe	1,653	275	1,928	0.02

Note (\*) This rate, Black et al, calculated according to the total population of each country.

Source: Black, et al 2006:137 (Appendix 1).

**Table 4: UK work permits for teachers from Southern Africa, 2001-2003**

Country	2001	2002	2003	Total
South Africa	2010	2542	1492	6044
Zimbabwe	194	325	268	787
Mauritius	19	45	47	111
Zambia	16	22	16	54
Namibia	8	6	8	22
Seychelles	2	10	8	20
Malawi	3	10	4	17
Botswana	0	1	6	7
Tanzania	3	1	2	6
Swaziland	0	3	2	5
Regional sub-total	2255	2965	1853	7073
Total (all countries)	5064	7261	5564	17889
Share of total	44.5	40.8	33.3	39.5

Source: Roberts 2007: 25 (Table 3).

**Table 5: Southern African countries people's as asylum seekers, 1990, 2001, 1990-2001 in Canada**

Country of origin	2001	1990-2001
D R Congo		8,229
Zimbabwe	2,653	
Total asylum	44,038	355,425

Source: Castles and Loughna 2005: 48 (table 3.3)

#### 4.5.5 Migration situation in selected countries

##### Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is faced with a growing problem of the emigration of its skilled labour. Health professionals in particular are migrating in search of greener pastures outside the country's borders. The first brain-drain observed in Zimbabwe is, according to Chikanda, (2005:1) within the country, where health professionals have been moving from the public to the private sector. Of the 1,634 doctors registered in the country in 1997, only 551 (33.7%) were employed in the public sector. The second move is overseas. Like in most African countries the number of health professionals working overseas is unknown but the Health Minister noted in 2000 that Zimbabwe was losing an average of 20% of its health care professionals every year to emigration, and that each of the country's five main hospitals was losing 24 senior nurses and three doctors every month. He also claimed that 100 doctors and 18,000 nurses had left since 1998. In 2002, in the United Kingdom alone, 2,346 work permits were issued to nurses from Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe was the UK's fourth largest supplier of overseas nurses, after Philippines, India and South Africa.

In research conducted in selected health institutions in July 2002 an analysis of the intentions of a country's health professionals provided a useful indication of a likely future brain-drain in Zimbabwe, as the SAMP report on "Medical leave: The exodus of health professionals from Zimbabwe" indicated. Like in South Africa the likely destination of departing health professionals were the United Kingdom, Australia, United States of America, New Zealand and Canada. South Africa and Botswana were indicated,

as the countries in Africa where people are likely to go to. This study indicated that the main reasons were: economic (54.7%), political (30.7%), professional (29.6%) and social (23.9%) (See Chikanda on page 19).

The migration of skilled health professionals from the country has also adversely affected the quality of care offered in the health institutions. This confirms the findings of other studies which reported falling standards of care, which include 'uncaring and abusive' attitudes towards patients. This can generally be attributed to low morale resulting from excessive workload associated with the stress of dealing with so many dying patients Chikanda (Op cit. pg34).

### **Mozambique**

Black et al stated that migration is one of the mainstays of the Mozambican economy and plays a critical role in securing the livelihood of thousands of Mozambican households. Migration has recently been described as the lifeblood of south Mozambique. An estimated 500,000 Mozambican migrants worked outside the country, more than in any domestic sector of the Mozambican economy. Approximately 80, 000 of these migrants are legally employed in the South African mining industry, the rest work in commercial agriculture, manufacturing, and the services industry and in the informal sector.

With respect to Mozambique I recently conducted a study on Diaspora and trained overseas. The data from skills in Diaspora represents the hardest from which to draw a profile due to the inability of the Ministries to keep records of the emigrants, particularly those who got scholarships to study overseas. Although the country has gained its independence for 32 years most of the data presented refers to the period of the 1990's. Most of the officers interviewed were not able to indicate how many of those who had benefited from scholarships came back home. Even though I requested information for this study Ministries such as Health, Defence, Education, to name a few, were still organising their data.

The Ministry of Transport and Communications indicated that between 1982 and 2004, 33 people in total were trained in Western countries and only four in South Africa. However, this information did not give a figure about how many were sent and how many returned. Amongst them only five women benefited from the scholarship to study out of the country. According to the Ministry of Coordination of Environmental Affairs, between 1996 and 1999, thirteen people were trained - eight females and five males. The destination countries were Portugal, France, Brazil and South Africa.

Data from the Ministry of Interior was in the process of collection. However, the policy of the Ministry is to train people internally. In the past people got the benefit of training in Eastern Europe countries where fifty seven people in total were trained.

The Ministry of Tourism, which used to be part of the Ministry of Agriculture, was created during the 1990's after the first elections of 1994. Therefore the data presented refers to the period of 2004 and 2005. In total fourteen people were trained at tertiary education level in countries such as Tanzania, South Africa, UK and Portugal. In total there were twenty-two people trained.

Information from the Ministry of Agriculture referred to the period after 1996 since the data before this period is inaccurate. The record is not reliable since the Ministry is in the process of organisation. However, it is true that people were trained in both western and eastern countries. In total eighty-one people were trained - sixty males and nineteen females. Apart from the countries that I have mentioned, countries such as

Ghana, Zambia, Spain, Sweden, Honduras, Macau, Australia, Denmark, India, Cape Verde, Holland, Colombia and United States were referred to. Only two people did not return from training in the United States.

According to the Ministry of Mineral Resources, about 117 people were trained overseas – four females and 113 males, although there was no indication of the specific period of training. These were mostly trained in Eastern European countries.

The data offered by different ministries shows that the training of Mozambicans has taken part in several countries of the world. The country has benefited from several experiences from America to Europe and Asia. It is difficult to ascertain the extent that the country could be brain-drained over these years of its independence since neither the census nor the Ministries have recorded who has departed or who has returned. Like in every African country there is no mechanism for documenting the migrants by educational achievement, or by their skills and destinations that could help the shortage and limitation of data. In fact, scholars and government officers only work with estimate statistics.

### **Namibia**

Namibia, the last independent country of Southern Africa, started to experience an increase of its rural-urban people by 1990's, according to Frayne and Pendleton (2003:7), with the 1991 Population census indicating that the urban population was about 32 per cent, with the estimate in 1996 of 40 per cent.

In relation to the cross border situation, data collected throughout 1997 and 1998 at border posts indicated the following situation:

**Table 6: Legal cross border arrivals, 1997 and 1998**

	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998 (January to September)</b>
Total Namibians arrivals	268,059	196,890
Total foreigners arrivals	604,175	493,340
Total arrivals	872,234	690,230

Source: Frayne and Pendleton 2003:13, (table 1.5)

### **Zambia**

Black's et al report indicated that Zambia had a long history of immigration in the country through the labour force of Malawians and Congolese to the copper mines. Zambia is neither a country of significant out-migration nor in-migration of the poor. Foreign migrants comprised only 1 per cent of the population in 2000. There were 328,188 foreign-born people in Zambia in 1969. This number had fallen to 92,504 in 2000.

The authors said that the country has experienced a brain-drain of professionals over the last decade, but this has not been as voluminous or serious in its consequences as that from Zimbabwe or South Africa. Systematic information on the extent of the brain-drain is unavailable. For example, one study estimates that only 50 of 600 doctors trained in Zambia since independence remain in the public health service.

## **5. Xenophobia**

The Oxford advanced learner's dictionary defined xenophobia as "an intense dislike or fear of strangers or people from other countries". Migrants are viewed as carriers of disease, takers of jobs and perpetrators of crime. As a result, the policy has tended to focus on control and exclusion. Several SAMP studies and Media reports have claimed that nationals of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa are particularly intolerant of non-nationals, which can involve physical attacks on non-nationals, including the use of dogs by the police.

Xenophobia has been officially recognised as a major problem by the state and steps have been taken by government and the South African Human Rights Commission. The government of South Africa recently created a counter xenophobia unit<sup>xiii</sup>, which is established within the national Immigration Branch of the Head Office of Home Affairs. The unit is aimed at inculcating human rights culture to pro-actively prevent and counter xenophobia in partnership with other stakeholders.

Theresa van der Merwe, a councillor for the city of Johannesburg, said <sup>xiv</sup>the council had established a desk to deal with migrants' issues. "It is to help migrants with information. When women come to South Africa they are exploited and abused. This desk is to provide them with information. Some of the women come here because they do not have a choice."

## **6. Conclusions**

The Southern African region has a long history of inter-regional labour migration that dates back the mid-nineteenth century. The end of Apartheid in South Africa and the integration into SADC has increased the cross border flows into this country is seen as paradise for many people from the Sub-Saharan region.

While internal and border crossings have grown in the region a parallel movement of trained people has been circulating internally and overseas. Existing studies indicate that South Africa and Zimbabwe are the most affected. Obviously this presents one side of the history since in these countries the situation looks more obvious, due firstly to the collected statistics and lastly to the political and economic crisis. Most of the data I used for this report comes from erratic sources since countries do not have records of their citizens.

The Southern Africa region has become a scene of civil wars as well as political and economic crises, thus it has seen a dramatic growth in its refugee population. If in the recent past Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland were hosting refugees from Mozambique, the geography of refugees now tends to be to South Africa and to a lesser extent its neighbours, even though Zambia and Tanzania are continuing in their role as the destination of refugees. Mozambique, a country which used to produce refugees for more than twenty years, including the period of the liberation war (10) and civil war (16), has become a hosting country of refugees<sup>xv</sup>.

Scholars and politicians have put efforts into analysing and giving suggestions to curb the issue: whether migration is a hindrance or a tactic for development. If it is a tactic it cannot be seen as government initiative, but importantly as a 'peoples' initiative' to find several ways of survival since people have been exposed to poverty, political instability, natural hazards and have lost hope in their governments. All these movements have been facilitated either by kinships ties or by the long history of labour migration

with South Africa to the mines and plantations, where recruitment agents have played an important role. Unfortunately, some migrants have not obeyed the regular processes and once in the host country are exposed to mistreatment, and locals see them as job-takers. In fact the strategy of migration is seen as the panacea of all problems. Scholars have argued that poverty is not solely an issue of mis-government, but also a consequence of different global process in which Europe and America have a significant responsibility.

The objective of this paper is to discuss the evolution of international migration in the Southern African region and to discuss the current dimension of research. In doing so, throughout the paper I will use several case studies to show trends of the process with the role played by the Republic of South Africa as the hub of the region. This paper analyses Southern Africa as a region defined according to its economic and political borders and by the Southern African Development Community. This includes studies done by the Southern African Migration Project in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

The Southern African Migration Project has done a significant work on researching migration issues. It was established in 8 Southern African regions with the city of Johannesburg as the regional headquarter. About 44 migration Policy Series have been published, training courses on Migration and Management have been organized within the region. The MIDSA has a great deal with SAMP as well as several immigration policies of these countries. Several topics have been researched namely migration and HIV, cross border trade, remittances, labour force, brain drain and xenophobia. Although this significant work the SAMP has its weaknesses those related with the imbalance on research referred to Anglophone and Lusophone and Francophone countries.

## **7. Migration studies: a way forward:**

The amount of basic information on migration causes, consequences and impacts has grown considerably in recent years. South Africa is particularly well-researched in this regard, other countries less so. A long-term governmental capacity for collecting nationally representative migration information at the household level needs to be developed. National migration household surveys conducted at regular intervals would provide invaluable data on migration/poverty connections and allow monitoring of change over time. National statistics offices, working in regionally coordinated fashion, would be the best location for such a venture. (Black et al, 2006:82).

### **Decision for migration**

This issue, seen in several literatures, is that a country's instability, domestically and internationally, has pushed more of its people to search for a livelihood elsewhere. Moreover, despite the interest in migration and the acknowledgment of its growth there are still remain gaps in this phenomenon:

#### **a) Research questions**

The feminisation of migration has reconfigured migration streams. One of the issues that has puzzled me as a researcher is: why have people decided not to move despite their

status of poverty? Are they limited by financial constraints? Why not look at their reasons not move in order to have the other side of the coin.

**b) Data:**

- Southern African Lusophone and Francophone studies need more research and specific research topics which consider their historical background
- A monitoring of border posts will help to have accurate figures of people who are crossing and the reasons for their crossings.

**c) Training**

Regular training programs with immigration officers, frontier guards as well as custom services officers are needed in relation of data collection and use of data.

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Notes

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<sup>i1</sup> She was speaking at a one-day seminar, titled "Female Migrants and the Impact of Remittances in the SADC Region", which brought together some 30 researchers and civil society activists from around the 14-member Southern African Development Community (SADC). The seminar took place on (May 30, 2007) in South Africa's commercial hub of Johannesburg.

<sup>iii</sup> A participant of the above mentioned meeting.

<sup>iv</sup> Global Commission on International Migration.

<sup>v</sup> Some of findings of my PhD thesis.

<sup>vi</sup> By the year of 2004, SAMP published the MDSA report No1. This report was organized by Prof. Jonathan Klareen, Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, SA and Prof. Bonaventure Rutinwa a senior lecturer in Law at the University of Dar-Es-Salaam.

<sup>vii</sup> WENELA- Witwatersrand Mine Labour Organization and TEBA- The Employment Bureau of Africa.

<sup>viii</sup> Migration, Remittances and Development in Southern Africa, Pendleton et al 2006.

<sup>ix</sup> Unpublished SAMP report on Border Monitoring and Cross Border 2006.

<sup>x</sup> George Town University, Washington, DC, November 2007.

<sup>xi</sup> A study commissioned by the Council of High Education with the objective of evaluating the mobility of the lecturers in Mozambique. About twelve universities and high institutes were part of this study.

<sup>xii</sup> The SAMP Potential Skills Base Survey was conducted in six Southern African Countries namely Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe in 2003 using the same questionnaire and methodology. About 10,000 students were surveyed including 1,201 from Botswana, 1,036 from Lesotho, 893 from Namibia, 4,532 from South Africa, 1,031 from Swaziland and 1,050 from Zimbabwe.

<sup>xiii</sup> Information given by a senior officer of South African Home Affairs Department during the dissemination of the South Africa Immigration Act of 2000 in the Maputo meeting, 29<sup>th</sup> May 2007.

<sup>xiv</sup> She was speaking at a one-day seminar, titled "Female Migrants and the Impact of Remittances in the SADC Region", which brought together some 30 researchers and civil society activists from around the 14-member Southern African Development Community (SADC). The seminar took place on (May 30, 2007) in South Africa's commercial hub of Johannesburg.

<sup>xv</sup> For example, the report of CEMIRDE and CEP of 2005 indicated that in 2001 there were 6,489 refugees in the Maratane Refugee camp and in 2004 they were 1,988 (CEMIRDE and CEP 2005, tables 6 and 7)..

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## 8. References

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