

MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER

TOWARD AN AFROCENTRIC PERSPECTIVE ON MIGRATION:

An analysis of scholarly works on intra-African migration narratives (from 2015 to 2022)

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Abstract

In this major research paper, African migration refers to the human movement within the boundaries of sub-Saharan African territory. This migration will focus on three specific regions where most internal African migration occurs: the western, eastern, and southern African regions. For a long time, research on migration to and from Africa has yet to be given the prominence it deserves in the global migration literature. Indeed, the understanding of African migration has mostly been Westernized: even when it is written about, significant attention was put from a Eurocentric perspective rather than Afrocentric. Since 2015, after the so-called migration crises in Europe, narratives on migration have mainly focused on depicting South-to-North migration as irregular, increasing, and problematical. However, recent evidence portrays African migration as mainly intra-continental rather than international. This work explores recent and alternative migration narratives from an Afrocentric perspective by analyzing scholarly works on intra-African migration. The ultimate purpose of this paper is to ensure a balanced understanding of the complex phenomenon that spurs human mobility to and from sub-Saharan Africa.

Keywords: Afrocentric perspective; Eastern Africa; Hospitality; Hostility; Intra-African migration; Intra-regional migration; Migration Narratives; Pan-Africanism; Southern Africa; Western Africa; Xenophobia.

Acronyms

AU	African Union
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GMDAC	Global Migration Data Analysis Center
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IOM	International Organization of Migration
OAU	Organization of Africa United
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
REC	Regional Economic Cooperation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAMP	Southern Africa Migration Programme
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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“The stories told about migration and migrants can paint a rich picture of how people view the opportunities and challenges associated with the movement of people, and through what lenses.” (Zlotnik 1991)

Migration is a complex and natural phenomenon that has happened since humanity’s beginning. The movement of people between and across regions spreads long before the general development of nation-states. In today’s world, migration is a fundamental component of structural transformations in developing countries. African migration has generally been portrayed as a desperate attempt to escape insecurity and poverty toward better life conditions outside the continent (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). Indeed, images and articles of desperate Africans on overcrowded boats bound illegally towards Occident shores have been the center of interest of mass media for almost two decades. The vast majority of reports accounting for African migration often underscores South to North migration as increasing, illegal, and invoking fears (Zlotnik 1991; Flahaux and De Haas 2016; Moyo, Laine, and Nshimbi 2021). Indeed, given how the so-called “migration crisis” has been portrayed in the media in recent years, one might think that Occidental shores are being overrun. Considering those headlines, among others: “As Europe Grasps for Answers, More Migrants Flood Its Borders” (The New York Times, September 7, 2015); “A Global Surge in Refugees Leaves Europe Struggling to Cope” (The Washington Post, April 21, 2015); “Crisis Warnings Sound as EU Gears Up for New Migrant Wave” (Seattle Times, January 15, 2017) or even “At least a million SSA moved to Europe since 2010: sub-Saharan migration to the US also growing” (Pew Research Center, March 22, 2018). Following those alarming headlines, one may legitimately think that African migration toward Europe and the US is drastically increasing. However, despite the recurrence of narratives portraying the increasing invasion of Occidental shores by African or sub-Saharan African migrants, those articles rarely

mention that Africa has the lowest intercontinental outmigration rates of all world regions (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). A recent report from the African Union and the International Organization for Migration in Africa reveals that many assumptions about African migration need to be re-addressed (IOM, 2020). Indeed, according to their studies, most of the African migration is intracontinental, while the report reveals that when it comes to international migration from Africa, around 94% of this migration is regular, which contradicts what has been told by the mass media so long (Ibid.).

This major research paper intends to explore narratives of intra-African migration through a semi-systematic approach to literature. In doing so, I will describe what a migration narrative is, in the first part. My reflection will focus second on the analytical framework of the intra-African migration narrative. Finally, I will expose the results of my analysis through a semi-systematic literature review of intra-African migration.

Narratives surrounding migration shape what and how people understand this process. Narratives stem from different factors and actors, which spread to impact and reinforce a social reality. As Judithe Registre recalls in her analysis of the meanings of narratives, “[narratives could] become ubiquitous and start to rule our lives without us even noticing” (Registre, 2017). It is then apparent to consider narratives as a powerful means which shape how groups of people see and understand each other. Migration narratives in this context shape people’s understanding of the phenomena depending on who tells the story.

What is a migration narrative and why does it matter?

Narratives are among the most important determinants of public attitude, discourse, and behavior. A migration narrative is, therefore, narrating a story on the causes, implications, and/or effects of migration at the origin and destination level. A migration narrative may be defined broadly as a

way of telling and representing the history of human migration in a given historiographical context, as explained by (Wiedemann, n.d.). Migration narratives are mainly developed by mass media, politicians, and scholars. Once developed, they are spread within society, thus influencing our understanding of migration (illegal/legal; forced/voluntary; professional/unskilled; internal/international; temporary/permanent).

Migration has allowed people to connect, progress with others, and enhance cultural enrichment. However, dominant narratives on migration sometimes generate a dehumanizing and harmful image of migrants and migration. These dominant migration narratives depict migrants as a threat, likely exacerbating danger, disorder, or competing with native-born for limited resources. They tend to scope four main axes as being: the economic, from which migrants are potential rivals for jobs; the security, where migrants may represent threats to safety or alleviating public disorder; the culture, religion, and identity in the way that migrant's beliefs and values are incompatible with those of the nation; and, the health, where migrants may be seen as potential disease's spreader (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2021). Banulescu-Bogdan (2021, p8) analyzed the common categories of migration narratives evolving in the literature. The authors pointed out that there are generally three kinds of narratives when it comes to migration: (1)- *Benefit/Hero frame*, which emphasizes the economic or cultural contribution that migrants can add to the receiving society; (2)- *Victims/Humanitarian frame*, related to eliciting empathy, which highlights the humanitarian need of helping and supporting refugees and vulnerable migrants; and last but not least (3)- *Threat/Villain frame*, about narratives which present migrants as an economic, security, social and/or political threat. Those kinds of narratives depict migrants as a threat for the receiving countries in the way that they are said to either compete with the native or /and exacerbate danger and disorder within society. Therefore, narratives on migration may either emphasize the positive

or the negative impacts of the process within society. As a result, narratives could alleviate either pro or anti-immigration sentiments.

Migration narratives have an essential impact on how we perceive migration and migrants. They are powerful shapers of (mis)perceptions. As the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet stated, “Instead of repeating harmful narratives of fear and exclusion, it is time to welcome people into our communities, to reimagine our collective future” (OHCHR | Reframing Narratives on Migration, n.d.) This statement testifies to the existing, ongoing, and increasing “Threat narratives” in the international community. These narratives are generally conveyed from a Eurocentric or Occidental perspective which qualifies South-to-North migration as a “security issue”. Such narratives on migration evolving in the early 20s seem to use migrants as scapegoats for deep-rooted societal issues and fears. By doing so, those narratives nourish feelings of xenophobia and sometimes racism since migrants are criminalized and dehumanized by the public discourse in many countries.

Therefore, the criminalized narrative on migration is mainly applied to describe migration from developing or poor countries toward Western Nations or low-income countries toward richer Nations. Europe has even insisted that Africa-to-Europe migration attained a “crisis” point in 2015 (Flahaux and De Haas 2016). However, it seems hypocritical to target the Africa-to-Europe migration as a significant case in this crisis when it is well known that over 75% of migrants arriving in Europe that year had fled conflict and persecution from Syria, Afghanistan, or Iraq (U. N. H. C. for Refugees, n.d.-a).

Narratives can occur either organically or in an orchestrated manner. Banulescu-Bogdan (2021) explained that the difference between organic and orchestrated narratives is broad. The organic narrative is a product of similar stories told by numerous and various individuals but based on their

perspectives and understanding of the issue. In comparison, the orchestrated narrative is created, advanced, and told by a “powerful storyteller or a coalition of storytellers” who share a common objective, as is the case with the dominant narrative on African migration, which share a common assumption on stories portraying African migration as mostly irregular, driven by fear and poverty towards Europe (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; IOM, 2020).

The dominant narrative surrounding African migration has generated a counternarrative introduced by different actors to challenge the dominant narrative. This narrative deeply evolved in recent years, portraying a migration narrative from an African perspective. In the context of this paper, a counternarrative on migration will be explored as being the *Afro-centric narrative*.

As revealed in the comparative analysis conducted by (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2021), there are several patterns in how narratives are used to frame migration either positively, negatively, or using both frames¹. The Afro-centric narrative tells the story of African migration, generally centered on intra-African migration, with African migrants as the center of the narrative². Many positive migration narratives invoke a feeling of national pride and national identity through humanitarianism or diversity. This discourse is seemingly a pro-migration narrative considering migration beyond its political scope. Positive migration narratives do not consider migrants (only) as “illegals,” “refugees,” or “irregulars” but as human beings before all. The dominant threat narratives accounting for the negative migration narrative are reportedly driven by insecurity (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2021). This insecurity may either be related to the economy (increasing unemployment), social (culture and identity crisis), or political (national insecurity) (Ibid.).

¹ I will go more in depth with the positive/negative migration narrative frame in the literature review section.

²African migration in the context of this paper refers to the sub-Saharan African region.

What is a Narrative of Intra-African Migration?

The Afrocentric migration narrative is an alternative narrative of migration that tells the story of African migration from an Afrocentric perspective. I advance that there is a need-to-know what Africanists say about the intra-African migration, which is predominant within the continent but still mainly ignored by the mass media and some scholars and migration researchers³. An alternative narrative occurs when there is a need to address an issue with the existing narrative about a specific topic. Therefore, Afrocentric studies and research constitute a counternarrative of the dominant migration narratives on African migration. Adepts of this narrative share a common assumption: something wrong with the existing African migration narrative needs to be addressed. Major stories of the increasing South-to-North migration portraying desperate African migrants crossing borders to Europe illegally or embarking on the perilous Eastern trek towards the Gulf States have increased the general interest in the so-called “migration crisis”.

Nevertheless, the narratives behind those stories are only sometimes accurate, as told by the IOM (2020). Most reports covering African migrations have focused on displacement and irregular migration to Europe rather than covering the vast majority of sub-Saharan African migration: the intra-African migration. The Afrocentric migration narrative focuses on the drivers, effects, and implications of African migration within African shores. In the next section, I will present the analytical framework of what may serve as benchmarks of the Afrocentric narrative on migration based on the extensive works of (Adepoju, 2003) and the Report proposed by the African Union and the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2020).

³ Africanists in this context does not refer exclusively to people from African descents, but the focus is on the work of people made from an African perspective.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE AFROCENTRIC NARRATIVE: ADEPOJU (2003) AND THE AFRICAN UNION-IOM (2020) CASES

Aderanti Adepoju is a Nigerian professor, economist-demographer, and leading African migration specialist, who spent several years lecturing and researching issues on migration, especially intra-African migration (Aderanti Adepoju, n.d.). His work as a former President of the Union for African Population Studies and member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Migration and his broad experience as an African Migration Researcher made Adepoju one of the most influential African scholars when it comes to migration studies. For this major research paper, I focused on one significant scholarly contribution of this author. In "Migration in West Africa," Adepoju proposes a historical perspective covering the state of intra-regional migration before, within, and after colonization. This article will serve as one of the bases of my analytical framework, first because of the author's legitimacy within the African migration field and second because of the relevance of this article to my analysis. Indeed, I believe understanding the trends in intra-regional African migration before and after the colonial era is critical in analyzing African migration narratives. Adepoju's (2003) work provides a different historical periodization of African migration, proper to challenge the dominant image of migration patterns from Africa to Europe in the 20th century.

The second study lies on a most recent and extensive work held by the African Union in collaboration with the IOM (IOM, 2020). Knowing that scholarship on migration in the Global South is wanting and increasing, the African Union, along with the IOM, published this institutional work as the "first-ever official report written on African migration from an African perspective" (IOM, 2020). As mentioned, the report came as an alternative narrative to the dominant African migration narratives centered on Western analysis. The report recalls the need

to “retell the story of African migration that is largely about intra-African migration, in opposition to the horrific sensationalized impression from Africa through the Mediterranean.” (IOM, 2020, p1). I decided to join those two important scholarly sources together first because they share the particularity of examining the African migration realms from an alternative perspective, which serves as a response to Eurocentric narratives, but also because those articles are legitimated and recognized texts in the migration field, not only in Africa but also internationally⁴. These works are important propositions valid to lay an interpretive framework of the Afro-centric migration narrative.

Adepoju (2003) ’s work can be considered an engaging Afrocentric narrative on migration even though he did not call it like that himself. His study is an exciting contribution to the narrative of intra-African, particularly intra-regional African migration. Adepoju’s work underlined the effect of colonialism on how West African, in general, and their states perceived migration over time. He underlined the impact of colonization on important African values, such as African solidarity, with an emphasis on the Western African region.

Adepoju (2003, p1) first revealed that in pre-colonial times, migration occurred mainly in search of economic and social security. Pre-colonial migration in Africa was therefore centered on the need to pursue better living conditions, as is the case nowadays, but the most notable difference is that pre-colonial migration was free from all kinds of restrictions. Migration was not perceived as a political concern but as a human concept, even a human need. People used to migrate from one land to another as in one country without boundaries or diplomatic restrictions. This era can be referred to as the African solidarity period. Adepoju added to his analysis that during the colonial period, colonial regimes altered the motivations, compositions, and patterns of internal African

⁴ This is to emphasize that the selection of these articles was not random but legitimated.

migration by introducing and enforcing various blends of political and economic structures through the imposition of tax regimes and the establishment of territorial boundaries, which did not exist before. The independence era substantially altered the traditional free movement of persons across the continent, as explained by Adepaju (2003). This analysis underscores the colonial legacy regarding migration restrictions, which differs from the traditional perception of migration within Africa, understood as African solidarity. More recent studies and scholars align with Adepaju's analysis (Fine, 2017; Sanni, 2020; Kwan, 2021). "Cosmopolitan scholars," for example, consider the so-called African solidarity strongly threatened by the European legacy within Africa.

The word "cosmopolitan" comes originally from Greece as a call for all humanity to belong to one world, irrespective of citizenship or social division (Singh & Mukherjee, 2022). In the modern world, therefore, cosmopolitanism tends to support less restrictive immigration policies and even open borders, as explained by Kwan (2021). In the context of African migration, cosmopolitan thinkers share some common assumptions with "Afrocentric theorists": they are both committed to universalist ideals such as humanism, freedom, and equality that encourage immigrants (both voluntary and forced) and citizens to be treated equally. Some cosmopolitan thinkers even accuse the West, especially Europe, of being responsible for the current socio-economic and political instability in many African states through the legacies of colonization. As (Fine, 2017, p131) argues, "these legacies promoted gross economic, social, and political inequalities between the global South and the global North." Cosmopolitan thinkers, therefore, understand migration restrictions as a "bad joke" or an injustice from Western Nations which contributed to the current state of many African nations. According to those scholars, the colonial legacy contributed to the deterioration of the notorious African solidarity. Sanni (2020) recognizes the existence of African

solidarity manifested through a Pan-African philosophy that emphasizes the value of African humanism; however, he argues that this rooted value has been mitigated because of the influence of colonization. The author calls this colonial legacy “the strangeness” since it differs from core African values. In other words, colonialism eroded or reduced the pre-colonial perception of solidarity and collective morality driven by dignity and human need (Sanni 2020, p3). Therefore, the colonization era served not only for political, economic, and geographic manipulation but also to manipulate African minds and shift some traditional habits or values. As an illustration, Sanni (2020) recalls the case of the Cameroonian’s internal hostility born from the “ideological borders created along linguistic lines” (Ibid, p4) with French-speaking fighting English-speaking within the same country. This hostility also seems to exist when it comes to internal African migration. The influence of colonization over (some) internal African migration’s hostility is perceived through the impositions of borders, which strongly reduce the familiarity between territories and people through the concept of “Nation.” The colonization legacy created incomprehension among populations that have been divided without their consent, sometimes obliged to speak the colonizer’s language that differs from one of the neighboring countries having different colonizer(s). Those geographical, economic, political, and ideological demarcations created visible boundaries among territories, which deepened the level of strangeness imposed by the colonizers.

Adepoju (2003) mentioned that colonization introduced a series of economic and policy standards to reduce or at least control the movement of people from one boundary to another. As a result, the new national governments, anxious to identify their national territories as sovereign and independent states, enacted “migration laws and regulations governing conditions to entry, residence, and employment of non-nationals” (Adepoju, 2003, p3), intending to reduce the existing

flow of immigrants in general and limit entry to “authorized immigrants who were admitted based on their special skills” (Ibid.). The post-independence era introduced, therefore, a switch from African solidarity to nationalism pride manifested in the “need” to protect and preserve national borders from external threats. In this context, new changes in immigration laws and policies were introduced. These changes described specific procedures to control immigrants’ entry and employment. As unemployment among young educated nationals increased, governments started expelling and deporting “illegal immigrants”. In order to generate “legal” migration, governments started including regulations governing the issue of visas and passports, authorization for work permits, and, later, residence permits or identity cards (Adepoju, 2003).

This switch from free displacement during the pre-colonial period to the restrictive migration policies in the post-colonial era created tensions within the continent since the so-called African solidarity was strongly altered. Since governments and nationals started worrying about losing this essential continental value (African solidarity), they met to find an alternative to restore African solidarity and humanism within the migration process. As an illustration, Adepoju (2003, p6) explained that the formation of the ECOWAS, among other attempts, was “a bold attempt to stimulate the kind of homogeneous society which once existed in the sub-region.” In the West African region, ECOWAS was a significant hope for creating a borderless sub-region.

In addition to the policies put together to strengthen intra-African migration (particularly in the sub-Saharan region through the creation of regional passports, standard monetary system, etc.), governments from the region reflected on promoting regional infrastructure to foster economic integration to facilitate free movement of persons and goods. For example, Adepoju recalled launching the ECO-AIR private sub-regional airline held by the ECOWAS, whose main aim was to facilitate intra-regional travel. In addition, ECOWAS members agreed to eliminate rigid border

formalities between state members. (Adepoju, 2003) emphasized that the West African region has been taking actions seriously and concretely to promote the free movement of goods and persons, the right of residence and establishment, and among others, to enhance dialogue and cooperation on migration and development between various sub-regional organizations in Africa. These measures put in place by the Western African region demonstrate the need to harmonize and integrate the regional migration policies and cooperation at the intra-regional levels (Ibid.). However, the author revealed that a lot is left to do if Africa wants to facilitate migration among its countries and therefore be (re)considered a continent of solidarity.

As Adepoju's one, the African Union and IOM's publication constitutes an important contribution to reorienting the dominant narrative on African migration by challenging general assumptions surrounding migration from Africa. The report reveals that most migration from Africa is intracontinental rather than international, in addition, 94% of African migration across oceans is regular, with Africa accounting for only 14% of the global migrants, compared with 41% from Asia and 24% from Europe (IOM, 2020, p1). Those data contradict the media's framing of African migration as posing an unprecedented security crisis in Europe. Through this study, the African Union and the IOM call for a new narrative on contemporary African migration focusing mainly on intra-African migration rather than the "over-rated" international migration from Africa.

Pan-Africanism has always stood as a symbol of Africa's pride and a rallying call for unification and political and economic integration. If there is an existing skepticism over African solidarity survival after the colonial heritage in Africa migration (Fine, 2017; Sanni, 2020), the African Union's report reveals that African solidarity, humanism, hospitality, and the so-called Pan-Africanism are emerging within the intra-African migration policies and discourses resulted in remarkable growth in intra-African and regional migration rather than out-migration. The article

recalls that Pan-Africanism motivated the establishment of the OAU (Organization of Africa Unity) and its successor, the African Union. The freedom of movement allows citizens in a REC “to move to, live in, work or provide a service or business in another country of that community under the same (or similar) conditions as a citizen of that country” (IOM, 2020, p81). Initially created to ensure a united Africa that would “speak with one voice,” the OAU failed in its mission somehow because of the “impact of colonialism,” as well as the political, social, and economic exigencies on the continent at the time (IOM, 2020, p. 92). However, the report reveals that the African Union is a manifestation of the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism and has progressively “entrenched the fundamental tenets of Pan-Africanism over the last 57 years and moved the continent towards the ideals of African unity, solidarity, and cohesion” (IOM, 2020, p. 93). Political and economic integration is manifested through the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). RECs are an essential manifestation of African solidarity since they aim to facilitate and improve the free movement of persons and protocols and labor migration policies, legislations, and practices.

The African Union recognizes eight RECs as building blocks for Africa’s integration. These are listed as follows: (a)- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); (b)- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); (c)- Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); (d)- Southern African Development Community (SADC); (e) Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); (f)- Arab Maghreb Union (UMA); (g)- Community of Sahelo-Saharan States (CEN-SAD); and (h)- East African Community (EAC) (IOM, 2020, p94). The report pointed out that the levels of migration integration vary from one REC to another within the continent. As an illustration, the ECOWAS is the most advanced REC in integration politics with the free movement agenda within the citizens of the ECOWAS. In short,

as explained by Adepaju (2003), ECOWAS citizens can travel freely across the region with only an identity card. The EAC allows for more effortless movement depending on the country, with countries like South Sudan still requiring their neighbors to obtain visas, while Rwanda allows some of its neighbors to come to their country without asking for anything but an identity card. The report emphasizes the recent negotiation of free movement adopted by the ECCAS, but only for a particular category, such as studies and work, while several SADC countries still require visas from each other. COMESA, on the other hand, has reportedly been keen on advancing the free movement agenda and has successfully created conditions to facilitate trade among them.

The report suggests that the policies enhancing intra-regional movement manifest a united Africa from which the free movement of Africans across their continental borders is essential to regional integration. It then proposes a solution to the current challenges of migration by stating that “these challenges can be alleviated by the current role of the African Union and its member States in boosting positive and legal pathways for migration and free movement, as a core aspect of continental unity, solidarity, and cohesion” (IOM, 2020, p92).

A partial conclusion of those two contributions suggests that despite the colonial legacy, African states try to return to the so-called “African solidarity” through less rigid regional migration regulations and policies.

Migration is considered an essential tool in integration used by some African countries to break colonial barriers, languages, and divisions among them. Adepaju, through this case, analyzed the different aspects surrounding Western African migration before, during and after the colonial era, from which he also emphasized the consequences of colonization over intra-African migration. Even though the continent suffered from important migration regulations issues that limited regular and legal movement among Nation-States, some necessary actions have been taken to

improve the migration process within African borders. According to the IOM (2020) 's report, those actions manifest the Pan-Africanism of the twenty-first century. The report briefly exposed how the institutions facilitated migration at the intra-regional levels, where notable differences can be seen in their applications. While some regions facilitate migration within their borders, others still seem more rigid about migration. This might therefore raise the question of whether there are not only one but several sub-Saharan African migration narratives in recent literature. In other words: *to what extent has the Afrocentric narrative on migration been evolving in the literature since 2015?*

To answer this question in depth, the next part of this study will focus on a semi-systematic literature review of what has been said in the literature about intra-African migration. I will review the narratives of the important yet understudied intra-African migration from an Afrocentric perspective based on recent and consciously selected pieces of literature from 2015 to 2022⁵.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE INTRA-AFRICAN MIGRATION NARRATIVES

Migrations from Africa since the 2010s have increased more than from all other world regions but Asia, and migration has been chiefly intra-continental (Summit African Migration, 2022). Intra-African migrations from this period have increased by +43.6% compared to +26.0% for Africa-Europe migrations (Ibid.). African migration to Europe has been a constant center of interest for over a decade. However, the number of arrivals from Africa across the Mediterranean has notably decreased since 2015 (190,000 in 2016, 146,000 in 2017, and only 33,000 in the first six months of 2018 ((ESPAS), 2018). It is logical to watch out for what has been said in the literature about

⁵ The process of selection will be detailed in the methodology section.

the internal African migration from 2015 until 2022. However, before moving forward, I will explain in depth the methodology used for selecting the literature.

Methodology of the Semi-systematic Literature Review

There are several ways of conducting a literature review depending on the topic, the discipline, and the expected result of the literature. One of the most common and efficient methods is the systematic literature review. Berrang-Ford, Ford, and Paterson (2011, 26) underlined that “systematic literature reviews involve reviewing documents according to clearly formulated questions and using systematic and explicit methods to select and critically appraise relevant research”. Another method close to the systematic review is the semi-systematic or narrative review. This method involves seeing how “a topic has developed across research traditions” (Snyder, 2019, p. 335). In the context of this major research paper, I chose to adopt a semi-systematic method for conducting the review since it will cover how the Afrocentric migration narrative has developed within the literature on intra-African migration. With this aim, the review will be conducted by identifying all potentially relevant research articles having implications for the Afro-centric migration narratives and the synthetization of those using meta-narratives instead of measuring effect size, as explained by (Wong et al., 2013). A meta-narrative review is defined as an emerging menu of new approaches to a qualitative and mixed-method systematic review (Ibid.). This method highlights a heterogeneous topic area by emphasizing contrast and complementary ways researchers studied the same or similar topic (Ibid.). The semi-systematic method will synthesize the state of knowledge of the Afro-centric migration narrative through a specific timeline (2015-2022).

In order to successfully produce this contribution, this literature search needs to be based on a specific strategy that will constitute the methodology of the review (Snyder, 2019). For this paper, the methodology I will adopt to select the literature will be guided by my research question: “To what extent has the Afro-centric migration narrative been evolving in the literature since 2015?”. The selection process was based on inclusion and exclusion criteria to ensure relevance to my research question (Snyder, 2019). I focused on three main selection criteria: (1)-articles published from 2015 until 2022. According to several data, the year 2015 was an important starting point for the increase in intra-African migration and a significant decrease in migration from Africa towards the rest of the world ((ESPAS,2018); UNHCR Global Report 2020 n.d.); (2)-selecting articles written in English or French, being the two languages I understand; (3)-selecting not only conceptual articles but every type of article that may be relevant for answering the research question.

The selection criteria to conduct the literature review aims to be transparent and neutral. Snyder (2019) proposed a practical approach to avoid biased results and ensure transparency by carefully selecting the literature and letting the readers understand clearly how the literature was identified, analyzed, synthesized, and reported. For these reasons, I avoided “restricted and biased source type” by selecting articles from several academic journals and libraries. Electronic database searches in the following academic sources were undertaken: GOOGLE SCHOLAR, WEB OF SCIENCE, PAIS, RESEARCH GATE, YANDEX, SCIENCE DIRECT, JSTOR, and CAIRN. The chosen articles were selected through a comprehensive academic source from which many are available through the University of Ottawa electronic library. I chose not to focus only on a few academic sources first to ensure the diversity and relevance of my findings; and second because the literature on African migration from an Afrocentric perspective is rare compared to dominant

migration narratives. When searching for the thematic “South-to-South migration”; “migration within Africa”; or “African migration narrative,”; thousands of results in the academic source servers can be found. However, since this work does not aim to focus on every type of article and paperwork covering the theme of African migration as a whole⁶, the inclusion of the following key terms was necessary: “intra-regional African migration”, “intra-African migration narrative” and “Afrocentric migration perspective”. After specifying what kind of African migration I was interested in, the number of articles found decreased, but there were still many of them that were not specifically valuable for answering my research question. The last step consisted, therefore, in adjusting my search to the research question by looking on one hand for the key terms used by Adepoju in his analysis being, “post-colonial regional migration” “African migration hostility”; and “intra-regional African migration”. While on the other hand, looking for some keywords from (IOM, 2020) by using terms such as: “African solidarity”; “Regional integration in Africa”; “Pan-Africanism”; “neo-Pan-Africanism” and “African humanism”.

The selection was made in stages by reading abstracts first and making selections and then reading the selected texts in full, before screening the texts in full to ensure their relevancy to answering the research question ethically. About 60 articles were retained for the final review after the document screening. At the end of the selection process, the number decreased for one practical reason: Narratives of African migration told from an Africanist perspective are growing but still recent in the literature. The result is that there are few articles from an Afrocentric perspective in the literature.

After completing this methodological task, I can present my search results in the following part.

⁶ This work does not cover African migration toward the rest of the world or internal migration within an African country.

Semi-systematic review of the intra-African migration narrative

When exploring the narrative of intra-African migration, I observed that there is not one narrative on this migration but three major narratives depending on the region (western, eastern, and southern region). The focus on these three regions is explained by the fact that they constitute the essential areas of intra-African migration (Hirsch, 2021). I made this observation first because most articles on intra-Africa migration exposed migration patterns where most displacements made within the continent are intra-regional. Second, each intra-regional migration develops its patterns, drivers, discourses, and policies. The categorization of the literature can be a useful heuristic device to distinguish between various narratives.

I selected 60 articles divided as follows: (28) articles and reports centered on West African migration; (20) articles and reports on East African migration; and (21) writings on southern African migration. Among the selected texts, (9) were used to analyze at least two regions because they focused on African or sub-Saharan African migration.⁷

Most articles suggest that most SSA migration occurs within the continent and that intra-African migration mainly occurs between proximate states⁸.

The vast majority of articles covered characterized Western African migration as an economic migration. While some of them focused on the institutional aspect of this migration (i.e., the favorable ECOWAS initiatives as enhancing migration within the region), others focused on diverse drivers of this migration, mainly socio-political ones. Narratives describe the attitude of receiving countries towards migrants as a win-win situation (with the recurring enunciation of

⁷ This suggests that these articles did not exclusively focus on a single region.

⁸ Literature exposing statistics and data demonstrating the recurrence of intra-African migration was also part of the analysis.

inclusive migration policies among countries such as Côte d’Ivoire, Nigeria, Ghana, and Burkina Faso as being the most receiving and sending countries).

Eastern migration literature is mainly characterized as a mixed migration with substantial force and labor displacement. Most of the literature emphasizes the significant refugee flow within the region, focusing on countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Somalia as the most “affected” by this migration.

Last but not least, the narrative of Southern Africa describes migration within the region as mainly economic (as in the western region) but with less of an emphasis on the beneficial migration in terms of a win-win situation⁹. However, the emphasis is put on the xenophobic attitude of recipient states such as South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, and Angola.

AFROCENTRIC NARRATIVE ON INTRA-AFRICAN MIGRATION		
<u>WESTERN AFRICA</u>	<u>EASTERN AFRICA</u>	<u>SOUTHERN AFRICA</u>
<p><i>(ESPAS), 2018; Hirsch, A. (2021). Strategic Consideration of the African Union Free Movement of Persons Protocol and Other Initiatives towards the Freer Movement of People in Africa., n.d.; “Migration in West and North Africa,” 2018; Rural</i></p>	<p><i>(Achieng et al., 2019; Adepoju, 2019; Akiwumi, 2019; M. F. Asiegbu, 2022; Hassan, 2020; Hirsch, 2021; Laiboni, n.d.; Matshanda, 2022; Migrant Smuggling Data and Research, n.d.; Overview of EAC, n.d.;</i></p>	<p><i>(Africa Report on Internal Displacement, 2019, n.d.; Migration Data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), 2021; South_Africa_Migration_Manual_Internews_2021-05.Pdf, n.d.; M. F. Asiegbu, 2022;</i></p>

⁹ Beneficial economic migration narrative exists in the region but is not prominent: this narrative is mainly restricted to regular and skilled migrants.

<p><i>Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa</i>, 2019; <i>West and Central Africa</i>, n.d.; Awumbila, 2017; Awumbila et al., n.d.; Black et al., 2022; Dako-Gyeke et al., 2020; Dick & Schraven, n.d.; Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; Hassan, 2020; Matshanda, 2022; Moyo et al., 2021; Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2016; Nshimbi & Moyo, 2017; OCDE & Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales, 2017; Pellegrino, n.d.; Schürmann et al., 2022; J. Teye, n.d.-a; J. K. Teye, 2022; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2018; <i>Migration Data in Western Africa</i>, 2021; M. F. Asiegbu, 2022; <i>Identifying the Factors Driving West African Migration</i>, 2018; Lavenex, 2019; Lucas, 2015)</p>	<p>“UNHCR Global Report 2020,” n.d.; <i>Wmr_2020_en_ch_3_1.Pdf</i>, n.d.; Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2016; U. N. H. C. for Refugees, n.d.-b; Sanni, 2020; Setrana & Arhin-Sam, n.d.-a; Whitaker, 2017; <i>Migration Data in Eastern Africa</i>, 2021; F. G. U. H. C. for Refugees, n.d.; Patton, 2016; Ponce, 2016).</p>	<p>Awumbila, 2017; Dako-Gyeke et al., 2020; Jinnah, 2016; Jonathan & Godfrey, 2017; Kang’ethe & Wotshela, 2016; Mantzaris & Ngcamu, 2019; Nelson & Salawu, 2017; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017; Pineteh, 2017; Ponce, 2016; Rugunanan, 2016; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022; Schürmann et al., 2022; Tapalaga, 2021; Vandeyar & Vandeyar, 2017; Vanyoro, 2019; K. Moyo, 2021)</p>
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ANALYSIS OF THE INTRA-AFRICAN MIGRATION NARRATIVES BY REGIONS

In recent years, intra-African migration increased drastically, as did the narratives about this migration. In this section, I will focus on analyzing the Afro-centric migration narratives of three African regions: the West, the East, and the Southern regions. I focused on those regions first

because this work only emphasizes migration from and to sub-Saharan Africa. Second, as mentioned previously, most intra-African migration occurs within those regions (Hirsch, 2021). In 2017, the main receiving countries of intra-African migrants were South Africa, Côte d'Ivoire, Uganda, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Kenya, all countries from the covered regions (J. Teye, n.d.-a). In this section, I will describe the migration narratives of the three selected regions, emphasizing the drivers of migration within each region. This description will serve as an exposure to general facts and data on migration within those regions. In the second part, I will go more in-depth into the analysis of these narratives, exposing the results of my analysis.

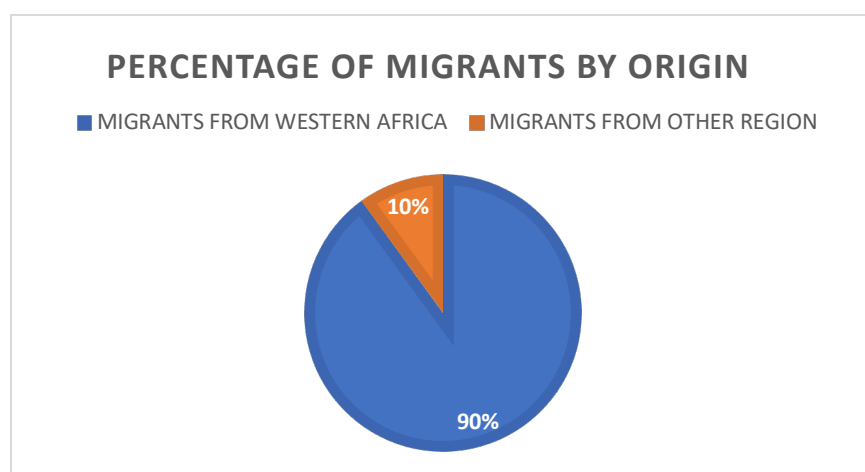
A) DESCRIPTION OF THE NARRATIVES

a) Description of the West African Narrative

Western African migration is getting diverse attention in the literature. The narrative on West African migration has largely focused on high levels of mobility within the region (Awumbila, 2017; Awumbila et al., n.d.; Dako-Gyeke et al., 2020; Migration Data in Western Africa, 2021; J. K. Teye, 2022).

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are characterized as the primary actors regulating migration in sub-regions of Africa. In this concern, an essential set of literature covered the institutional character of Western African migration, with an emphasis on the regional initiatives undertaken by the ECOWAS to facilitate displacement within the region (Awumbila, 2017; Hirsch, 2021; Lavenex, 2019; Lucas, 2015; Matshanda, 2022; Migration Data in Western Africa, 2021; J. K. Teye, 2022; OECD, 2018). The dynamic and consistency of the ECOWAS is well perceived in the migration patterns within the region. The organization is notably the only African

regional organization from which all member-states have adopted a free movement of goods and persons since the 1970s. This further enhances “positive” immigration policies within the region, increasing intraregional migration. Western Africa is one of the most important migration sectors within the continent. The vast majority of migration in the region is from the region itself, with not less than 90% of the migrants originating from the region as of 2021 (Migration Data in Western Africa, 2021).



Source (Migration Data in Western Africa, 2021)

A recent and emerging narrative explores drivers of migration within the region with an emphasis on urbanization, environmental, demographic, and socio-economic transformation (Awumbila, 2017; Black et al., 2022; Dako-Gyeke et al., 2020; Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; Identifying the Factors Driving West African Migration, 2018; “Migration in West and North Africa,” 2018; Rural Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2019; Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2016; Schürmann et al., 2022; J. Teye, n.d.-a). Although conflict-induced migration is also part of the migration narrative within the region, fewer numbers emphasize this aspect (Hassan, 2020; Schürmann et al., 2022; UNHCR Global Appeal 2022, n.d.; West and Central Africa, n.d.).

In this description of the West African narrative, I will emphasize the narratives of the drivers conducting this intra-regional migration. Reasons behind incentives to migrate can be multiple. Drivers of migration have been defined as forces that lead to the inception of migration and to the perpetuation of movement as the factors that get migration happening as a recurring process (Awumbila, 2017). From my literature analysis, I observed a positive effect between urbanization and migration within the region. Migration from rural to urban areas constitutes the principal internal and cross-border migration pattern in West Africa (Dick & Schraven, n.d.). Although general data indicate that Africa as a whole, and West Africa in particular, is not the world's fastest urbanizing area, the region has been growing at a "historically unprecedented" rate for decades (ESPAS),2018; Awumbila, 2017; J. Teye, n.d.-a). West Africa has experienced significant urbanization leading to migration toward industrialized cities since the 1950s ("Migration in West and North Africa," 2018). The major urbanized West African cities are also known to be the most attractive destination cities (Lagos in Nigeria with 21million people; Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire with 4.8 million and Accra in Ghana with 4.1 million) (J. K. Teye, 2022). The rapid increase in the urban population in Africa, in general, and within the region, is commonly accompanied by migration, driven by economic, political, sociocultural, and environmental factors (Ibid.). The description of the main drivers of Western African migration in the literature is listed in the table below:

<p>MAIN DRIVERS OF MIGRATION WESTERN AFRICA</p>	
	<p>The description of the drivers is associated with an economic differential between the place of origin and destination. It may refer, on the one hand, to poverty, unemployment (in the origin country), towards emerging and more attractive opportunities (in the receiving country) (Dako-Gyeke et al., 2020;</p>

ECONOMIC	Rural Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2019; Schürmann et al., 2022). Skilled and a large number of low-skilled migrants tend to represent an important and representative workforce in West Africa in the informal sector, domestic construction, and mining sector, mainly in Guinea, Burkina Faso, Mali, and Senegal (Awumbila, 2017; J. Teye, n.d.-b; J. K. Teye, 2022).
POLITICAL	<p>This describes the importance of the regional initiatives of the ECOWAS as one of the major political policies to facilitate and increase migration in the region through its Visa-free regime for member-states (Awumbila, 2017; Hirsch, 2021; OECD, 2018; Lucas, 2015; J. K. Teye, 2022). This policy subsequently enhances people’s aspiration and capability to migrate freely within the region.</p> <p>Political instability in terms of conflicts and wars represents critical political concerns that lead to “major” displacement of people within the region (Hassan, 2020; Schürmann et al., 2022). Countries such as Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Guinea, and Nigeria experienced high levels of forced displacement because of conflicts in the last two decades (Schürmann et al., 2022). This situation leads to an increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers within the region. As of 2022, the significant receiving asylum seekers are Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, and Ghana (West and Central Africa, UNHCR, 2022).</p>
	<p>Socio-cultural drivers are also emerging in the literature on the drivers of migration in Africa in general and in the region as well (Black et al., 2022; Rural Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2019)</p> <p>Social drivers include a demographic dimension in terms of population growth. Africa's young and increasing population is on the move (Dako-Gyeke et al., 2020; Schürmann et al., 2022; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2018). Nigeria’s population alone accounts for almost half of those of the entire region, making the country both a primary receiving and sending country (J. K. Teye, 2022).</p> <p>Culturally, the region shares significant historical and linguistic similarities which influence migration incentives (M. F. Asiegbu, 2022; Identifying the Factors Driving West African Migration, 2018). Francophones tend to migrate</p>

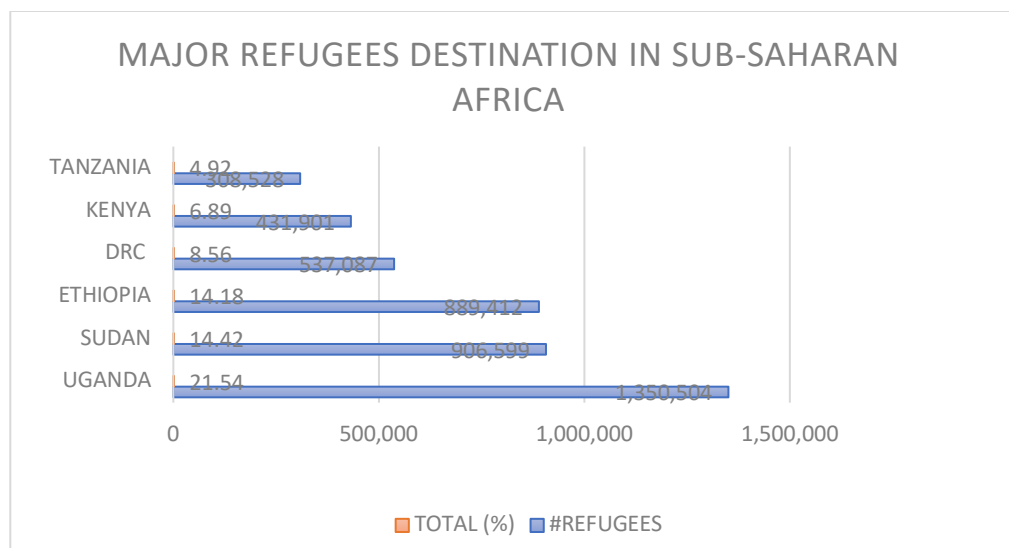
SOCIO-CULTURAL	among francophone countries, while Anglophone ones, especially Ghana, Liberia, and Nigeria, will likely share migrants (Black et al., 2022; Dick & Schraven, n.d.; Schürmann et al., 2022; J. K. Teye, 2022). Besides the entire continent, the region shares similar values and traditions, as well as similar religions (with Islam, Christianity, and Animism being the most shared religious beliefs in the region). Sharing such cultural and religious values make integration easier for the migrants and influences migrants' choice of country (i.e., Muslim Migrants will be more attracted to migrate to other Muslim countries) (Black et al., 2022; <i>Identifying the Factors Driving West African Migration</i> , 2018; Matshanda, 2022)
ENVIRONMENTAL	Environmental drivers include the generic terminology of climate change and climate variability, which influence the availability of natural resources such as water, electricity, and biodiversity. As in many countries, migration in West Africa is sometimes driven by those scourges (Rural Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2019; J. Teye, n.d.-b). Seasonal migration is a direct consequence of environmental drivers. In northern West Africa, agricultural laborers move for work depending on the seasons (July to September harvest and through the off-season harvest until March) ("Migration in West and North Africa," 2018).

b) Description of the East African migration Narrative

East Africa is the most populous subregion of the continent, with approximately 455 million people from eighteen countries (Migration Data in Eastern Africa, 2021). Two RECs govern migration within the region (EAC and COMESA) (Hirsch, 2021). Although the commitment of these RECs towards international migration regulations is less advanced than that of the ECOWAS, they have reportedly been focusing on the increasing refugees and asylum seekers' flow evolving within the region. Contrary to the ECOWAS, where the emphasis is put on the economic advantage of migration, the EAC and COMESA focus seems to be put on the refugees' policies to improve the

treatment of refugees within the region (UNHCR EAC, 2021). As for Western Africa, migration narratives focusing on the eastern region of the continent are growing. Migration in the region is reportedly a mixed migration and a labor migration. According to the IOM, mixed migration is a flow that includes “people traveling as part of a mixed movement having varying needs and profiles and may include asylum seekers, refugees, trafficked persons, unaccompanied/separated children and migrants in an irregular situation” (IOM, 2020).

The majority of covered literature used in this review emphasized the political and environmentally induced migration leading to an increase number of refugees (Achieng et al., 2019; Adepoju, 2019; M. F. Asiegbu, 2022; Hassan, 2020; Migrant Smuggling Data and Research, n.d.; “UNHCR Global Report 2020,” n.d.; Wmr_2020_en_ch_3_1.Pdf, n.d.; Patton, 2016; U. N. H. C. for Refugees, n.d.-b; J. Teye, n.d.-b; Whitaker, 2017). This tendency might be explained by the fact that the region has witnessed significant refugee flows, especially from the Horn of Africa and the countries of the Great Lakes region. Indeed, as of 2019, Africa hosted 7.3 million refugees and asylum seekers, with over half of all refugees hosted in the eastern African countries alone (F. G. U. H. C. for Refugees, n.d.). East and Central Africa alone encounter the most significant number of refugees and asylum seekers in sub-Saharan Africa (approximately 70.51%).



Source (UNHCR, 2018)

Even though the literature covering conflict-induced displacement is dominant within the region, there is an emerging set of literature focusing on other drivers, such as economic consideration and socio-cultural similarities as enhancing motivation to migrate in eastern Africa (M. Asiegbu, n.d.; Hassan, 2020; Laiboni, n.d.; Ponce, 2016; Setrana & Arhin-Sam, n.d.-a). As such, drivers of migration can be multiple depending on independent or interdependent factors. I will expose the narratives on the main drivers of migration within the region through the same lenses as for West Africa: political, economic, social-cultural, and environmental.

MAIN DRIVERS OF MIGRATION EASTERN AFRICA	
	Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda are among the ten most populous countries on the entire continent. Although the continued decline in child and infant mortality is significant within the continent, rapid population growth does not necessarily mean a more significant labor force. This rapid growth in sub-Saharan Africa in general, especially in the Eastern region, challenges

ECONOMIC	<p>economic opportunities for the youth, which consequently alleviates the aspiration to migrate (Laiboni, n.d.).</p> <p>Kenya is an attractive destination hub for skilled and low-skilled migrants within the region due to its strategic position in the EAC, its vibrant economy, and the fact that the country hosts the regional headquarters for United Nations agencies, International NGOs, private companies, and technological start-ups (Laiboni, n.d.). Besides Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Tanzania are destination hubs for labor migrants from the continent and beyond (Ibid.). Demands for workers in diversified areas have drawn migrant workers from other East African countries towards those hubs (Laiboni, n.d.; Wmr_2020_en_ch_3_1.Pdf, n.d.)</p>
POLITICAL	<p>As in Western Africa, “favorable” regional migration policies in the Eastern region through the promotion of the free movement of goods and persons stipulated by the EAC, as well as national migration policies of relaxing visas and abolishing the requirement of work permits (i.e., Kenya and Rwanda), increased abilities to migrate within the region (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2016).</p> <p>However, the migration narrative in East Africa is highly dominated by refugees and asylum seekers (Adepoju, 2019; Migrant Smuggling Data and Research, n.d.; Wmr_2020_en_ch_3_1.Pdf, n.d.). Intractable conflicts, political and communal violence, and peacebuilding setbacks have displaced millions of people within Eastern Africa, affecting most countries in the region (Wmr_2020_en_ch_3_1.Pdf, n.d.). As a result, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, and Ethiopia host substantial numbers of refugees, predominantly from the subregion (Adepoju, 2019; Wmr_2020_en_ch_3_1.Pdf, n.d.).</p>
SOCIO-CULTURAL	<p>Cultural and ethnic similarities are significant factors of migration from one point to another, and the Eastern African region is seemingly the subregion that shares the most ethnical and cultural roots. Indeed, the “Ubuntu culture” in traditional African thought calls for hospitality towards guests and welcoming strangers, which has made countries such as Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia the top receiving refugees’ countries (Hassan, 2020).</p>
	<p>Even though refugees are mainly associated with political factors, forced refugees can also be associated with environmental changes (Hassan, 2020).</p>

ENVIRONMENTAL	Hamdy Hassan (2020, p76) recalls a definition of the IOM concerning Environmental refugees as “persons or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment that adversely affects their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their countries or abroad.” This refers to people who flee from their places of origin for environmental reasons such as drought or environmental degradation resulting from armed conflict, as is sometimes the case in East Africa.
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c) *Description of the Southern African migration narrative*

Like the two previous regions, southern Africa has a long history of intra-regional migration. Although the majority of migration narratives within the region characterized this migration as economic (Jinnah, 2016; K. Moyo, 2021; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022), political instability and increasing environmental hazards are also important drivers of migration in southern Africa (Awumbila, 2017; Migration Data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), 2021; South_Africa_Migration_Manual_Internews_2021-05.Pdf, n.d.).

The SADC is the REC governing migration within the region. In recent years, the free movement of labor migration protocols within SADC has seen some progress, albeit, contrary to the ECOWAS, no free movement of persons is in force (Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). However, as for the western and eastern regions, narratives on southern African migration underline that most cross-border migrants within the SADC region come from elsewhere in the region, except for South Africa (K. Moyo, 2021; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022;

South_Africa_Migration_Manual_Internews_2021-05.Pdf, n.d.). Indeed, immigration in southern Africa is largely intra-regional, with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Angola being the essential origin countries of migrants within the region ((SADC), 2021).

With an estimated population of 363.2 million people and 6.4 million international migrants in mid-year 2020 within the region, South Africa alone received an estimated 2.9 million migrants in the same year ((SADC), 2021). The region's most industrialized economy makes South Africa a particularly attractive destination for those searching for education and better economic opportunities. Although the country remains the main magnet for regional migration, it has been putting much effort into limiting immigration, particularly of low-skilled workers from other SADC member-states in subsequent years (K. Moyo, 2021; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). The government was initially strongly resistant to the policy for visa liberalization within the SADC in the 1990s (Ibid.). Apart from South Africa, Botswana, Angola, and Zambia represent important attractive magnets for both skilled and unskilled labor migrants within the region and elsewhere (Parshotam & Ncube, 2017; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). Narratives on the hostility of these states towards migrants are predominant within the literature¹⁰ (Jonathan & Godfrey, 2017; Kang'ethe & Wotshela, 2016; Nelson & Salawu, 2017; Pineteh, 2017; Vandeyar & Vandeyar, 2017; Vanyoro, 2019).

For the descriptive purpose of the Southern African narrative, I will expose the main drivers of the regional migration in the table below:

¹⁰ I will emphasize in depth this narrative in the analysis section.

MAIN DRIVERS OF MIGRATION SOUTHERN AFRICA	
ECONOMIC	<p>Migration in Southern Africa is mainly characterized as an economical migration (Migration Data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), 2021). The attractive economic opportunities for semi-skilled labor, particularly mining, agriculture, and construction, are significant drivers of migration within the region (Jinnah, 2016; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017).</p> <p>Countries such as Tanzania and South Africa tend to attract high-skilled labor in financial services (Migration Data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), 2021). Unskilled labor crisscrossed from non-mining to mineral-rich countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa is predominant in migration within the region. (Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022).</p>
POLITICAL	<p>The end of the apartheid era and the integration of South Africa within the regional economic community (SADC) resulted in a significant increase in cross-border and intra-regional mobility. (Awumbila, 2017).</p> <p>Political crises over the two decades in Zimbabwe have transformed the country from a major recipient country within the region to a migrant-sending country to other countries, especially towards South Africa (South_Africa_Migration_Manual_Internews_2021-05.Pdf, n.d.).</p>
SOCIO-CULTURAL	<p>Religious freedom, cultural similarities, and geographic proximity substantially enhance regional migration (Ponce, 2016; Rugunanan, 2016).</p>
ENVIRONMENTAL	<p>In the region's eastern part, Comoros, Madagascar, Malawi, and Mozambique are frequently affected by natural hazards such as cyclones and flooding (IDMC, 2019, n.d.)</p> <p>Natural disasters such as drought impact the lives and migration patterns of millions of people from Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, and Zambia ((SADC), 2021).</p>

B) ANALYSIS OF THE NARRATIVES

As the literature covered in the last part suggests, most of the migration of the African population not only occurs within Africa but is also concentrated within Africa's major regions (Western, Eastern, and Southern) and mainly occurs between proximate states. Analyzing recent narratives on intra-African migration, I observed that there are not one but three dominant narratives on migration specific to each region evolving in the literature. For classification purposes, I divided the selected articles into three main blocs following (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2020) analytical work on migration narratives. In the context of the intra-African migration narrative, I found out that the narrative on Western African migration tends to develop a benefit frame of migration predominantly. In contrast, the Eastern African narrative is more victimized and humanitarian, while the Southern African mainly focuses on a hostile migration narrative. This observation recognizes that internal African migration is complex in that there is a mix of African hospitality, as portrayed by the (IOM, 2020), and hostility, as pointed out by (Adepoju, 2003).

WESTERN AFRICA: BENEFIT/HERO NARRATIVE	EASTERN AFRICA: VICTIMIZED/HUMANITARIAN NARRATIVE	SOUTHERN AFRICA: THREAT/VILLAIN NARRATIVE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic contribution • Socio-economic development • Economic Interest • Regional solidarity • Free displacement of persons • Informal migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refugees/Asylum seekers • Hospitality • Humanism/Humanitarianism • Culture/Tradition • (Pan)Africanist values • Undocumented migrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic Threat • Hostility • Xenophobia/Racism • Intruder/Thief/Enemy • Economic migration • Discrimination • Irregular migration

The above table regroups the major characteristics of each regional migration. I classified them following my observation of the migration narratives within those subregions.

a) *Western Africa migration: The Benefit/Hero narrative*

As Banulescu et al. (2020, p8) explained, the benefit/hero narrative of migration refers to a narrative that generally portrays migration as beneficial both for the receiving country and the migrants. This narrative emphasizes the contribution the migrants could make to the receiving society, whether economic or cultural (Banulescu-Bogdan, n.d.). One can therefore say that the benefit/hero narrative on migration considers migration as positive and beneficial for both parties (migrants and recipient country). When analyzing the literature in depth, I observed that the Western African narrative mainly aligns with the benefit and hero narrative. Indeed, from my analysis, I found out that the majority of the West African migration narrative recognizes unity and solidarity amongst states within the region, being that it is the most “united” African community of the continent in terms of integration level and solidarity¹¹ (Lavenex, 2019; Matshanda, 2022). Although the African continent represents particularly strong instances of regionalism, western Africa is the region that successfully encompasses integration through migration, mainly thanks to the policies and actions endorsed by the ECOWAS to strengthen relations among member-states and, thus, facilitate the movement of persons within Western African countries. Narratives of migration within the region strongly emphasize the regional initiatives of the organization as a pillar of the current migration “unity” within the region (Hirsch, 2021) since the organization has always encouraged intra-regional migration through “an easing of restrictions on movement between countries” (Migration Data in Western Africa, 2021).

¹¹ Again, this observation does not mean that there is no hostility narrative within the region but instead means that most narratives on the region emphasize the beneficial aspect of migration.

The pro-migration policies launched by the ECOWAS and its member-states originated from Pan-Africanism since they share common economic, political, and cultural realities that they intend to unify within the regional community. Even though the link with Pan-Africanism is somehow not directly perceived, the ECOWAS allied with the concept of African unification and mutual interest. As (Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022, Chapter 5) recalls, “The free movement of persons was becoming an essential goal of those supporting Pan-African integration.”

Although existent, irregular migration from Western Africa towards Europe, conflict, and disaster-induced displacement are relatively small-scale within the narrative of African migration ((M. F. Asiegbu, 2022; Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; I. Moyo et al., 2021). The nature of the increasing migration within the continent and the region has long been questioned in the literature since there is only sometimes enough information to support those data. For some, intra-African migration has increased because it is most irregular. However, when looking at the protocol for the free movement of persons and goods within the region (Matshanda, 2022) recalled that the lack of informative data on migration testifies to the informal rather than irregular nature of the migration. Here, the use of “informal” migration rather than “irregular” migration seems to be a significant difference in the way of perceiving undocumented migrants (Nshimbi & Moyo, 2017). While “irregular” has a pejorative connotation, “informal” has a more positive connotation. The term “informal” refers to undocumented migrants who still benefit from fundamental rights within the receiving state (i.e., Countries such as Côte d’Ivoire offers migrants access to all public health and education services regardless of their legal status ((OCDE & CIRES, 2017).)

Another manifestation of the Benefit narrative in Western African migration is the recurrence of authors challenging the dominant narrative on African migration driven by extreme poverty.

Indeed, when it comes to migration within and from Africa, poverty was initially considered a key driver of migration (M. F. Asiegbu, 2022; Awumbila, 2017; I. Moyo et al., 2021). With reference to the developmental impacts of population displacement, the negative effects of migration have historically dominated discussions when it comes to ‘developed countries’ (I. Moyo et al., 2021). African migration has long been subject to narratives on migration which negatively affects socio-economic development by increasing unemployment, declining living standards, and affected social amenities (Awumbila et al., n.d.). However, it has been recognized in recent years that if properly managed, migration can contribute to the socio-economic transformation of the economies of both receiving and sending areas (Awumbila, 2017). As an illustration of this evolving positive narrative on migration in West Africa, important recipient countries within the region, such as Côte d’Ivoire, Nigeria, and Ghana, formulated favorable migration policies to minimize the adverse effects and maximize the developmental impacts of migration. Most of these policies seek to enhance systems for protecting migrants’ rights and well-being while promoting what migrants can add to society’s development (J. Teye, n.d.-c).

Economic considerations are essential factors in migration decisions, but they often go hand in hand with other reasons (Pellegrino, n.d.). Recent studies exposed several drivers leading to African migration, including demographic factors, urbanization, and social transformation (Awumbila, 2017; Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; J. Teye, n.d.-a). When coming to Western African migration, the most prevalent in the recent narrative are the socio-economic and political systems undergoing continuous modifications as events in one part of the system have repercussions in another. As such, structural changes in West Africa’s socio-economic and political environment (in terms of increasing levels of industrialization, and commercialization, improvement of health and educational systems, better transportation services, and the evolving of favorable national and

regional migration policies) consequently change the narrative on migration within the region towards a more beneficial migration narrative (Awumbila et al., n.d.; Dick & Schraven, n.d.).

b) *Eastern African migration: The Humanitarian/Victimized narrative*

The victimized or humanitarian migration narrative emphasizes empathy for migrants, usually refugees, generally perceived as “vulnerable” and in need of help and support from receiving states (Banulescu-Bogdan, n.d., p8). The humanitarian narrative is, therefore, centered on the migrants’ needs and the ways to help migrants fulfill those needs. This narrative is predominant in Eastern Africa as the region hosts most refugees within the continent and beyond (Matshanda, 2022).

The refugee population in East Africa has increased drastically since 2017, mainly due to the ongoing crisis in South Sudan, from which more than one million people fled to neighboring countries (Hassan, 2020). As mentioned in the description of the East African migration, the migration within the region has been qualified by the (IOM, 2020) as a “mixed migration and a labor migration.” As such, it is obvious that forced displacement features a narrative within the region very prominently. However, this analysis does not aim to report the region’s intensive conflicts or insecurity levels. The analysis is rather an observation and an interpretation of an underappreciated yet, essential narrative on how Eastern African countries manage this migration. Narratives on the visible level of humanism and solidarity among countries in the region, especially in times of crisis, conflict, or extreme poverty, are evolving in the literature (Hassan, 2020; Migration, 2020). Despite the fact that those countries are some of the least developed (in the world), they actively provide short and/or long-term refuge and assistance to refugees on a disproportionate share of the world’s displaced (Hassan, 2020; Wmr_2020_en_ch_3_1.Pdf, n.d.). While the Global North crafted specific and major mechanisms for dealing with migrants and the

refugee crisis, African states have far adopted a more pragmatic approach to treating migrants (M. F. Asiegbu, 2022). Rather than closing their borders, many African governments, especially those from the region, granted *prima facie* migrants/refugees status to asylum seekers, as is the case with Djibouti, Somalia, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Sudan's governments (UNHCR Global Report 2020). Adopting this kind of policy helps facilitate registration and quick assistance to migrants in need, such as refugees. Uganda and Tanzania, for example, have been lauded for policies that provide lands and education to refugees and allow them to work and freely move around their countries (Whitaker, 2017). Uganda's determination to accept and provide help for refugees from neighboring countries was even praised by the UN Secretary-General António Guterres in 2017 through his statement, "It is necessary for the international community to recognize that Uganda has had an exemplary refugee policy in the past and even today, faced with the largest refugee inflow of the past year, Uganda remains a symbol of the integrity of the refugee protection regime that unfortunately is not being respected everywhere in the world" (UNHCR, 2018). This quote testifies to the existing hospitality and solidarity within the region regarding migration. This hospitality reportedly took root from the cultural tradition many in the region shared. Talking about it (Hassan, 2020, p76) explained, "The Ubuntu culture in traditional African thought calls for hospitality towards guests and welcoming strangers, which has made countries such as Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia the top of the list of countries receiving refugees". This quote highlights the fundamental cultural heritage shared among countries in the region. This suggests that countries from the region do not understand "forced" migration as a political concern but rather as a human concept. Since the pre-colonial era, migration has never been a problem in Africa; instead, it has always been a survival strategy (M. F. Asiegbu, 2022; Setrana & Arhin-Sam, n.d.-b). Unlike states of the Global North which maintain the idea that migration is no more than a "problem to be fixed,"

Pan-African and humanism narrative on migration subscribes to the idea of migration as a fact of human life, which goes beyond political concerns (Achieng et al., 2019). As exposed by cosmopolitans (Sanni, 2020), the manifestation of humanism, hospitality, and solidarity in African migration results from traditional values rather than Western policies on migration regulation. This suggests that despite the colonial influence on the continent, African tradition is dominant in how the East African region perceives migration. Observers even state that the success of integration within the East African community is partly due to adopting a shared African language: Swahili (Hassan, 2020). Indeed, the adoption of Swahili as an official language in many countries in the region (i.e., Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo) deepened the level of unity and African solidarity, which consequently impacts the migration narrative within the region.

African experience challenges the simplistic distinction between “migrant” and “refugee” (Whitaker, 2017). One cannot analyze a narrative of migration centered on refugees without addressing the distinction between “refugee” and “migrant”. International law defines a refugee as “someone who flees his or her home country due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, or membership in a social group” (Whitaker, 2017 p4). From this definition, being a refugee is thus inherently political, as Whitaker suggests. A migrant, in contrast, “seeks better economic opportunities” (Ibid.). Distinguished from refugees, economic migrants are migrants who do not possess valid documents and are therefore referred to as “undocumented” (M. Asiegbu, n.d.).

Nevertheless, people migrate for multiple reasons that can be interrelated, with a combination of economic, political, and socio-cultural factors¹². Narratives on migration suggest that “political

¹² As exposed in the Description section (p33).

refugees” can shift to economic migrants. Even though narratives on “forced” migration are commonly viewed as challenging the economy and enhancing essential security issues, countries from the region try to take advantage of it so that the refugees can contribute to the economy of the recipient countries. (Patton, 2016) explained, “while many countries keep refugees in camps away from citizens, Uganda allows them to set up businesses, work for others, and move freely around the country.” Refugees’ migration in the region can shift from an “economic burden” to an economic opportunity both for refugees and recipient states, leading to a “win-win” situation.

The economic aspect of this humanitarian narrative of empathy for migrants (not only refugees) is also perceived when it comes to commercial opportunities across borders, known as “trade border posts” (Akiwumi, 2019). Trade border posts, also known as “Informal Cross-Border Trade” (ICBT) are a popular economic opportunity system in which Africans cross borders (generally within the same region) for commerce and related activities. The traders notably engage in commerce as undocumented since they are not equipped nor asked for visas or *permis de séjour* to carry out their business across borders (M. Asiegbu, n.d.). The region of East Africa is the one which has benefited the most from this migration with the vital participation of low-skilled workers, but foremost fairly educated and professional workers (Ibid.) As for the West African narrative, using the term “undocumented” rather than “irregular” or “illegal” here seems to be the manifestation of a more positive connotation of migration, in which the legitimacy of the migrants lies on the fact that they are humans, no matter their “legal” status.

c) *Southern African migration: The Threat/Villain narrative*

According to (Banulescu-Bogdan, n.d., p8), a threat narrative is “a narrative which depicts migrants as a burden, likely to exacerbate disorder, danger or competing with the native-born for

resources or influence within the society.” These narratives fall along four main axes: economic, health, security, and cultural identity (Ibid.). In the case of Southern Africa migration, the threat narrative is majorly perceived within the economic and security axes. Southern African migration is mainly economic (Jinnah, 2016; (SADC), 2021; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017). Economic migrants in the region are generally low-skilled and sometimes include international students. Unlike refugees, economic migrants’ human rights were not threatened from the moment they decided to migrate. They were instead “drawn in by the advantages that their new society has to offer” (Miller, 2016, p94). When economic migrants work to pursue their well-being, they consequently use to expand the host states’ economic outputs through employment (M. Asiegbu, n.d.). The narrative on economic migrants’ contribution to the recipient country’s economy is evolving in the intra-African migration context (Awumbila, 2017; Awumbila et al., n.d.; J. Teye, n.d.-c). However, a narrative of a less positive perception of economic migration is predominant within the Southern African context.

In recent years, a steady increase in migration in Southern Africa was accompanied by a rise of intolerance, xenophobia, and sometimes violence towards migrants from recipient states (Jinnah, 2016; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). *Xenophobia* is generally defined as “the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of the recipient state” (Tapalaga, 2021). Xenophobia is a manifestation of a negative narrative on migration. In the region, the major narrative depicts that the native community treats migrants with wariness, sometimes violence, or with few contacts, and irrational fears of them (Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). Unlike migration narratives in the two previous sub-regions, the recurring terms describing migration narrative in the Southern African region are mainly “xenophobia” “threat”, “hostility” “discrimination”, or “racism” (Jinnah, 2016; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). The narrative of “threat” lies in the fact

that the region's migration is dominantly economic. Therefore, people from recipient countries worry that immigrants would take jobs that could have gone to them. Southern African migration shares some features with the Eastern African migration, but the narratives are not similar. Just like the Eastern region, cross-border migration has brought an important number of foreigners to Southern Africa. However, a survey launched by the Southern Africa Migration Programme (SAMP) reported that citizens from Southern Africa "exaggerate the number of non-citizens in their countries and perceived migrants within the region as a problem rather than an opportunity" (SAMP Special Reports, 2017). The intensity of this narrative varies significantly from one country to another. The strongest anti-migration narrative is expressed in South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana (Campbell & Crush, 2015). The reason behind these strongest sentiments evolving within these countries may be because they are the top recipient countries in the region. This observation suggests that migrant-receiving countries tend to be more hostile to migration than migrant-sending ones. Anti-immigrants attitudes in those countries are so widespread that there is no typical "xenophobic profile." This means that the employed and the unemployed, the black and the white, the rich and the poor, and the conservative and the radical, all share similar negative attitudes towards migration. However, this does not mean that other countries from the region are tolerant of migration, but they rather tend to develop a xenophobic profile (Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022). In other words, the unemployed, the poor, and the working class tend to have more hostile sentiments about migrants and refugees than the middle class or richer citizens. The common observation about all countries in the region is that most citizens would prefer national governments to "get tough" with migrants and refugees through draconian migration policies (Ibid.). Those countries, especially South Africa, tend to develop a similar migration approach as Western countries through anti-immigrants rhetoric (Parshotam & Ncube, 2017). Even though

hostile sentiments towards migrants are common within the region, the narrative of seeing migrants as an economic threat is predominant in South Africa, where anti-immigrant sentiments have flared up over the past decade (Jinnah, 2016; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017). Narrative on the xenophobic experience of migrants in different social sectors in South Africa emerged drastically in recent years (Kang'ethe & Wotshela, 2016; Pineteh, 2017; Vandeyar & Vandeyar, 2017; Vanyoro, 2019). Public expressions and narratives in Southern Africa depict economic migrants as threatening local citizens over jobs. Similar to others in the sub-region (and beyond), the South African government developed hostile rhetoric towards irregular migrants. As an illustration, the government raised concern about irregular immigration in 2017 by stating that it “leads to unacceptable levels of corruption, human rights abuse, and national security risks” (K. Moyo, 2021). This rhetoric is particularly addressed to low-skilled or unskilled migrants from elsewhere in the SADC region (Ibid.). Such anti-immigrant discourse enhances the perception of “migrants as a threat” within South Africans’ minds. But evidence reveals that international migrants account for just 4% of the overall South African working population and are mostly self-employed in the informal sector (Jinnah, 2016; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017). This suggests that sentiments of threat and fear seem generic social beliefs rather than personal and real experiences. As (Banulescu-Bogdan, n.d., p9) explains, “it is important to note that narrative do not need to be accurate to be persuasive and indeed, may gain currency precisely by oversimplifying, distorting, or omitting details”. In southern Africa States (especially South Africa), public hostility emerges mainly from myths and stereotypes spreading through media and negative political discourse on migration (Parshotam & Ncube, 2017; Rugunanan & Xulu-Gama, 2022; Internews_2021-05.Pdf, n.d.).

However, in recent years, awareness about the need to reverse the gaze of misinformation within the region has been eroding (Internews_2021-05.Pdf, n.d.). Some actions to challenge the existing

narrative of “migrant as a threat” have started to emerge with the launch of the South Africa Migration Manual, intended to present a migration narrative for the SADC region in a manner “that does not increase hostilities but rather, that assists citizens to make educated choices that can bring about a just and peaceful society, where the human rights of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees are observed” (Ibid.). Even though the major narrative on migration within the region is still hostile to migrants, the recent process of educating citizens through projects of accurate information dissemination (rather than myths and stereotypes) may be interesting to analyze in the future.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Reports and articles on young Africans dying on the Mediterranean while attempting to reach European shores have dominated the mass media for many decades. Some of these stories were not entirely fallacies, but the dominant narrative governing African migration portrayed a minimalist image of African migrants: poor people desperate to leave the continent. This work sought to challenge this dominant narrative by exploring an alternative narrative of African migration. The explored narrative has been addressed as the Afrocentric migration narrative, a narrative on African migration from an Africanist perspective. In the following paragraphs, I will first address and discuss the results of my research before articulating its limits.

The first result of my research is the existing and evolving narratives centered on African migration within the literature, even though recent. These narratives challenge the dominant narrative on African migration depicting African migration as mostly irregular and increasing towards

occidental shores. People migrate for many reasons that can be interrelated. African migration is not necessarily driven by misery and poverty, but socio-economic and political changes, commercialization, industrialization, and urbanization are increasingly enhancing aspirations and capacities to migrate.

The second finding is that there are not just one but three migration narratives regarding intra-African migration, depending on the region (western, eastern, and southern). This finding suggests that the African migration narrative is a complex and non-homogenous phenomenon. From my analysis, I found three major frames dominant in each region: the benefit, humanitarian, and threat narratives on migration:

The benefit narrative portrays a positive understanding of migration for migrants and recipient states. Dominant within the West African region, this narrative emphasizes the socio-economic advantages migrants can add to the countries. As exposed in the literature, regional initiatives have fostered the perception of migration as an opportunity.

The humanitarian narrative, predominant in the Eastern region emphasizes hospitality and solidarity with migrants, especially refugees. According to my analysis, the region's migration narrative emphasizes a surge of solidarity mainly due to the predominance of cultural and African traditions within the region. Indeed, as of today, the region is one of the only that somehow presents a visible Pan-Africanism ideal, through the sharing of African cultures, which goes beyond the colonial heritage.

Contrary to the humanitarian, the threat narrative fosters hostility towards migrants, considered a socio-economic threat to the receiving society. This narrative predominant in Southern Africa is

manifested by the recurrence of xenophobic and anti-immigrants' discourses within the region. Although the analysis shows that negative narratives about migration are often based on perceived threat to human security rather than actual and factual proof well supported by data and evidence.

As elsewhere in the world, intra-African migration can spur xenophobic and anti-immigration sentiments, these sentiments are not exclusive to one region, but the point of this work was to emphasize the major narrative from each region. The analysis also shows that migration is generating humanitarianism, conviviality, and socio-economic partnership in many countries within the continent. However, one cannot ignore that a Pan-African ideology that deepens the social protection of migrants and African unity is missing in the continental integration of migrants. Africans still cannot move freely in every region of their continent because most countries require entry and exit visas. The African Union seems to be reflecting on it with its project "Agenda 2063" goal of "an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens" (African Union, 2016). However, efforts should be put into achieving this goal because as of now, the Pan-African dream seems distinctly economic and commercial rather than cultural.

In this paper, I meticulously selected scholarly works centered on intra-African migration, published from 2015 to 2022, from which I conducted a semi-systematic literature review that may serve as a portfolio of recent works covering intra-African migration narratives. However, the first limit of this research is that these articles and reports cannot be fully considered as an alternative Afrocentric narrative since the literature still needs to call itself such. Therefore, if the literature is fully developed and explored, the regional comparisons of the Western, Eastern, and Southern African migration could benefit from further development in the future.

Second, even though narratives on intra-African migration are evolving in the literature, many dimensions of migration still need to be documented and better understood. As for this paper, finding regional data on migration was challenging because most existing data largely focused on migrant remittances and tourism rather than border data, which is a key source for migration flow data.

Last, the lack of reference to the term “Pan-Africanism” within the narrative of intra-African migration may be considered a limit to conceptualizing a compelling Afrocentric narrative. A complete Afrocentric literature in Africa should require the “Africanization” of migration concepts that will further serve as a tool for analysis in accordance with the African culture. Neo-Pan-Africanism, described in the literature seems to be more an ideology than an actual manifestation of African cultural identity regarding migration. I believe Pan-Africanism as an ideology should be transcended into actions for fully achieving African solidarity and unity. As such, while the world would see African migrants as a burden, relying on Pan-Africanism will equip the continent with unity and solidarity to further entrench African solutions for African problems.

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