



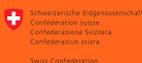
ACP OBSERVATORY ON MIGRATION
OBSERVATOIRE ACP SUR LES MIGRATIONS
OBSERVATÓRIO ACP DAS MIGRAÇÕES

South-South extraregional migration: *An overview of emerging trends*



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Background Note

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ACP Observatory on Migration

The ACP Observatory on Migration is an initiative of the Secretariat of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States, funded by the European Union, implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in a Consortium with 15 partners and with the financial support of Switzerland, IOM, the IOM Development Fund and UNFPA. Established in 2010, the ACP Observatory is an institution designed to produce data on South–South ACP migration for migrants, civil society and policymakers and enhance research capacities in ACP countries for the improvement of the situation of migrants and the strengthening of the migration–development nexus.

The Observatory was established to facilitate the creation of a network of research institutions and experts on migration research. Activities are starting in 12 pilot countries and will be progressively extended to other interested ACP countries. The 12 pilot countries are: Angola, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Senegal, Timor-Leste, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The Observatory has launched research and capacity-building activities on South–South migration and development issues. Through these activities, the ACP Observatory aims to address many issues that are becoming increasingly important for the ACP Group as part of the migration–development nexus. Documents and other research outputs and capacity-building manuals can be accessed and downloaded free of charge through the Observatory’s website (www.acpmigration-obs.org). Other upcoming publications and information on the Observatory’s activities will be posted online.

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**South-South
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International migration from the South towards other regions¹ is often simplified as South-North (or low-income to high-income) movements (De Haas, 2007; Minvielle, 2010). Reality is indeed much more complex and **new and atypical extraregional migration corridors between Southern regions rapidly emerge.**

This Background Note aims to provide a general overview of the current major South–South extraregional migration patterns and corridors.² After presenting some data on current extraregional migration trends, the paper highlights possible implications of extraregional movements by looking at few available country examples of mobility among Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa and Asia.³ Finally, some recommendations and good practices are being pointed out both at research and policy level.

The term extraregional migration has commonly been adopted (IOM, OAS). It might also be referred to as extracontinental (FLACSO, UNHCR), interregional (ECLAC) or intercontinental migration

It is estimated that **roughly half of all migrants originating from Southern countries reside in another developing country.** The United Nations estimate that South–South migrants at up to 73 million people (UN DESA, 2012). However, the number is likely to be higher considering the existing general lack of data on migration in developing countries and the fact that official data normally underestimate the number of irregular migrants. According to the 2009 UNDP Human Development Report, about **200 million international migrants are moving along the lines of South–South migration corridors,** almost as much as 2010 figures on all international migrants (Ratha and Shaw, 2007; UNDP, 2009). **South–South migration is overwhelmingly intraregional** and extraregional mobility is relatively small compared to it. Nevertheless, **extraregional migration represents an important trend which needs to be taken into consideration.**

1 The term 'region' is used in this paper according to the UN classification of 'World geographical regions', such as Africa, America, Asia, Europe and Oceania (UN Statistics Division), <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm>.

2 As the ACP Observatory on Migration adopts a human development approach to study South–South migration and development issues, the UNDP definition of 'South' is adopted. Please note that this paper does not take into consideration Asian and African migration to the Middle East and Gulf countries, while several references to Argentina will be made, although according to the UNDP definition this country should not be classified as 'South'.

3 Nevertheless, it has to be taken into consideration that further emerging South–South extraregional migration corridors that have not been studied yet are likely to exist. There is for instance anecdotal evidence of labour migration from Brazil to African lusophone countries under the umbrella of Brazilians companies operating in Africa. See for instance <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/08/world/americas/brazil-gains-in-reaching-out-to-africa.html>.

Several examples of South–South extraregional migration can be found in the nineteenth and twentieth century history, mainly related to colonial and post-colonial linkages. For instance, in the framework of the British colonial rule, ethnic Indians established communities both in the Caribbean and in Africa, which currently host 13 per cent of the Indian diasporas (Naujkos, 2009). Therefore, **(post-) colonial, linguistic and cultural ties have always been a key element of extraregional mobility**, as demonstrated for example by anecdotal evidence of Angolan and Mozambican refugees in Brazil (Tourinho Baptista, 2008; Baeninger and Guimarães Peres, 2011).

(Post-) colonial, linguistic and cultural ties have always been a key element of extraregional mobility

Nevertheless, several new factors which deeply influenced and modified South–South extraregional migration patterns have developed in the last decades

Nevertheless, **several new factors which deeply influenced and modified South–South extraregional migration patterns have developed in the last decades**. South–South extraregional migration is often driven by oil-based economic development, as in the case of Gulf countries, or linked to the rise of Southern countries' economies, as in the case of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), whose expanding labour markets increasingly attract international migrants. Furthermore, increasing South–South cooperation is creating new links among often geographically and culturally distant developing countries. Finally, the adoption of restrictive migration policies and/or the tightening of borders in Western countries are also believed to be a factor influencing the rising of South–South extraregional mobility (CEAM-OAS, 2010a). Scarce literature can be found on this subject, often focused on very specific cases. Therefore, **an analysis of this phenomenon at a more global level would be desirable both for research and policymaking purposes**.

1. Extraregional migration in the South: the case of China and sub-Saharan Africa

In recent years, the **People's Republic of China** is not only the source of a large number of the world's international migrants⁴ but increasingly a **destination for labour migrants**, including sub-Saharan Africans. The main factors behind this emerging migratory phenomenon are both China's continuing economic growth and its increasing political and diplomatic linkages with African countries. In this framework, migrants seem to play a **crucial role in the emerging Sino-African trade system** (Fowale, 2008; Skeldon, 2011; Østbø Haugen, 2012).

Chinese migration to Africa

The framework for Chinese migration to Africa is represented by the **Chino-African diplomatic and commercial links** which culminated in the 2006 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. This agreement set the basis for a **wave of economic migration from China to Africa**. It has to be noticed that although the number of Chinese in Africa is growing, the African continent is the one with the lowest rates of Chinese immigration (Mohan and Tan-Mullins, 2009).

Data concerning the length of this phenomenon are extremely limited and there are no conclusive figures⁵, as on the one side African population data collection is extremely weak and on the other side data produced by Chinese statistics are often speculative (ibid.). It could be assumed that **the number of ethnic Chinese in Africa is likely to be between 270,000 and 510,000** (Ma Mung, 2009; Skeldon, 2011), while other studies affirm that the Chinese Diaspora in Africa reaches at least 500,000 people including the secondary generations (ECOWAS-SWAC/OECD, 2006; Mohan and Kale, 2007).

The number of ethnic Chinese in Africa is likely to be between 270,000 and 510,000
(Ma Mung, 2009; Skeldon, 2011)

4 In 2010, the World Bank ranked China as the fourth largest country of emigration, with 8.3 million China-born people living outside the country, including 3 million people in Macao, China and Hong Kong, China (Macao and Hong Kong considered as territories of destination) (Skeldon, 2011).

5 The University of Sussex's 2007 Global Migrant Origin Database estimates the number of Chinese migrants in Africa at 48,692 people but other studies highlight much higher figures, which makes difficult determining the exact magnitude of this phenomenon. For example; while Chinese authorities estimated that 78,000 Chinese were working in Africa in 2007, other sources like the Xinhua Chinese Official press agency estimated the total numbers of Chinese in Africa at 750,000 (Mohan and Kale, 2007; Politzer, 2008).

Chinese migration to Africa is primarily economically-driven (Mohan and Kale, 2007) and its rapid growth is linked to the large increase in Chinese Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) there. The **main destination countries are those with significant oil resources** like Nigeria and Sudan, but sizeable and long-standing Chinese communities in South Africa, Lesotho, Mauritius, The Reunion and Madagascar also have to be mentioned (Mohan and Tan-Mullins, 2009).

Chinese migrants in Africa could be roughly divided into four different categories⁶ according to their profile and migration project (Politzer, 2008):

Temporary Labour Migrants

The opportunity of working for Chinese firms operating in Africa is the main reason which leads Chinese nationals to migrate to the continent. According to Chinese governmental sources, there are more than 800 Chinese companies currently operating in 49 countries in Africa in the sectors of infrastructure, engineering, construction, public work, oil and mining operations (Politzer, 2008). These firms generally bring **low-cost and low-skilled labour force directly from China for fixed period overseas**. Temporary workers are hired via two different channels: either they are recruited by companies officially licensed to send workers abroad or they are employed semi-legally by specialized agencies who sign agreements with manufacture companies in Africa with Chinese ownership. These agencies charge high fees to migrant workers, sometimes equivalent to a year's salary and often make false promises concerning wages and benefits. Furthermore, migrants are often recruited by illegal travel agencies who provide them with a tourist visa and promise them work in an inexistent factory which the migrants only realize once in Africa (Gong, 2007).

Entrepreneurs

Entrepreneurship is a typical characteristic of Chinese migration and **state-backed migrants who operate as petty entrepreneurs are also a growing presence** in Africa (Tsihibambe, 2010 quoting Ma Mung, 2009). They usually operate in trade, services (e.g. restaurants and clothes shops) and light manufacturing. These entrepreneurs come both from mainland China and other Chinese migrant communities in Europe (notably France, Italy and Spain). They tend to adopt quite frugal lifestyles and to settle in a specific part of the African cities offering their services to local population and possibly setting

⁶ Such categories have to be considered as a rough guide, since migrants could belong to more than one of move to one typology to another during their stay.

the bases for future *Chinatowns* (Politzer, 2008). As for the engineering and construction sector, the use of African labour force is extremely rare and the typical pattern involves a **Chinese male workers emigrating alone who is later joined by their family members according to the labour needs**. In some cases, Chinese entrepreneurs possibly hire workers among the semi-legal Chinese immigrants mentioned above (Mohan and Tan-Mullins, 2009).

In-transit migrants

Africa is also becoming a new migration corridor for Asian migrants in general on their way to Western countries (Liberti, 2008). These migrants tend to use African countries as temporary locations for the next stage of their journey, either by gathering funds and legal documentation to enter North America or Europe or by joining the trans-Mediterranean migration corridor to Southern Europe. **Asian migrants normally enter African countries legally by using a tourist or business visa and then overstay**. Due to their informal status, an estimation of the total number of Asian, and notably Chinese, in-transit migrants in Africa is therefore very difficult (Politzer, 2008).

Agricultural workers

Even if there are no official figures on this phenomenon, it has been noticed that a **growing number of workers from rural China** is also moving to Africa. In a 2007 speech, the Head of the Chinese Export-Import Bank, Mr. Li Ruogu, invited Chinese farmers forced off their land by spreading urbanization to emigrate to Africa in order to put into practice their agricultural skills and become landlords (Chen, 2007). The Bank also committed to support Chinese rural migration to Africa with investments and projects development (Bristow, 2007).

African migration to China

South–South migration to China is mainly intraregional, with a large number of both regular and irregular migrants moving to the country from Vietnam, the Korean peninsula and other Southeast Asian countries. However, China is also **experiencing immigration from other areas where it has been developing economic and political interests**.

In particular, an increasing number of African migrants has been registered in China as a result of the Chinese growing engagement in Africa. In fact, **in Asia, China is currently considered the first remittance-sending country to Africa** (IOM, 2009).

More than 20,000 Africans are currently living in Southern China, but little academic or empirical research on this matter is currently available (Politzer, 2008; Skeldon, 2011)

It is believed that **more than 20,000 Africans are currently living in Southern China**, but little academic or empirical research on this matter is currently available⁷ (Politzer, 2008; Skeldon, 2011). The main center for immigration from sub-Saharan Africa is the city of Guangzhou, an important international trading hub in Southern China. African migrants in China proceed from different countries of origin. Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal and Tanzania have to be mentioned, but **the biggest African community in China seems to be the Nigerian one** (Coloma, 2010; Bodomo, 2010; Skeldon, 2011; Østbo Haugen, 2012).

Accurate estimates of the number of Africans living in China are difficult to find and official statistics are not available. More than 10,000 Africans were believed to live only in the city of Guangzhou in 2006, although according to other estimations there are more than 20,000 Africans living in the city (Li et al, 2009 in Østbo Haugen, 2012). However, these data are far from being certain. A report of the *Guangzhou Daily* for example estimated the number of Africans in the city at 100,000 stating that the number of African migrants is increasing at an annual rate of 30 or 40 per cent since 2003 (Politzer, 2008). Similarly, according to the Chinese state media 130,000 Africans were residing in Guangzhou in 2008 (Sautman, 2006; Østbo Haugen, 2012).

Among Africans in China, four main typologies of migrants⁸ could be distinguished according to their motives for migrating: (Fowale 2008; Politzer, 2008).

Businesspersons

The majority of African migrants in China appear to be traders. Businessmen tend to stay only temporary in the country, and their presence is aimed either at buying cheap Chinese goods that they can resell in Africa or to establish extraregional trades in raw materials like oil and minerals (Fowale, 2008; Politzer, 2008).

7 According to the University of Sussex's 2007 Global Migrant Origin Database only 3,078 African citizens were living in China in 2000/2004. Such difference in data is probably due the fact that in the 2007 version of the database there were no data on China, as mentioned at the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium (RPC) webpage http://www.migrationdrc.org/research/typesofmigration/global_migrant_origin_database.html.

8 As in the case of Chinese migrants in Africa, please note that such categories are not static.

Students

China's overseas development aid programme to Africa includes also government scholarships for studying in Chinese universities. This category is becoming a significant extraregional migrant group and African citizens represent the 2.3 per cent of the total number of students enrolled in Chinese universities. In 2006 for instance, almost 4,000 African students attended Chinese universities, 40 per cent more than in the previous year according to the Chinese Ministry of Education (Fowale, 2008; Politzer, 2008).

English teachers

In recent years, an increasing demand for English language classes has created employment opportunities for Anglophone Africans, who joined the group of American, Australian, Canadian and European expatriate teachers in China.

Informal workers

A fourth category is represented by a mixed group made of migrants who ends up working in the informal sector. A growing number of irregular migrants is also operating in the third sector, providing services working as domestics, delivers of home-cooked food, or guides and agents for African businessmen (Østbø Haugen, 2012).

African migrants may also move from a group to another. For what concerns gender balance, anecdotal evidence suggests that **African migrants in China are overwhelmingly males**, even if the presence of Nigerian and Cameroonian women has been detected. Women tend to be more frequent among students and itinerant traders rather than among undocumented migrants (Østbø Haugen, 2012). Africans enter in China legally on a tourist or business visa, sometimes obtained with the help of brokers who charge up to USD 2,000 but the main problem for Africans under the current Chinese immigration law is obtaining the extension of their work visa.

The biggest African community in China is the Nigerian one. African migrants in China are overwhelmingly males, but the presence of Nigerian and Cameroonian women has also been detected (Østbø Haugen, 2012)

Empirical research pointed out that African migrants generally consider China as a best second option in their migratory project. Attracted by the relative easiness for entering, **many Africans admit considering China as an outpost on their way to other destinations** like Japan, Europe, United States and Australia. Often African migrants have **poor information about China before leaving their country**. In particular, misinformation about Chinese geography and difficulties for obtaining a job are common (ibid.).

In 2010 between 5 and 40 per cent of total asylum applications in different Latin American countries were submitted by Asian and African nationals
(UNHCR, 2010)

African migrants in China face several forms of **discrimination, social exclusion and racism**, as for instance difference in salaries or in privileges in comparison with Western or Asian workers (Fowale, 2008). Furthermore, mobility of African migrants through the country is deeply affected by the Chinese immigration law. Adopted in 1985, the Law on ‘Control of the Entry and Exit of Aliens’ is not adequately able to respond to the situation of high immigration pressure China is currently experiencing. The mentioned Law punishes foreigners without a valid visa with jail terms, and irregular migrants are required to pay the costs of detention, release and repatriation. This legal framework is also considered to have led to the spread of a black market for visas and corruption among the Chinese police, whose officials often ask African migrants to pay a bribe once they are picked up without valid documents (Østbø Haugen, 2012).

2. Extraregional migration in the South: Routes towards Latin America and the Caribbean

South–South migration patterns are rapidly emerging in Latin America and in the Caribbean, where **a growing number of migrants coming from Asia and sub-Saharan Africa has been registered in the last few years** (IOM, 2011). A high number of international migrants arrive in Latin America trying to making their way to Canada or the United States, while a growing percentage of asylum-seekers has also been registered. In fact, **in 2010 between 5 and 40 per cent of total asylum applications in different Latin American countries were submitted by Asian and African nationals** (UNHCR, 2010). The majority

of African and Asian migrants arrive on South America coasts, notably Brazil, Colombia and to a lesser extent Argentina. However, migration of Asians and Africans to Central America is becoming more frequent. In particular, the number of migrants who reached Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama notably increased during the last few years (CEAM-OAS, 2010a).

A sensitive aspect of these increased migration flows is its irregularity. A **report of the Special Committee on Migration Issues of the Organization of American States (OAS)** published in 2010 defined **the phenomenon of irregular extraregional migration to Latin America as “new and growing”** and indicated Eritrea, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Somalia in Africa and Bangladesh, China and Nepal in Asia as the major origin countries of migrants (CEAS-OAS, 2010b).

The reasons for choosing these new South–South migration corridors are often related on the one side to the tightening of European immigration policies and the proximity to the United States (CEAM-OAS, 2012a; Marcelino, 2012). Furthermore, it has to be pointed that the **expanding economy of Latin American countries is increasingly attracting labour migrants**. Finally, **Latin America and the Caribbean are often considered as a less xenophobic and more receptive societies**, especially by African citizens (The Miami Herald, 2009). Policy responses have been adopted in several countries in order to facilitate the protection of migrant’s social and human rights although discrimination and exclusion are often reported (IOM, 2011).

The phenomenon of irregular extraregional migration to Latin America has been defined as “new and growing”. Eritrea, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Somalia in Africa and China, Bangladesh and Nepal in Asia are considered the major origin countries of migrants
(CEAS-OAS, 2010b)

According to the last figures available, since the last semester of 2011 the number of African migrants who reach Latin America and the Caribbean has been declining. On the contrary, an increase of the arrivals of Asian migrants to the region has been registered (Trimiño/UNHCR, 2012).

Asian migration to Latin America and the Caribbean

In recent years, large groups of migrants proceeding from South Asia reached Latin America and the Caribbean. As anecdotal evidence suggests, **the presence of migrants from Bangladesh, China, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka increased roughly by 300 per cent between 2008 and 2010 in Ecuador** according to Ecuador’s *Dirección Nacional de Migración* (IOM, 2012). This data has probably

been deeply influenced by the free movement migration policy⁹ adopted by the Ecuadorian Government in 2008 and then abolished in September 2010, but **similar trends have been registered also in other countries of the region.** In the first months of 2012 for example, numerous migrants from India and Sri Lanka reached Mexico via Guatemala, a choice probably influenced by the softening of visa requirements in this country (Trimiño/UNHCR, 2012).

The proximity to the United States makes Central America and the Caribbean a strategic area for transit movements. It is estimated that **the majority of irregular migrants moving to the Caribbean are Chinese nationals.** Approximately 200,000 Chinese citizens are smuggled by organized rings and syndicates every year to Central America and the Caribbean in the attempt of reaching the United States in a second phase (Thomas-Hope, 2002). However, nationals from other South Asian countries are also migrating to the Caribbean. In Aruba for instance, according to the 2000 census, the largest group of Asian migrants come from the Philippines, even if the Chinese immigration to the island has increased significantly in the last years (Eelens, 2005).

Many similarities can be found between the patterns of the Chinese migration to Africa and to the Caribbean

The growing presence of Chinese immigrants in the Caribbean must be understood in the framework of the **increasing economic interaction between the People's Republic of China and the Caribbean community and Common Market (CARICOM).** China is building up a progressive economic presence in the region, with a Chinese foreign direct investment of USD 8.6 billion in 2009 (Bernal, 2010). Excluding the case of transit and irregular migration, **many similarities can be found between the patterns of the Chinese migration to Africa and to the Caribbean.**

Many of the Chinese new immigrants work either as traders and small-business owners or as temporary labour force in the Chinese companies contracted by the Governments of the region for the upgrading of roads or for the construction of low-income housing in the framework of the Chino-Caribbean development aid agreements. In Suriname for example, Chinese stores are spreading all over the country, and about 40,000 Chinese are estimated to currently live in the country either regularly or are undocumented (The New York Times, 2011).

⁹ Adopted by the Ecuadorian Government on 20 June 2008, the Universal visa freedom policy permitted to enter the country for a 90-days tourist stay without any visa requirement.

Chinese presence is rising also in Latin America. Notably, **in Brazil the Chinese community currently represents the sixth biggest foreign community in the country**. This is due to the growth of some strategic sectors of the Brazilian economy (such as the textile, the agriculture and the ITC) attracting Chinese and Korean labour migrants (IOM, 2012).

African migration to Latin America

New **transatlantic migration corridors** from Africa to Latin America have been rising since the mid 2000's. This phenomenon is linked to variety of factors acting together, including the tightening of US and European borders after 11 September, the extension and porosity of both maritime and land borders and the lack of state capacity to monitor irregular migrants and visa overstayers together with a relatively open migratory policy of Latin America countries (Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011). In fact, although the inflow of African migrants in the region started during the nineties, **the turning point of this phenomenon is considered the year 2006 especially for the case of Argentina**, which adopted that a lenient law on immigration in 2004 and a General Law of Refugee Recognition and Protection two years later (Minvielle, 2010; Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011).

African migration to Latin America is predominantly oriented towards Brazil and Argentina, but a sizeable flow of African migrants has been registered also in other countries of the region as for example Guatemala, Mexico, Panama and Paraguay (Reuters 2009; Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011). It might be possible that African migrants consider Latin America as a transit pit stop, envisaging reaching the United States or Canada as final destination (Minvielle, 2010). The **choice of Argentina and Brazil as a destination in African migratory projects** are probably due, apart from their **geographical position**, to their **symbolic capital**, their **socio-economic stability** and the perception of **economic opportunities** combined to a migratory normative less aggressive than in other countries. Other specific incentives could be on the one side the fact that Argentina is commonly considered as a 'European-style' country, while on the other side Brazil is the second country in the world in terms of black population, with 65-million afro-descendants (Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011). Finally, it has to be noticed that **in some cases migrants embark in African ports without knowing the destination of their ship**, especially when fleeing from their home countries as in the case of nationals from Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea among others (Blanco, 2007; *La Nación*, 2009; *The Miami Herald*, 2010). Currently, Africans are now the largest refugee group in Brazil, while more than 3,000 African migrants are estimated to live in Argentina (Reuters, 2009).

Africans migrants in Latin America are overwhelmingly young and male while the number of women widely changes according to the country of origin

Africans who migrate to Latin America are overwhelmingly young and male, while the number of women widely changes according to the country of origin. They are predominantly West African citizens, notably Senegalese and to a less extent Nigerians, but migrants from Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zimbabwe are also increasingly following this new migration route (Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011; IOM Buenos Aires, 2011). The Organization of American States (OAS) identifies Eritrea, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Somalia as the main countries of origin (CEAM-OAS, 2010b).

African migration to Latin America is heterogeneous in many regards, such as country of origin, religion, migratory status, educational profiles and access to communication and transportation (Maffia, 2010). The complexity and informality of this migration corridor does not allow making a clear distinction among documented and undocumented migrants. It is therefore appropriate to speak about *mixed* migrants, recognizing variable and overlapping reasons for migrating (UNHCR, 2010).

The most common route connects Dakar (Senegal) and Fortaleza (Brazil) but other migratory routes and destinations are emerging

It is believed that **African migrants reach Latin America using different methods and mainly land on Brazilian sole.** Either they reach Brazilian ports by cargo ships as stowaways hidden into the rudder of a ship or with the crew's complicity or by airplane. This is usually the case of Senegalese migrants, who take advantage if a special protocol existing between their country and Brazil. The most common route detected up to now is the one which connects Dakar (Senegal) and Fortaleza (Brazil), or alternatively Dakar-Cape Verde-Fortaleza or São Paulo. Organized networks who facilitate the entrance of African migrants into Brazil by providing support at the arrival and during the border-crossing are believed to be spreading in Senegal (Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011). These migrants who arrive by boat are mainly low educated unaccompanied minors, normally between 15 and 17 years. They

face a journey of 17 to 21 days hidden in the winch, the cellar or the engine room of a cargo ship and the number of those who die before reaching the Americas is unknown (IOM, 2012). Other migratory routes and destinations are also emerging. Some African migrants first move to the Republic of South Africa and transit then through Brazil in order to reach Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela or Colombia. An international route which connects South Africa with Dubai and then Moscow with the Habana has also been detected (IOM, 2012).

For reasons not yet clearly determined, **the majority of migrants tend to continue their journey to Argentina**. It is estimated that in the last few years roughly 3,000 African migrants entered in Argentina, half of them proceeding from Senegal by crossing the country's broad, porous and rarely patrolled borders either by bus or by boat (IOM, 2012). This is the case of the so-called *triple frontera*, the natural border among Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay represented by the Iguazu River, crossed by migrants by night on fast Zodiacs, probably with the help of local smuggling networks (Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011).

The level of education of the majority of Africans who reach Latin America countries is generally higher than the one of Asian migrants, but they usually end up working in the informal sector. As the access to the legal labour market is extremely difficult, African migrants integrate into the informal labour market working in the production of handicrafts, in restaurants and especially as street vendors (IOM, 2012). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that **this activity is often linked to the presence of entrepreneur Asian immigrants in the region**, as the jewelry sold by on crossroads or outside bus and train stations is overwhelmingly Chinese or South-Korean (Minvielle, 2010).

3. Conclusions: The way forward

As pointed out in this paper, **South–South extraregional migration is a complex phenomenon presenting significant regional differences**. Economic linkages among developing countries are likely to increase in the next decades

Chinese migration to Africa key research questions:

- **What government data exists on numbers of Chinese immigrants in African countries?**
- **What are the source regions of Chinese emigrants?**
- **Where are new Chinese immigrants settling, and what determines their locational choice?** (Mohan and Kale, 2007)

- not least due to the rising importance of the BRICS countries - and may confirm current and lead to new extraregional South–South migratory flows. From the cases analysed in this paper some **key conclusions** can be drawn:

- **Lack of knowledge: Need for better data**

Academia, media, institutions and public opinion are increasingly aware of the phenomenon of extraregional migration¹⁰, but **studies on the topic are almost non-existent**. In fact, available academic and empirical research and literature on South–South extraregional population movements is limited to a restricted number of publications, often focused on a very specific corridor or nationality. **Reliable databases on numbers, origins, gender and type of extraregional migrants in developing countries and comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon are therefore required.**

Survey on ‘Extra-continental Migratory Flows in the Americas’ of the Special Committee on Migration Issues (CEAM) of the Organization of American States (OAS)

Workshop on ‘Extracontinental Migration in the Americas’, CEAM-OAS, UNHCR and IOM, Washington D.C., April 2010

CEAM-OAS Workshop on ‘New Challenges of Migration Management in the Americas’, Washington D.C., 8 May 2012

-  A major research Agenda in African countries should be to **monitor Chinese labour migration** through primary data collection on its level, types and characteristics (Mohan and Kale, 2007).
-  African migration to China is relatively recent and academic literature on this topic extremely scarce (Østbø Haugen, 2012). Both quantitative and qualitative research on this trend is therefore highly recommended.
-  The emerging phenomenon of extraregional migration towards Latin America and the Caribbean deserve to be further studied. In the last few years, **the Organization of American States (OAS) promoted debates and surveys on extraregional migration trends to Latin America** aimed at “analyz[ing] the background, magnitude and impact of irregular extracontinental migration flows, exchang[ing] experiences about the responses of different countries and international organizations to this

10 See for instance the series of seminars on migrant flows from Africa to Argentina organized by IOM Buenos Aires in 2011. Further information can be found at the following link: <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/media/press-briefing-notes/pbnAM/cache/offonce/lang/en?entryId=29411>.

type of irregular flows from within and outside the region; and promot[ing] dialogue and cooperation on this topic among the Member States of the Organization". Emerging migration trends between Africa and Latin America have been further discussed within the **interregional workshop on "Examining development, institutional and policy aspects of migration between Africa, Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean"** organized in September 2012 by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). The workshop promoted the debate on migration dynamics between Africa, Europe and Latin America with a special focus on human rights and development (ECLAC, 2012).¹¹

- **Promoting migration policies addressing new extraregional migration flows**

Increasing South–South extraregional migration entails **new challenges for the destination countries**, including the **lack of services and structures** to meet migrants' needs, the **lack of interpreters** and the **absence of diplomatic missions** of the countries of origin (CEAM-OAS, 2010a). Many developing countries perceive themselves only as emigration countries with little policy attention given to the needs and rights of immigrants. Instead, **there is an urgent need to develop States' capacities to cater to these emerging migration flows effectively.**

ECLAC/UNECE/ UNECA workshop on "Examining development, institutional and policy aspects of migration between Africa, Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean", Geneva, 22-23 September 2011

Argentina recently put into practice a regularization programme in order to improve 'the insertion and integration' of irregular foreign-born (Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011)

Argentinean migration policy facilitates the protection of migrants' social and human rights, including access to legal residence, health care and education.

In 2010, Panama granted an amnesty to any irregular migrant residing in the country for more than two years. More than 20,000 migrants benefited from the programme "Panama, Crisol de Razas" (IOM, 2011)

¹¹ Further information about the workshop can be found at the following links: http://www.cepal.org/cgi-bin/getProd.asp?xml=/celade/agenda/9/44329/P44329.xml&xsl=/celade/tpl/p3f.xsl&base=/celade/tpl/top-bottom_dam.xslt and http://www.eclac.cl/publicaciones/xml/8/46188/W_InternationalMig_FINAL.pdf.

-  **Policymakers' awareness** on South–South extraregional migratory flows patterns should be increased through **workshops** and **knowledge-sharing**.
-  Extraregional migration emerging destination countries should develop **adequate legal frameworks** in order to efficiently manage the **legal, political and humanitarian challenges** related to these new migratory flows (Østbø Haugen, 2012).
-  **Inter and intraregional dialogue** on this subject should be **strengthened**. Immigration policies towards Chinese immigration enacted by African states should be coordinated at regional level (Mohan and Kale, 2007) while discussions about African migration to China should be included in the Sino-African agenda. Similarly, the dialogue between Latin American and African states should be strengthened (Marcelino and Cerrutti, 2011).
-  Governments should aim to guarantee the **protection of human rights** of extraregional, as well as all, migrants. In the case of asylum-seekers, the procedures for the refugee status determination and the **non-refoulement principle** should be respected (Trimiño/UNHCR, 2012).
-  **Integration** in hosting societies should be fostered by adopting **adequate asylum and migration policies** and by promoting **bilateral labour agreements** with origin countries in order to encourage job matching skills.
-  Assistance and protection to temporary and non extracontinental migrants including **access to shelter, food, health services, education and legal protection** should be guaranteed (FLACSO,2011).

The Catholic Church is playing an important role with regards to the integration of African migrants in local societies by providing health and care support and by offering cost-free Spanish classes
(CEAM-OAS, 2010a)

 Due to factors like language, skin colour, culture and habits Extraregional migrants may have to face higher vulnerable situation in comparison with regional migrants. Officers from legislative institutions and officers of destination countries in direct contact with extraregional migrants should therefore be trained in order to **efficiently face migrants' specific needs** (FLACSO, 2011).

 **Cultural mediators** and **interpreters** should be trained and **national campaigns for integration** aimed at sensitizing hosting societies organized (Marcelino and Cerutti, 2011).

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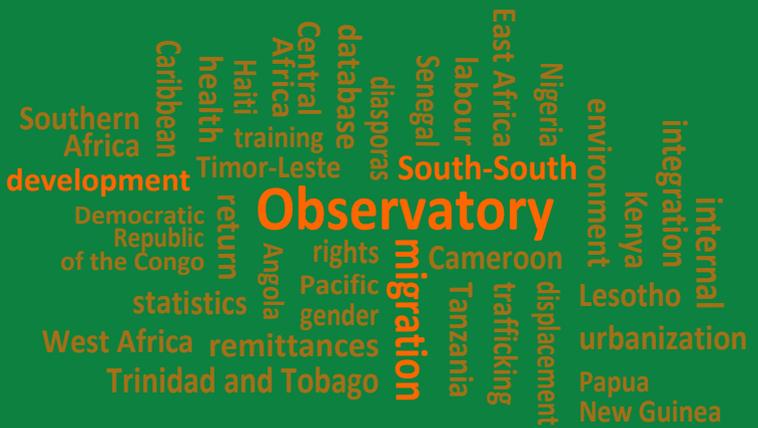
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