



DATA

1.

Migration measurement along the Central Mediterranean Route: sources of data

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Abstract: This chapter inventories the state of knowledge on international migration from, to and through each of the 12 countries of the Central Mediterranean Route (CMR), with a focus on the last two decades. What national statistics tell us about numbers and profiles of international migrants in West Africa and the Maghreb, whether they are bound for Europe or not, is its core question. Migration data in North and West Africa primarily come from population censuses. Censuses provide a relatively detailed picture of immigrant and, in some cases, emigrant stocks, but little or nothing on migrant flows. Moreover, they hardly contain any information about the legal status of migrants, their working and living conditions, strategies, needs and vulnerabilities. Key findings emerge from this review: Maghreb countries are mainly migrant senders, with Europe as an overwhelming destination. Libya, which remains a destination and transit country, is an exception. By contrast, West African States are at the same time migrant senders and receivers, with a salient pattern of intraregional circular migration. Côte d'Ivoire stands out as a magnet for labour migrants originating from the whole of West Africa and beyond. Key recommendations include efforts to further develop administrative sources of data, which are the only means to continuously monitor migratory movements as well as migrants' characteristics, and the continuation of operational data collection systems, such as the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) and Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism initiative (4Mi), to inform about the circulation of people and their lived situations.

1.1. Introduction

This volume covers international migration in North and West Africa and across the Mediterranean Sea. Migrants who reach Europe by regular means are covered by administrative records of European States and their relatively efficient system of public statistics. With the development of search and rescue operations at high sea and tightened control of the Italian and Maltese shores, flows of irregular trans-Mediterranean migration are also relatively well known in terms of size and composition, except for those who do not reach Europe because they were returned to Africa or died at sea. But what do we know about the much larger numbers of international migrants, bound for Europe or not, in West Africa and the Maghreb? This is what this chapter is about.

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The chapter is organized as follows: Section 1.2 briefly reviews the challenges of migration measurement in North and West African countries; sections 1.3 and 1.4 describe the state of knowledge on migration in the 2000s and 2010s, respectively, in North and West African countries, excluding the results of the DTM and the 4Mi, which are the topic of Chapter 2. The chapter's conclusion proposes directions for using existing data and suggestions for improving data collection systems.

1.2. Migration as a challenge to statistics

While the United Nations has recommended universal definitions for international migration² and an international migrant,³ States may have their own visions and adapt the United Nations definitions accordingly. As a general rule, border crossing, followed by a certain duration of stay, defines migration, while several variables may be used to define a migrant: country of birth in the first instance, but also country of citizenship, country of last residence and duration of stay. Other important elements are the motivation for leaving one's country to differentiate voluntary and forced migrants (or refugees), and the status regarding entry and stay, which can be regular or irregular.

Due to its nature, migration poses a challenge to data collection and analysis. The classical problems national statistical offices and other administrations face include the following, all of them highly relevant in West and North African contexts:

- Distinguishing between migrants and travellers: Duration of stay may not be known at entry; moreover, transit migrants are conceptually difficult to define and therefore to count.
- Observing and counting emigrants, who by definition are not physically present in their countries of origin: Three imperfect solutions can be available: using consular records of migrants' origin countries; using immigration statistics of migrants' destination countries; or asking questions in population censuses or surveys about (former) members of the household who currently reside abroad.
- Estimating irregular migration: Because migrants in irregular situation tend to go under-recorded in administrative systems, estimating their numbers and characteristics is difficult.
- Estimating circular, seasonal and temporary migrants whom systems of data collection (such as censuses and administrative records) are likely to miss.
- Following up on migrants: Because migrants move from one country to another, statistics on migrants are produced from data collected by uncoordinated administrations of different States.

Sources of migration data in West and North Africa can include population censuses (which are conducted every 10 years and therefore miss temporary migration that takes place between two consecutive censuses), ad hoc surveys and border statistics.

Migration as well as interest in the topic are not new in West and North Africa. The two regions have traditionally been sources and destinations of significant migratory movements. Moreover, from time immemorial, trans-Saharan migration has linked the Sahel and the Maghreb with each other. The attention such movements have gained in recent decades – when Libya became successively a key destination for migrant workers then a hub for mostly irregular trans-Mediterranean migration from Africa to Europe – is in several regards the continuation of a long history.

Academic research on migration in Africa is not new either. It counts several important contributions to its credit. Yet there is still a deficit of quantitative knowledge. The classical tools on which such knowledge draws – population censuses of each country, which provide data on inward migration; population censuses of destinations countries, the aggregation of which provides data on outward migration; a variety of administrative routines; and ad hoc surveys – have delivered very little on migration levels, trends and patterns in Africa.

² The United Nations defines the "international migrant stock [as] the number of people living in a country or area other than that in which they were born" (UN DESA, 2011).

³ The United Nations defines an international migrant "as any person who changes his or her country of usual residence. A person's country of usual residence is that in which the person ... normally spends the daily period of rest" (UN DESA, 1998).

This chapter presents a succinct review of migration facts and data in countries along African routes to the Mediterranean in the 2000s and 2010s. A contrast emerges between increasingly available statistical data in certain countries (especially Morocco and Tunisia) and persisting deficits of knowledge in others (such as Libya and Côte d'Ivoire). A number of factors explain these differences, pertaining to the countries themselves (statistical systems and political visions of migration) but also to their migrants' destination countries, the only ones where direct observation of emigration is possible. In addition to national data, which are of varying quantity and quality, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) databases offer estimates on a set of standardized indexes for all countries, including an origin–destination matrix of migrant stocks, but sources and methodologies are not equally reliable in all countries.

Table 1.1. Migrant stocks in countries along African routes to the Mediterranean – Most recent international and national statistics

Country	Population mid-2019 (thousands)	Inward		Outward	
		Country's data	UN DESA estimates 2019	Country's data	UN DESA estimates 2019
Algeria	43 053	95 000 (2008)	249 075	961 850 (2012)	1 944 784
Burkina Faso	20 321	689 055 (2006)	718 338	n/a	1 581 083
Côte d'Ivoire	25 717	5 490 222 (2014)	2 549 141	n/a	1 114 003
Gambia	2 348	110 705 (2013)	215 406	n/a	118 483
Guinea	12 771	162 114 (2014)	120 642	n/a	530 963
Libya	6 777	187 372 (2012)	818 216	n/a	180 586
Mali	19 658	313 354 (2009)	468 230	n/a	1 264 700
Mauritania	4 526	704 334 (2013)	172 987	47 149 (2013)	128 506
Morocco	36 472	84 001 (2017)	98 574	3 371 979 (2012)	3 136 069
Niger	23 311	123 886 (2012)	294 161	186 000 (2011)	401 653
Senegal	16 296	244 953 (2013)	275 239	n/a	642 654
Tunisia	11 695	n/a	57 455	1 098 200 (2009)	813 213

Sources: Country's data: national statistical offices (see footnotes); UN DESA estimates: UN DESA, 2019.

Looking at country data (Table 1.1), Maghreb countries appear as mainly migrant senders (with the exception of Libya) and West African countries as both significant migrant senders and receivers (of predominantly return migrants, as we shall see below). Côte d'Ivoire distinguishes itself by an exceptionally high number of immigrants, representing around one fourth of its resident population. Table 1.1 also shows remarkable differences between national data and international estimates. On the one hand, discrepancies between inward migrant stocks as counted by States and UN DESA estimates can differ significantly. On the other hand, a majority of States do not provide official statistics on outward migrants, for the reason that these migrants are not physically present in their countries of origin. UN DESA instead provides statistics for every country, though the basis on which the dominant pattern of Africa-to-Africa migrant stocks is estimated is not described. Sections III and IV below will address successively Maghreb then West African countries.

1.3. State of knowledge on migration in the Maghreb

1.3.1. Morocco

In 2012, Morocco counted 3,371,979 emigrants according to the country's consular records, and 2,615,637 according to a compilation of destination countries' statistics, representing respectively 10.2 per cent or 7.9 per cent of the country's total population.⁴ UN DESA provides an estimate of 3,136,069 for 2019. Consular records show a steady increase in migrant stocks originating from Morocco in the two decades 1993–2012, at an average annual rate of 9.9 per cent, compared with a population growth rate of 2.2 per cent in Morocco (Migration Policy Centre, 2013a). Most Moroccans abroad live in Europe (90.6%), mainly in France (35.4%), Spain (19.9%) and Italy (14.4%). Irregular migration, though much less frequent than regular migration, is a recurrent pattern: between 1981 and 2012, about 445,000 Moroccans were regularized in Belgium, France, Italy and Spain; and from 2008 to 2017, on average 34,227 Moroccans were found each year to be illegally present in the 28 States of the European Union (Eurostat).

Moroccan migrants in Europe have on average a lower than intermediate level of education (59.3%), especially in Italy (76.6%) and Spain (78.6%), and they are employed as low-skilled workers (27% as plant and machine operators, assemblers or elementary occupations; 13% as craft and related trades workers; and 13% as service, shop and market sales workers). In sharp contrast, 51.7 per cent of Moroccan migrants in Northern America have a university education. A national survey in 2019 of 15,076 households in Morocco provides an up-to-date description of Moroccan expatriates (defined as Moroccan nationals 15 years old and over, former members of the household) (Kingdom of Morocco, 2019). It's a predominantly male population (68.3%). Mean age at first emigration was 25.3 years. The proportion unmarried at first emigration was 72.7 per cent, compared with 33.6 per cent at the time of the survey, which means that most marriages were concluded after emigration. At the time of the survey, 33.6 per cent of the migrants had a university level education; the survey does not provide the proportion at the time of first emigration. The main reasons for emigrating were jobseeking (53.7%) and study (24.8%). Migrants are mostly in Europe (86.4%); 64% are employed (males 76%, females 38%); 42.3 per cent remit money, most of them to their fathers and mothers (69.9%); only 3.9% invest in Morocco.⁵

Is Morocco becoming a new destination country, as we often hear? Numbers are not conclusive. In 2012, 77,798 foreign nationals representing a very low 0.2 per cent of Morocco's total population had residence permits. Many were French (29.2%) or Algerians (13.4%), including spouses of Moroccan citizens. To these numbers, one must add uncounted sub-Saharan migrants with irregular status. Unauthorized flows would have culminated in the period 2000–2009, with 136,603 foreign nationals apprehended at Moroccan borders, then decreased to reach small numbers (2,877 in 2009).⁶ The Government launched two amnesties, in 2013–2014 and 2017–2018, which regularized around 50,000 sub-Saharan undocumented migrants, representing 85 per cent of all applicants (Morocco World News, Interior Ministry, 2018). Based on the above, one can reasonably assume that there are around 60,000–70,000 sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. According to the population census of 2014 (unlikely to include migrants in irregular situation), there were 84,001 foreign residents in the country, most of them urban (95.2%); with a male majority (56.5%); 41.6 per cent originating from Africa and 40 per cent from Europe; 47.7 per cent of the households with at least one foreigner have mixed nationalities (Kingdom of Morocco, Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2017).

⁴ Moroccan consular records and destination countries' statistics (such as population censuses, population registers and register of foreigners), compiled by Migration Policy Centre (2013a).

⁵ More than 20 specialized migration studies (www.hcp.ma/Etudes_r161.html) and surveys (www.hcp.ma/Enquetes-socio-demographiques_r29.html) have been released by Morocco's Haut-Commissariat au Plan.

⁶ Migration Policy Centre (2013a).

1.3.2. Algeria

Unlike Morocco, Algeria has very limited statistical resources on migration, both inward and outward. In the early 2010s, aggregating data from destination countries made it possible to estimate emigrants from Algeria at close to 1 million (961,850 in 2012), representing a relatively low 2.6 per cent of the country's total population. UN DESA provides a much higher estimate for 2019: 1,944,784 emigrants, representing 4.5 per cent of Algeria's population. The overwhelming majority of Algerian emigrants (91.2% or 877,398) were residing in the European Union, mainly in France (75.0% of the total). Only Tunisia was a destination in Africa for Algerian migrants (1.0% of the total).⁷ Emigration had risen in this period, with annual flows towards France more than doubling between 1994 and 2007 (from 10,911 to 24,041), and numbers of apprehended migrants in irregular situation in the European Union 28 jumped from 335 in 2005 to 19,335 in 2010 and 23,770 in 2016, whether this trend reflects increased irregular migration or tightened control of migrants.

Algerian migrants in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries have an intermediate occupational profile (31% have an employment as technicians or professionals; 24% as craft and related trade workers, or as service and market sale workers; and 14% in elementary occupations). The educational level of Algerians in France substantially increased between 1999 and 2008, with the proportion of individuals with a tertiary education growing from 15.2 per cent to 17.3 per cent and the proportion with secondary education from 28.1 to 37.2 per cent (*ibid.*).

According to the population census of 2008, Algeria was host to 95,000 foreign residents, most of them (80.4%) originating from other Arab countries, and only 10.0 per cent from non-Arab African countries.⁸ Migrants from European countries represented 7 per cent of the total. Other data show a different picture, however. From 2001 to 2012, the number of work permits grew from 1,107 to 50,760, mainly delivered to Chinese (41.0%), Egyptians (11.0%) and Turks in the construction and oil sectors. Moreover, Algeria seems to host large numbers of unrecorded sub-Saharan migrants with irregular status working in agriculture, construction and tourism (Bensaad, 2008).

1.3.3. Tunisia

Tunisia is a major country of emigration. On the eve of the Jasmine Revolution, Tunisian consulates recorded 1,098,200 Tunisians abroad (2009), representing 10.6 per cent of the country's population. Moreover, their number had been rising at an annual rate of 6.2 per cent, compared with a national population growth rate of 1.1 per cent in the preceding decade. In 2009, 83.0 per cent of Tunisian émigrés lived in Europe, mainly in France (54.5%), Italy (13.9%) and Germany (7.8%). Arab countries came next (14.5%), with the largest share from Libya (7.9%).⁹

Destination countries' statistics provide smaller numbers: 414,077 Tunisians were recorded as residing in the European Union 28 in 2012, and unknown numbers in Libya and other Arab countries. Indeed, second- and third-generation migrants who can claim Tunisian citizenship are included in consular records, but not in migration statistics of destination countries. In the first years of the revolution, outward flows from Tunisia doubled, from 26,085 annual migrants on average in 2005–2010 to 50,391 in 2011–2012. The educational profile of Tunisian migrants also changed, with the proportion of university-educated new migrants rising from 14.1 per cent in 2005–2006 to 22.9 per cent in 2009–2010.

The population census of 2014 provides data on flows of Tunisian emigrants – on their numbers: 66,000 in the five years preceding the census; their destinations: 41.8 per cent to France, 16.1 per cent to Libya, 13.1 per cent to Italy, 7.8 per cent to the Gulf States; on their sex distribution: males represent 83.3 per cent of the total; and their reasons for leaving Tunisia: 73.4 per cent for work, 14.2 per cent for study (two thirds of them children accompanying their parents and one third university students) (*Statistiques Tunisie*, 2016). It is worth noting that irregular migration from Tunisia has always been significant (Bel Haj Zekri, 2008). It increased temporarily with the revolution, as judged by the number of Tunisian nationals found to be illegally present in the European Union 28 rising from 13,895 in 2009 to 24,290 in 2011, then falling to 11,763 in 2016 and 15,920 in 2017 (Eurostat).

⁷ Data compiled from statistical offices of the destination countries, Migration Policy Centre (2013b).

⁸ Algerian population census (1998 and 2008).

⁹ Tunisian consular records for 2004 and 2009 and destination countries' statistics around 2012 compiled by Migration Policy Centre (2013c).

Tunisia is not primarily a migrant receiving country. The population census of 2004 recorded only 35,192 foreign nationals, representing 0.4 per cent of the total population. Sixty per cent of them originated in another Arab country, 27.5 per cent in Europe and 8.6 per cent in non-Arab African countries. As in Algeria, however, sub-Saharan migrants are believed to be in greater numbers, due to irregular migration (Fargues, 2009). Unknown but possibly high numbers of Libyans fleeing chaos in their country would also be living in Tunisia. Publications of the most recent population census (2014) do not provide data on immigration except for Tunisian return migrants: 29,293 in the five preceding years, with 50 per cent returning from France and Italy, 5 per cent from Libya, and 5.3 per cent from Saudi Arabia; 57.3 per cent of returnees were males and 70 per cent had a secondary or higher education (Statistiques Tunisie, 2016).

1.3.4. Libya

Little solid national data characterize knowledge on migration in Libya. UN DESA figures continue to place the country as an important destination for migrant workers and a hub for transit migration (inward migrant stock estimated at 818,216 in 2019), while the only available survey conducted a year after the uprisings counted a much smaller number (187,372 in 2012).¹⁰ The year 2011 was certainly a turning point in the history of migration in Libya. Before the removal of Col. Gaddafi, the oil-producing country was a major labour market for migrants originating from Africa and the Arab countries. It was also a country of transit for undocumented migrants on their way to Europe, to such an extent that controlling exits by the Mediterranean was a bargaining chip in Libya's inconsistent relationship with Europe (Hamood, 2006; Fargues, 2013). It is believed that the number of migrants was high, though unknown. A commonly given figure was 600,000 migrant workers with regular status plus between 750,000 and 1.2 million foreign workers in irregular situation (Human Rights Watch, 2006). On the eve of the uprisings, in the absence of any statistical foundation, IOM estimated the total migrant stock in Libya at 2.5 million. During the 2011 crisis, 768,372 foreign migrants fled violence in Libya. Even if we allow the unrealistic hypothesis that these migrants represent all foreign nationals living in Libya before the crisis, Libya can already be defined as a main country of immigration, close to the largest European receiving States in terms of immigrants' share of the total population, at 12 per cent.¹¹

The overthrow of the regime and the ensuing political chaos opened a new era in Libya. On one side, the country for the first time experienced a significant emigration of its own citizens, in particular towards Libya's neighbours in North and sub-Saharan Africa (their numbers are unknown). On the other side, Libya has continued to attract international migrants as a destination, but also increasingly as a transit country on the Mediterranean route. The only post-uprisings source of data is a 2012 survey providing, inter alia, the population by nationalities: 5,363,369 Libyans and 187,372 non-Libyans; distributed by sex: males, 138,305, females, 59,067; by group of nationalities: Arabs 152,749, Africans 28,282, Asians 4,903, Americans 59; and by region in Libya.¹² While no one knows the real numbers, due to disorganized and disrupted administrative systems of data collection, UN DESA estimates migrant stocks at 818,216 in 2019. Beyond numbers, political instability has deeply affected the security of migrants in Libya, where reports on their risk of suffering hunger, disease, violence, abuse, exploitation and ultimately death are many.

¹⁰ Libya, Demographic Survey 2012 [Arabic], available at http://bsc.ly/?P=5&sec_id=17&dep_id=6#18 (accessed 10 July 2020).

¹¹ International Organization for Migration, "Humanitarian Emergency Response to the Libyan Crisis," December 5, 2011 (http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/index.php?main_page=product_info&cPath=41_7&products_id=750 [May 2012]).

¹² Libya, Demographic Survey 2012 [Arabic], available at http://bsc.ly/?P=5&sec_id=17&dep_id=6#18 (accessed 10 July 2020).

1.4. State of knowledge on migration in West Africa

1.4.1. Côte d'Ivoire

“Land belongs to who cultivates it”.¹³ This slogan launched by President Houphouët-Boigny in 1963 was going to make Côte d'Ivoire a magnet for many hundreds of thousands of West African farmers, in continuation of a decades-old movement of populations from the Sahel to the coastal regions of West Africa in relation with the development of export agriculture and commerce. The country attracted rural families from the neighbouring States of Upper Volta (currently Burkina Faso), Mali and Guinea, and beyond, from the whole region. Migrant farmers were instrumental in developing the strong agricultural sector, notably coffee and cocoa exports, that made the fortune of Côte d'Ivoire in the three decades following its independence in 1960.¹⁴ Table 1.2 shows the remarkably high though slightly declining proportion of foreign nationals, who still represent close to one fourth the population of the country.

Apart from immigrants' outstanding demographic weight, published data of the 2014 census do not provide much information about their origins and profiles. The proportion of foreign nationals who were born in Côte d'Ivoire (second-generation) has steadily increased, from 30.0 per cent in 1975 to 59.0 per cent in 2014, and the proportion of males has reached an almost “normal” level, going from 59 per cent to 55 per cent in the same period (Table 1.2). These are signs that long-term immigration followed by settlement is still a pattern in Côte d'Ivoire. However, the discrepancy between the fast increase in the proportion born in the country and the hardly perceptible decrease in the proportion of foreign nationals is a sign that long-term immigration does not open the door to citizenship as widely as it did in the past. Political events of the early 2000s were linked with nationhood claims, but they do not seem to have stopped immigration as much as full integration of migrants in the citizenry. Based on that, in 2019, close to 9 out of 10 immigrants in the country would come from its five bordering countries: 53.7 per cent from Burkina Faso, 20.5 per cent from Mali, 6.5 per cent from Guinea, 4.4 per cent from Ghana and 1.1 per cent from Liberia.¹⁵

Table 1.2. Côte d'Ivoire, a leading receiver of international migrants – Numbers of foreign nationals at census years

Census year	Total population	Non-Ivorian residents			
		Number	% of all residents	% born in Côte d'Ivoire	% males
1975	6 709 600	1 474 469	22.0%	30.0%	59.3%
1988	10 815 694	3 039 037	28.1%	42.7%	55.8%
1998	15 366 672	4 000 047	26.0%	47.0%	55.2%
2014	22 671 331	5 490 222	24.2%	59.0%	54.9%

Source: INS, 2015.

¹³ The slogan is quoted by many. See, for example, Otch-Akpa (1995).

¹⁴ Literature on migration to Côte d'Ivoire in the three decades following independence is abundant. See for example, Fargues (1982, 1986); and Chauveau, 2000.

¹⁵ UN DESA estimates for inward migrant stocks in Côte d'Ivoire are as follows: 1990: 1,816,426; 1995: 2,076,394; 2000: 2,163,644; 2005: 2,265,090; 2010: 2,366,537; 2015: 2,467,984; 2019: 2,549,141 (UN DESA, 2019). These numbers do not correspond to census data on foreign nationals, but possibly to born-abroad individuals.

Côte d'Ivoire is not only a destination but also an origin for migrants. The emigrant stock, estimated at 173,103 around 1980 (2% of the country's population), would have jumped to 1,172,151 around 2010, then slightly decreased to an estimated 1,020,416 in 2013 (6% of the population).¹⁶ A large majority of them are believed to be return migrants or second-generation migrants fleeing the crisis. They were destined for Burkina Faso (50.1% of all outward migrant stock in 2019, according to UN DESA), Mali (16.9%), Ghana (6.5%), Benin (3.1%), and Liberia (1.8%), a country where tens of thousands of Ivorians found shelter. In smaller numbers, Ivorian migrants to the West would mainly live in France (8.9%), but also the United States (2.8%) and Italy (2.7%) (UN DESA, 2019).

1.4.2. Burkina Faso

In 1974–1975, Burkina Faso (at that time Upper Volta) was the first-ever West African country to conduct a migration survey (Coulibaly et al., 1974). Migration was part of the subsistence strategy as well as the culture of its inhabitants. Emigration from Burkina Faso was never discontinued since then, with Côte d'Ivoire as a main destination. Burkina Faso does not produce statistics on its own emigration, but UN DESA provides an estimated emigrant stock of 1,581,083 in 2019, representing 7.8 per cent of the country's population.

The most recent population census dates back to 2006 (INSD, 2020). Two detailed tables contain data on return migration of nationals. Table 4.1 (ibid.) provides the distribution of the resident population by place of birth: 613,662 individuals (4.4% of the country's total population) were born abroad, including 80.8 per cent born in Côte d'Ivoire, 6.5 per cent in Mali and 4.8 per cent in Ghana. A large (but unknown) number of these were probably second-generation nationals. Table 4.4 (ibid.) provides the distribution of the 689,055 return migrants (nationals whose previous residence was abroad, representing 4.9% of the total population) by reasons for returning to Burkina Faso: voluntary return, 59.1 per cent; sociopolitical crisis (in Côte d'Ivoire), 23.3 per cent; and study, 3.6 per cent.

The national labour survey of 2015 provides the number of foreign nationals, 64,905, representing 0.4 per cent of the country's population, and their distribution by origin: 87.5 per cent were coming from West African countries, the largest share being nationals of Côte d'Ivoire, at 19.9 per cent (INSD, 2015).

1.4.3. Mali

Mali has a centuries-old history of long-distance mobility. Unknown but surely large numbers of people across sub-Saharan Africa could claim a degree or another of Malian descent. In 2005, the *Délégation Générale des Maliens de l'Extérieur* (General Delegation for Malian Expatriates) estimated an unverifiable 3,761,730 the number of Malians residing abroad, 3,631,385 of them in Africa (Traoré, 2010). The delegation's website provides on its front page a higher estimate of "4 million Malians living abroad" in January 2017 (Bamuk News, 2017). First-generation migrants from Mali are thought to be in smaller numbers. UN DESA estimates Mali's emigrant stock at 1,264,700 in 2019, representing 6.4 per cent of the country's population. The immigrant stock is estimated by the same source at 468,230 (2.4% of the population), 90 per cent of them originating from other sub-Saharan countries.

The population census of 2009 is to date Mali's only source of solid data on migration. Born-abroad residents were 313,354, residents entered in the last five years numbered 164,504, and emigrants in the last five years 107,316 (Republic of Mali, Institut National de la Statistique, 2012). Foreign nationals comprised 0.8 per cent of the total population, mainly coming from three neighbouring countries: Burkina Faso (20.1%), Côte d'Ivoire (16.9%) and Guinea (14.9%). The vast majority of immigrants (81%) are returning nationals. They are mostly active (only 1.5% unemployed, 57.3% employed and 41.1% inactive, mainly women); have low levels of education on average (58.6% have no school education; and 20.8%, 8.5% and 12.0% respectively have primary, intermediate and secondary or tertiary levels of education). Malians returning from the Americas, Europe and Oceania are more educated, with respectively 27.0 per cent, 21.2 per cent and 21.0 per cent having a secondary or university level of education.

The permanent household survey of 2011 provides additional details about return migrants to Mali, representing according to the survey 12.2 per cent of the resident population 15 years old and over. Three quarters (74.2%) of return migrants are males, with a mean age of 44 years; 78.4 per cent are illiterate (compared with 62.1%

¹⁶ OECD/Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (2017). UN DESA provides a much lower estimate of 551,569 for 2019.

among non-migrants); 86.1 per cent are married (compared with 58.7% among non-migrants); they have a rate of unemployment of 15.2 per cent (38.0% among non-migrants); they are mostly employed in agriculture (61.6%, compared with 34.0% among non-migrants), as well as in informal non-agricultural activities (20.7%). Microdata analysis shows that return migrants from African countries have significantly lower incomes than non-migrants and return migrants from Europe have labour incomes equal to non-migrants. Return migrants in agriculture have lower labour productivity than non-migrants (Bouare et al., 2015; EMOP, 2019).

How many emigrants does Mali count? The 2009 census migration report does not provide their absolute number, but a few relative distributions: by reason for emigration (work comes first: 87.2%); destination (72.9% go to Africa, including 31.9% to Côte d'Ivoire, 19.8% to Europe); and sex (males: 90.9%). Migrant students represent a significant proportion of migrants to Northern America (41.5%), Asia (14.5%), Oceania (14.3%), and Europe (5.6%) (Republic of Mali, Institut National de la Statistique, 2012).

1.4.4. Senegal¹⁷

Senegal is neither a destination nor an origin country of very large migratory movements – immigrants represent 1.7 per cent of its population and emigrants 3.9 per cent – but it has relatively rich statistics on the topic.

Immigration into Senegal is for a large part return migration of Senegalese from abroad. The most recent population census (2013) provided the number of immigrants still in the country among those arrived during the last 10 years: 153,465; in the last 5 years: 113,376; and in the last year: 30,538. The total number of immigrants was 244,953, including 46.8 per cent foreign nationals from Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) countries, and 45.6 per cent Senegalese return migrants. A majority of immigrants (57.0%) lived in Dakar.

Emigration was estimated by the last three population censuses, showing a slight decline over the last three decades, with numbers of recent emigrants (departed from Senegal in the last five years) representing 1.9 per cent of the total population in 1992, 1.6 per cent in 2002 and 1.2 per cent in 2013. A UN DESA estimate of 2019 (642,654 outmigrants, representing 3.9% of the population) would suggest a recent surge in emigration. Among the 164,901 emigrants of the five years preceding the census, 30.3 per cent were originating from Dakar and 13.8 per cent from Matam; were mostly males (82.9%); were destined either for Europe (44.5%), notably France (17.6%) and Italy (13.8%), for West Africa (27.5%, with Mauritania coming first) or the rest of Africa (18.4%). Reasons for migration as declared by respondents were mainly work (73.4%) and study or training (12.2%). At departure, emigrants had on average a low levels of education (45.5% illiterate, 18.3% with a primary level, 19.4% a complementary or secondary level, and 10.7% a university education); 80.9 per cent were employed and 16.2 per cent were students.

Border statistics of Senegal provide numbers of entries and exits showing, for example, that the overall resulting balance for the second semester of 2018 was positive (+102,472), but negative for Senegalese nationals (-13,385) and positive for nationals of the other ECOWAS countries (+99,140) (Ministère de l'économie du plan et de la coopération (Senegal), 2019).

In addition to national statistics, several academic surveys provide valuable knowledge on Senegalese migration. In particular, the MAFE survey found that three quarters of the Senegalese migrating to France, Italy or Spain intended to stay more than 10 years (permanently?) at destination, and that the choice of a country of destination in Europe was determined by the presence of migrants' family members or friends at destination more often than by work reasons (Beauchemin et al., 2014).

1.4.5. Mauritania

Mauritania has a tradition of intense circular mobility of shepherds and traders, but not of permanent international migration. Its population census of 2013 provides numbers to delineate the country's profile (Islamic Republic of Mauritania, ONS, 2013).

¹⁷ Tall et al. (2011) and Sakho et al. (2011).

The international migrant stock in the country adds up to 704,334 (only 172,987 according to UN DESA), representing a remarkably high 18.2 per cent of the country's 3.873 million resident population at the time of the census. The immigrant population is gender balanced, with 387,043 males and 317,921 females. The vast majority (622,717, or 88.4% of the total) are Mauritanian return migrants, either born abroad or natives with a previous experience of emigration. Among the 81,859, foreign immigrants (2.1% of the total population), refugees from Mali comprise the largest group (48,673). A majority of immigrants are illiterate (54.9%) or have attended only Quranic school (17.5%); 60.1% are active, out of whom 48.0 per cent as independent workers; they originate from Mali (60.0%), Senegal (20.0%), Guinea (2.8%) and several other African countries (*ibid.*).

Outward migrant stock as captured by the census is relatively small, with 47,179 mostly male (41,333) individuals representing 1.2 per cent of Mauritania's population. Half of them (47.7%) emigrated from the country at 20–34 years of age. Motives for departing were jobseeking (37.3%), occupation-related causes (29.5%), studies (14.0%) or family reunification (12.6%). Their level of education was overwhelmingly low (69.5% illiterate or below primary), though a significant 6.4 per cent were university graduates. The majority (74.0%) was destined for African countries and 17.1 per cent for Europe (*ibid.*).

1.4.6. The Niger¹⁸

The Niger, which has for centuries been at the crossroads of major East–West Tuareg salt caravan routes, is now crossed by North–South flows from sub-Saharan Africa to the Maghreb and the Mediterranean. International immigrant and emigrant stocks – mostly migratory exchanges with other sub-Saharan countries – would represent respectively 1.3 per cent and 1.7 per cent of its resident population in 2019 (UN DESA estimates).

The population census of 2012 provides some information about the immigrant stocks. It counted 123,886 foreign nationals, a slight majority of whom were women (63,264, compared with 60,622 men); and 484,300 return migrants, mostly from Nigeria, except in Agadze, where 41.5 per cent of the returnees came from Libya. Returnees were overwhelmingly farmers (84.2%), and foreign nationals had a broader spectrum of occupations, including agriculture (39.9%), commerce (30.9%) and crafts (22.0%) (Republic of the Niger, 2012).

A year before the census, a national migration survey estimated the Niger's emigration at 1.1 per cent of the country's population, destined for Nigeria (37.8%), other West African countries (30.5%) and Libya (12.6%).¹⁹

1.4.7. Guinea

The population census of 2013 counted 162,114 born-abroad individuals (1.4% of the country's population), of which 126,805 were second-generation Guinean nationals (78.2% of all inward migrants) and 33,509 foreign nationals. Immigrants were born in Côte d'Ivoire (25.5%), Sierra Leone (22.7%), Mali (9.7%) and Europe (1.4%). Immigrants are generally more educated than non-migrants. The proportions who never attended school is 47.2 per cent among the former, compared with 66.5 per cent among the latter; with a primary education 13.3 per cent (compared with 10.5%); with a secondary education 25.2 per cent (compared with 17.4%); and with a university level 14.2 per cent (compared with 5.5%). Immigrants are also wealthier than non-migrants, with proportions of "very poor" and "very rich" individuals reaching respectively 5.3 per cent and 48.9 per cent among migrants (compared with 17.4% and 22.2% among non-migrants).²⁰

The census report also provides the distribution of emigrants from the country according to a few variables (absolute numbers are not available): in particular, the country of destination, with Côte d'Ivoire coming first, and the reason for migrating, with work (56.2%) coming before studies (15.6%) and family and marriage (13.5%). UN DESA estimates Guinea's emigrant stock at 530,963 in 2019, representing 4.2 per cent of the country's population.

¹⁸ Issaka Maga, H. (2011).

¹⁹ Enquête Nationale sur la Migration (2011). Available at www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/events/other/workshop/2016/docs/presentations/SessionIV_Niger.pdf.

²⁰ Republic of Guinea (2017). "Very poor" and "very rich" (Table 3.14, p. 48) are defined respectively as the first and fifth quintiles of the distribution of the population by standard of living.

1.4.8. The Gambia

The Gambia is a country of relatively intense international migration, with immigrant and emigrant stocks estimated by UN DESA at respectively 9.2 per cent and 5.0 per cent of the population in 2019. The census of 2013 is the only national source on migration in the Gambia (Gambia Bureau of Statistics, 2013). It enumerated 110,705 individuals with previous residence abroad, representing 5.9 per cent of the total population. The main countries of previous residence were Senegal (49.2%), Guinea (20.6%) and Guinea-Bissau (4.9%). Non-Africans comprised a low 5.0 per cent of all immigrants. The reasons for migrating to the Gambia were marriage and family (44.9%), the search for employment (29.6%), study (4.6%), and civil conflict (2.1%). National sources do not provide data on emigration.

1.5. Concluding remarks

Knowledge on migration comes primarily from population censuses. Most countries along the CMR have used censuses to produce relatively detailed data on their immigrants, and some of them on their emigrants. No country, however, collects the administrative data that would make it possible to update census data and fully understand migratory processes.

A contrast emerges between North Africa, the emigration of which is primarily polarized by Europe, and West Africa, where international migration is mostly destined for bordering countries and a genuine dimension of regional integration, between permanent migration in the case of North Africa, and a significant pattern of two-way migration with return to the origin country in the case of West Africa.

In both regions, the reasons for migrating are jobseeking, marriage, following the family and study. According to national sources, political motives and the search for international protection do not emerge as meaningful causes of international migration, but this is possibly because censuses and surveys conducted by States are not well adapted to capture such causes.

Limiting oneself to national sources, knowledge on migration flows and the routes of migration would almost be inexistent. Moreover, conventional tools of data collection do not provide information about migrants' lived situations, their strategies, their needs, and their vulnerability, among others. These are topics that two new tools aim to document: IOM's DTM and the 4Mi, presented in Chapter 2 of this volume (Fargues).

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