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Destination Africa : the dynamics 1990-2015

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Citation

Dietz, A. J. (2018). Destination Africa : the dynamics 1990-2015. *Asc Working Paper Series*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/61200>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

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Destination Africa. The dynamics 1990-2015

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ASC Working Paper 141 / 2018

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Introduction

In September 2017 the African Studies Centre Leiden¹ published a Thematic Map about Africa's international migration in 2015². At the backside the 2015 data published by UN-DESA³ were used to show the total international immigration data per country, linked to the position of these countries on the Human Development Index for the same year. Also the data for intercontinental immigration per country were given. These were clearly showing that immigration was much higher for the African countries with a relatively high HDI score than for the African countries with a low HDI score. Intercontinental immigration was much lower than international immigration, because most international migrants stay within Africa. The thematic map showed that out of 20.4 million people who were stated to be 'immigrants' (= born in another country) only 2.5 million came from outside Africa. A map was shown with all major intra-African migration flows as measured in 2015. And two maps were included showing how many people had immigrated to the 54 African countries, and what the numbers and relative importance was of inter-continental (non-African) immigrants per country, linked to the 2015 HDI scores. So far so good. But there is much more to show. For this preparatory note for the 'Destination Africa' conference we added a dynamic picture: looking at the changes between 1990 and 2015. And we also looked at the dynamics of the patterns of migration: where did the people come from who have been counted as 'immigrants in Africa' in 1990, 2000, and 2015. An interesting question can also be answered: what is the colonial hangover? And is it true that Europe is losing ground?

The dynamics of total and intercontinental migration to Africa, 1990-2015

The Population Division of the United Nations so far published five datasets about countries of origin and destination of international migrants (and for each the total number, and specific for men and for women). They started in 1990 and updated the migration data matrix every five years. For international migration to Africa as a whole the five data sets show a stable situation (all around 15 million immigrants) between 1990 and 2010, and a rather strong increase between 2010 and 2015. Table 1 shows the results. If we compare the migrants who had moved to Africa with global migration data as a whole we see that between 1990 and 2010 Africa as a destination area was becoming less important, but between 2010 and 2015 African countries as a whole became relatively more important as a destination area. If we look at the relative importance of Africa's immigrant population as part of the total number of people living in Africa between 1990 and 2010 the migrant proportion dwindled (from 25/1000 to 16/1000). Between 2010 and 2015 there was a slight increase.

¹ This working paper has been made for, and was distributed at the Conference 'Destination Africa: Contemporary Africa as a global meeting point' of the AEGIS 'Africa in the World' Collaborative Research Group, 22-23 March 2018 in Leiden. Some adjustments have been made based on valuable comments during the conference session on 23 March, chaired by Elsje Fourie, Maastricht University, and member of the CRG.

² Dietz, T., M. Kaag & N. de Vink, 2017, Africa: International migration. Thematic Map Leiden: ASCL.

³ <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/54691>

³ www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates15/shtml

Table 1. Total immigration in Africa 1990-2015 x1000

	International migrants in the world	International migrants in Africa	Africa's immigration as a percentage of world migration	Africa's population	Africa's immigrants per 1000 African inhabitants
1990	152,563	15,691	10.3	634,567	25
1995	160,802	16,353	10.2	722,923	23
2000	172,703	14,800	8.6	817,566	18
2005	191,269	15,191	7.9	924,758	16
2010	221,714	16,840	7.6	1,049,446	16
2015	243,700	20,444	8.4	1,194,370	17

For a more detailed analysis we will look at 1990, 2000 and 2015.

Table 2. Immigration towards Africa in 1990, 2000 and 2015 (x1000), and changes

Area of origin	1990	2000	Δ 2000/1990	2015	Δ 2015/2000	Δ 2015/1990
Total	15,691	14,800	x0.94	20,444	x1.38	x1.30
Within Africa	13,376	12,480	x0.93	16,380	x1.31	x1.22
From Outside Africa (1)	1,450	1,542	x1.06	2,485	x1.61	x1.71
'Other South' (2)	854	778	x0.91	1,579	x2.03	x1.85
Europe	629	543	x0.86	878	x1.62	x1.40
Asia	487	669	x1.37	1,176	x1.76	x2.41
- Middle East	376	526	x1.40	958	x1.82	x2.55
- Rest Asia	111	143	x1.29	218	x1.52	x1.96
USA & Canada	58	40	x0.69	67	x1.68	x1.16
Other America	11	9	x0.82	19	x2.11	x1.73
Oceania	9	6	x0.67	14	x2.33	x1.56
Former colonizers as countries of origin						
UK	166	169	x1.02	358	x2.12	x2.16
France	144	169	x1.17	243	x1.44	x1.69
Germany	98	54	x0.55	78	x1.44	x0.80
Portugal	34	37	x1.09	74	x2.00	x2.18
Italy	38	25	x0.66	46	x1.84	x1.21
Belgium	11	7	x0.64	14	x2.00	x1.27
Spain	6	6	x1.00	9	x1.50	x1.50

Other major countries of origin; Europe						
Russia	47	16	x0.34	28	x1.75	x0.60
Netherlands	23	12	x0.52	26	x2.17	x1.13
Ireland	6	5	x0.83	14	x2.80	x2.33
Greece	8	7	x0.88	14	x2.00	x1.75
Poland	4	5	x1.25	11	x2.20	x2.75
Switzerland	12	4	x0.33	5	x1.25	x0.42
Other major countries of origin; America and Oceania						
USA	52	33	x0.63	54	x1.64	x1.04
Canada	6	7	x1.17	13	x1.86	x2.17
Australia	7	5	x0.71	10	x2.00	x1.43
Other major countries of origin; Asia						
China, incl. HK	24	30	x1.25	50	x1.52	x2.08
India	35	55	x1.57	104	x1.89	x2.97
Pakistan	5	10	x2.00	17	x1.70	x3.40
Bangladesh	3	3	x1.00	13	x4.33	x4.33
Indonesia	8	14	x1.75	20	x1.43	x2.50
Malaysia	12	9	x0.75	13	x1.44	x1.08
Iraq	8	67	x8.38	96	x1.43	x12.00
Syria	26	31	x1.19	183	x5.90	x7.04
Palestine	242	300	x1.24	494	x1.65	x2.04
Jordan	15	21	x1.40	30	x1.43	x2.00
Lebanon	22	24	x1.09	30	x1.25	x1.36
Saudi Arabia	23	39	x1.70	57	x1.46	x2.48
Kuwait	10	11	x1.10	16	x1.45	x1.60
Yemen	18	23	x1.28	32	x1.39	x1.78

- (1) This includes a UN category 'Other North'; for some European countries there are no entries where one would expect those under the specific country data (e.g. Belgium and the DRC); there we expect that they were included under the unspecified category 'Other North'.
- (2) Probably most of this is intra-African non-specified migration, but some of it can come from Asia or the Americas. This undermines the credibility of a lot of the country-to-country data, but it is the best we have. We should also be aware of the fact that the UN counts or estimates registered migrants. 'Illegal' migration can be included in some cases, but probably not often. And some of the 'legal' migrants may have used forged papers, that do not adequately state their country of origin.

If we look at table 2 we can observe a few things:

- The large majority of international migrants to African countries are intra-African migrants (and many of them have migrated to a neighboring country). Part of that is a result of international boundary crossings but within the same ethnic area. Part of it (and probably a major part) is a result of cross-border refugee movements as a result of war, violence, oppression, and natural disasters. And some intra-African migration is a result of migration for education and work purposes.
- The inter-continental migration to Africa (that is our focus for this working paper) shows a slow growth between 1990 and 2000, and a rapid growth between 2000 and 2015. However, if we compare the number of intercontinental migrants with the total number of Africans it hovers around 2/1000.

- In 1990 Europe still contributed most migrants to Africa. In and after 2000 most intercontinental migrants to Africa came from Asia, and no longer from Europe. Europe's position went back from 53% of country-specific migration to Africa in 1990 to 43% in 2000 and to 41% in 2015. Asia went up from 41% via 53% to 55%.
- Within Asia the Middle East is much more important as a source of origin of migrants to Africa than the rest of Asia, and between 1990 and 2000, and again between 2000 and 2015 immigration from West Asia grew faster than immigration from the rest of Asia. In 2015 the Middle East has surpassed Europe as area of origin of migrants to Africa. Particularly immigration of Palestinians to Africa is important; most of them went to Libya and other North African countries.
- The former colonial powers in Africa show a differentiated picture. Between 1990 and 2000 Belgium, Italy and Germany (they were a colonial power in Africa until the first world war) experienced a dwindling number of migrants in Africa, while the UK and Spain stabilized the numbers. France and Portugal saw a small increase. Between 2000 and 2015 all former colonial powers increased their numbers of migrants in Africa, and all – except Germany – had higher numbers in 2015 than in 1990. Particularly the UK increased its migrant presence in Africa, but these migrants probably included a considerable number of children of former African migrants who went back to Africa.
- Among the non-colonial powers from Europe, migrants from Russia and from Switzerland dwindled, but those from Ireland and Poland strongly increased.
- From the Americas and Oceania there are only three countries with a presence of at least 10,000 migrants in Africa in any of the three years (our cut-off point in this table), and both the USA and Australia first experienced a lower number of migrants in 2000 compared to 1990 but a restoration afterwards. Canada's position improved during the period as a whole.
- Although Asia as a whole has become the most important area of origin for migrants to Africa from 2000 onwards, despite a lot of emphasis on 'the Chinese invasion of Africa' in some media, China is NOT the most important provider of migrants to Africa from Asia. Palestine has been much more important, and also India, Iraq, Syria, and Saudi Arabia have sent more migrants to Africa than China did.
- In relative terms the fastest growth of migration from particular countries to Africa between 1990 and 2015 was observed for Iraq, Syria, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Poland, and Indonesia.
- In total numbers of migrants to Africa Palestine was number 1 in all three years, followed by the UK, and followed by France. In 1990 Germany was number four, in 2000 Iraq and in 2015 Syria.

A country to country comparison of 1990 and 2015

In 2015 Africa had a stock of 2,485,000 immigrants from other parts of the world. Four African countries dominated the inflow of non-Africans: South Africa (718,000), Libya (559,000), Egypt (408,000), and Algeria (113,000), together 72% of all immigration to the continent. Let us look at these four countries each, and the changes in the composition of immigration between 1990 and 2015. We use 3,000 immigrants in any of these two years as our cut-off point.

South Africa

- Europe is still very much dominating the immigration to South Africa.
- However, the relative importance of people born in Asia in South Africa grew from 8% in 1990 to 13% in 2015, while the relative importance of people born in Europe slightly diminished from 80% to 79%. A complication here, like in many other countries as well, are the unspecified immigrants from 'Other North', and 'Other South' (of which we expect that many are from within Africa, so we neglect them here, as we are focusing on intercontinental migrants).
- The United Kingdom is and was the most important country of origin of South Africa's immigrants from outside Africa.
- In 1990 the UK was followed by Germany and Portugal; and in 2015 by Portugal and India.
- Among the countries of origin providing more than 3,000 immigrants to South Africa, the fastest growth between 1990 and 2015 can be noticed for Pakistan, India, Cyprus and Poland.
- In 2015 intercontinental migrants to South Africa were 1.3% of the total South African population.
- Far more immigrants came from within Africa than from outside Africa: in 1990 total immigration was 1,2 million, and in 2015 3,1 million people. In 2015 non-African immigrants were only 23% of all immigrants. Of the 77% migrants from within Africa in 2015 475,000 came from Zimbabwe, 450,000 from Mozambique, and 351,000 from Lesotho. Immigrants from further away in Africa came from Somalia (70,000) and Malawi (77,000).

Table 3. South Africa: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Europe and Other North				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
UK	117	319	2.73	India	8	43	5.38
Portugal	19	49	2.58	China	9	27	3.00
Germany	34	41	1.21	USA	9	18	2.00
Italy	11	25	2.27	Pakistan	2	11	5.50
Netherlands	17	22	1.29	Australia	4	7	1.75
Ireland	6	13	2.17	Canada	3	6	2.00
Greece	3	10	3.33	Israel	2	5	2.50
Poland	2	10	5.00	Bangladesh	2	3	1.50
Belgium	6	9	1.50	Brazil	1	3	3.00
France	6	8	1.33	N. Zealand	1	3	3.00
Austria	4	6	1.50				
Cyprus	1	5	5.00				
Russia	1	4	4.00				
Serbia	2	4	2.00				
Ukraine	2	4	2.00				
Bulgaria	4	4	1.00				
Denmark	1	3	3.00	Total Asia	23	89	3.87
Total Europe	236	536	2.27	Total AAO	41	126	3.07
Other North	19	20	1.05	Total	296	682	2.30

Libya

- Immigration to Libya from outside Africa was and is dominated by Asia, and particularly by the Islamic countries in West Asia. Palestinians were and are the most important group. In 1990 Palestine as a country of origin was followed by Germany and Russia, in 2015 by Iraq and Syria.
- If we look at countries with more than 3,000 immigrants to Libya in either 1990 or 2015, total non-African immigration grew from 358,000 immigrants to 540,000 immigrants (for 2015 we know that total non-African immigration was 557,000 people). In Libya there were no immigrants from 'other North' and 'other South'.
- Asia's relative importance for non-African migration to Libya grew from 68% to 89%, Europe's position dwindled from 27% to 9%.
- The turmoil in Libya after 2011 created mass return migration for most of the countries in Western Europe, but not at all from European countries like Russia, Ukraine, and Turkey.
- The fastest growth of immigration to Libya between 1990 and 2015 can be noticed from Ukraine, Iraq, and Russia.
- In 2015 intercontinental migrants to Libya were 9.2% of the total Libyan population.
- Most of Libya's immigrants in both years came from outside Africa. However, in 2015 there were large numbers of immigrants from Somalia (105,000), Egypt (21,000), and Sudan (14,000).

Table 4. Libya: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Europe				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
Ukraine	0	9	>18.00	Palestine	152	286	1.88
Russia	27	7	3.86	Iraq	4	69	17.25
Germany	28	7	0.25	Syria	15	28	1.87
UK	9	7	0.78	Jordan	10	20	2.00
Italy	13	7	0.54	Indonesia	4	13	3.25
France	9	5	0.56	Kuwait	6	11	1.83
Turkey	2	3	1.50	Lebanon	7	11	1.57
Greece	4	3	0.75	USA	19	10	0.53
Switzerland	5	2	0.40	S. Arabia	13	9	0.69
				Malaysia	7	8	1.14
				Yemen	11	6	0.55
				India	2	5	2.50
				Philipp.	2	4	2.00
				Thailand	3	3	1.00
				UAE	1	3	3.00
				China	1	3	3.00
				Japan	4	1	0.25
				Total Asia	242	480	1.98
Total Europe	97	50	0.52	Total AAO	261	490	1.88
Other North	-	-		Total	358	540	1.51

Egypt

- Like Libya, Egypt's immigration was and is dominated by (West) Asia. Asia's importance grew from 67% in 1990 to 90% in 2015. Europe's position dwindled from 26% in 1990 to only 8% in 2015.
- In 1990 Palestinians dominated intercontinental migration to Egypt (45% of all non-African migrants), followed by people who were born in Germany and Russia. In 2015 Palestinians were 39% of all non-African migrants in Egypt, closely followed by Syrians.
- The fastest growth of immigration to Egypt between 1990 and 2015 can be noticed from Syria, and Iraq.
- In 2015 intercontinental migrants to Egypt were 0.4% of the total Egyptian population.
- In 2015 the large majority of immigrants to Egypt came from non-African countries of origin. Those from within Africa mainly came from Sudan (32,000) and from Somalia (23,000).

Table 5. Egypt: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Europe and Other North				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
Germany	10	9	0.90	Palestine	53	150	2.83
Russia	9	8	0.89	Syria	5	147	29.40
Italy	5	5	1.00	S. Arabia	5	9	2.25
UK	3	4	1.33	Yemen	4	6	1.50
France	3	3	1.00	Iraq	1	12	12.00
				USA	7	7	1.00
				Jordan	3	6	2.00
				Lebanon	2	4	2.00
				Malaysia	2	3	1.50
				Indonesia	1	3	3.00
				Kuwait	2	3	1.50
				Total Asia	78	343	4.40
Total Europe	30	29	0.97	Total AAO	85	350	4.12
Other North	2	4	2.00	Total	117	383	3.27

Algeria

- Like Libya and Egypt the large majority of Algeria's immigrants came from (West) Asia (in 1990 66%; in 2015 91%), dominated by people from Palestine.
- In 1990 Europe still had 22% of all immigrants to Algeria from countries providing more than 3,000 immigrants; in 2015 this had dwindled to only 3%. All European countries, even Russia, experienced a strong decline. Former colonizer France was not even among the countries beyond the threshold of 3,000 immigrants (in fact it was 2,086 in 1990 and only 1,000 in 2015).
- The fastest growth of immigrants from particular countries between 1990 and 2015 came from Iraq, and Saudi Arabia.
- In 2015 intercontinental migrants to Algeria were 0.3% of the total Algerian population.
- In 2015 Algeria had more immigrants from within Africa (129,000) than from outside Africa (113,000, of which 97,000 from countries with more than 3,000 immigrants). However, African migration was mainly a result of war and expulsion: in 2015 91,000 immigrants in Algeria came from the Western Sahara, and 21,000 from Somalia.

Table 6. Algeria: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Europe and Other North				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
Russia	6	1	0.17	Palestine	36	57	1.58
Germany	7	1	0.14	Iraq	1	14	14.00
Italy	3	1	0.33	S. Arabia	3	7	2.33
				Syria	4	6	1.50
				Jordan	2	4	2.00
				Yemen	3	4	1.33
				USA	5	2	0.40
				Total Asia	49	92	1.88
Total Europe	16	3	0.19	Total AAO	54	94	1.74
Other North	4	4	1.00	Total	74	101	1.36

Immigration to other African countries

In absolute terms the immigration to these four countries, South Africa, Libya, Egypt and Algeria dominated the intercontinental immigration to Africa, but also in relative terms immigration was relatively high for Libya (92/1000), and for South Africa (13/1000). For Egypt and Algeria it was much lower (4/3000 and 3/1000 respectively).

The other relatively high HDI countries in Africa

In general one can conclude that countries with a relatively high Human Development Index had a (much) higher number of intercontinental immigrants per 1000 inhabitants than countries with a low HDI. So let us first look at the African countries with a relatively high HDI score in 2015: more than 0.600. Besides Algeria (HDI 745), Libya (HDI 716), Egypt (HDI 691), and South Africa (HDI 666) these were the Seychelles (HDI 782; immigration 108/1000), Mauritius (HDI 781, immigration 18/1000), Tunisia (HDI 775, immigration only 2/1000), Botswana (HDI 698, immigration also only 2/1000), Gabon (HDI 697, immigration 7/1000), Cape Verde (HDI 648, immigration 6/1000), Morocco (HDI 647, immigration only 2/1000), and Namibia (HDI 640, immigration 11/1000). So for these relatively high HDI countries the intercontinental immigration was between 108/1000 and only 2/1000). However, for African countries with an HDI score lower than 0.600 – in 2015 the large majority of countries – the intercontinental immigration was almost always 1/1000 or lower. Of the low-HDI countries with a slightly higher intercontinental migration than 1/1000 all were former French colonies: the Central African Republic and Djibouti (both 3/1000), and Côte d'Ivoire, Guinée, Mali and Senegal (all 2/1000). In all African countries intercontinental immigration was lower or much lower than intercontinental emigration. Let us see where the immigrants came from in the other 'high-HDI' countries.

- In these other African countries with relatively high HDI scores we find a variety of backgrounds: former British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies. With the exception of Namibia all experienced growing immigration, both from Europe and from South and East Asia.

- For these countries Europe was and still is the main provider of intercontinental immigrants, but also here Europe's position became less dominant: from 70% in 1990 to 55% in 2015. However, for countries like the Seychelles, Mauritius and Botswana South Asia has become much more important than Europe, and for Mauritius and Botswana South Asia was followed by China, while China has also become important in Namibia (although dwindling, like immigration in Namibia as a whole).
- It is remarkable that immigration to Morocco was and still is very much dominated by its former colonizers France and Spain.
- In 2015 immigration from African countries showed a varied picture as well: for the Seychelles and Mauritius this was insignificant. In Tunisia there was immigration from other North-African countries (Algeria 10,000, Libya 9,000 and Morocco 6,000). In Botswana there were many immigrants from South Africa (37,000), Zimbabwe (32,000), and Zambia (13,000). Also Gabon attracted many African immigrants: from Equatorial Guinea 56,000, from Benin 34,000, from Cameroon 33,000, from Senegal 20,000, and from Nigeria 15,000. In Cape Verde there were 5,000 immigrants from Guiné Bissao. In Morocco there were 14,000 Algerians, and in Namibia 34,000 Angolans, and 13,000 Zimbabweans.

Table 7. Other relatively high HDI countries: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Country in Africa	Europe and Other North				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
Seychelles	-				India	1	6	6.00
Mauritius	-				India	1	9	9.00
					Bangladesh	0	8	>16.0
					China	0	3	>6.00
Tunisia	France	4	9	2.25	-			
	Oth. N.	2	3	1.50				
Botswana	UK	3	8	2.67	India	2	10	5.00
					China	1	4	4.00
Gabon	France	5	10	2.00				
C. Verde	-				-			
Morocco	France	15	29	1.93	-			
	Spain	3	4	1.33				
	Oth. N.	8	12	1.50				
Namibia	Germany	13	8	0.62	China	5	3	0.60
	UK	3	2	0.67				
					Total Asia	10	43	4.30
	Total Europe	46	70	1.52	Total AAO	10	43	4.30
	Other North	10	15	1.50	Total	66	128	1.94

The low HDI countries in Africa

One of the problems with the UN-DESA statistics about immigration is that they use 'left-over' categories for 'Other migration from the (global) North', and 'Other migration from the (global) South'. And particularly for the relatively poor countries in Africa (generally with less adequate statistical offices) this means that quite a lot of migration data are lumped together. For the 'North' it means: from unspecified countries in Europe and North America, and from 'the South' it can mean 'from other countries in Africa', or from Asia and Central and South America. As a result, some African countries (e.g., the DRC) where one may expect immigration from certain European countries (e.g. Belgium and France) show a blank, and probably that migration has been brought under 'Other North' (e.g. for the DRC 12,000 immigrants in 2015, and 30,000 in 1990, see below). In fact, the migration statistics for countries like the DRC, but also Nigeria and Kenya, do not show any immigration from non-African sources beyond the threshold of 3,000 people. However, they do show a lot of migration from within Africa, although part of that has also been lumped together under 'other South'. Let's again look at the **DRC**: with 754,000 international immigrants in 1990, of which 468,000 from Angola, 113,000 from South Sudan, and 61,000 unspecified from 'Other South'. In 2015 the figures were 546,000 for total international migration to the DRC, 185,000 for Angola, 97,000 from Rwanda, 73,000 from the Central African Republic, (only) 9,000 from South Sudan, and 112,000 for 'Other South'. For **Nigeria** a total of 1.2 million immigrants were counted in 2015, with 85,000 unspecified for 'Other South', and 37,000 for 'Other North'. Most immigrants in Nigeria had come from neighbouring Benin (352,000), Niger (112,000), Chad (29,000), and Cameroon (27,000), but also many immigrants had come from Ghana (222,000), Mali (161,000), Togo (148,000), and Liberia (21,000). However, the figures for the United Kingdom, the USA and China are lacking, and are part of the unspecified categories. This begs for caution while interpreting the immigration 'stories' below (and probably also those for the high-HDI countries as well). In **Kenya** there were 1,084,000 immigrants in 2015. 21,000 of them came from 'other North' and 39,000 from 'other South', but the large majority came from countries like Somalia (488,000), Uganda (334,000), South Sudan (92,000), and Tanzania (40,000). In **Ghana** UN-DESA reported 399,000 immigrants in 2015, of which 38,000 from 'other North' and 54,000 from 'other South'. Reported specific figures for immigrants from outside Africa were very low, and partly lacking. Migrants from other countries in Africa were many, though: 68,000 Nigerians, 58,000 people from Burkina Faso, 30,000 people from Côte d'Ivoire, and 28,000 from Liberia. **Côte d'Ivoire** is a particularly strange case: no reported immigration from outside Africa beyond 3,000 people (these had been included under 39,000 from 'other North' and 41,000 from 'other South'), but an enormous immigration from other African countries, in fact the second biggest receiver of international migrants after South Africa. 1,294,000 of them came from Burkina Faso (but 541,000 people born in Burkina Faso had gone (back) to Côte d'Ivoire); but also 356,000 came from Mali, 95,000 from Guinea, 82,000 from Liberia, 54,000 from Benin, and 43,000 from Ghana. Finally **Ethiopia** is an interesting case. Headquarters of the African Union, and with a booming economy since a decade, it did not have any substantial numbers of non-African migrants reported, except for 17,000 from 'other North' and 52,000 from 'other South'. However, there were 443,000 immigrants from Somalia, 375,000 from South Sudan, and 156,000 from Eritrea in 2015.

Other low-HDI countries: former British colonies with at least 3,000 immigrants from at least one non-African country in either 1990 or 2015

- For important former British colonies with a relatively low HDI, like Nigeria, Ghana, and Kenya, UN-DESA did not include statistical data about specific non-African countries of origin, not even for the former colonizer the UK (see above). For four former British colonies with a low HDI in 2015 and with (some) immigration data from elsewhere in the world the (specified) British immigration had dwindled between 1990 and 2015 and the immigration from India and China had doubled, taking over Europe's position as a provider of migrants, if we exclude the very high figures for unspecified migrants from 'other North'. Probably Europe is still by far the major provider of migrants to these former low-HDI British colonies in Africa, and probably these figures have increased between 1990 and 2015: for 'Europe' and 'other North' combined the growth has been 31%.
- Immigration from other African countries has been considerable in many cases: in the **Gambia** in 2015 there were 115,000 people who came from Senegal. In **Sierra Leone** 68,000 came from Guinea. In **Tanzania** there were 87,000 Burundians and 58,000 from the DRC. In **Malawi** there were 54,000 people from Mozambique, 42,000 from Zambia and 37,000 from Zimbabwe. In **Zambia** the UN-DESA counted 20,000 Zimbabweans, and in Zimbabwe 31,000 Zambians. Also **Zimbabwe** had 103,000 immigrants from Malawi and 94,000 from Mozambique. In **South Sudan** there were 552,000 from (North) Sudan, 141,000 from Uganda, and 83,000 from the DRC, probably many of them children from former refugees who had returned after Independence. After Independence of South Sudan 136,000 people born in South Sudan went back to (North) **Sudan**, but that country also hosted many immigrants from Eritrea (160,000), Chad (75,000), and Ethiopia (61,000) as well.
- **Nigeria and Ghana** are special cases, as UN-DESA did not report any specific immigration data from countries in Europe, North America or Asia. All of it was lumped together under 'other North' and (for Asia, probably), under 'other South', but that category (probably) also included migrants from other parts of Africa, so we ignore that here. The intra-African migration to Nigeria and Ghana has been given in the section above.

Table 8. Low HDI countries: former British colonies: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Country in Africa	Europe and Other North				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
Kenya	Oth. N.	35	21	0.60	-			
Uganda	-				India	1	4	4.00
Tanzania	Oth. N.	2	3	1.50	India	5	8	1.60
Zambia	Oth. N.	3	2	0.66	India	4	5	1.25
					China	0	3	>6.00
Zimbabwe	UK	19	8	0.42	-			
	Oth. N.	9	4	0.44				
Nigeria	Oth. N.	14	37	2.64				
Ghana	Oth. N.	4	38	9.50				
	Total Europe	19	8	0.42	Total Asia/Total AAO	10	20	2.00
	Oth. N.	67	105	1.57	Total	96	133	1.39

Other low-HDI countries: former French colonies, with at least 3,000 immigrants from at least one non-African country in either 1990 or 2015

- These former French colonies in Africa experienced an increase in reported immigration from European countries, and often mainly from France. The Asian influence is still very limited. A major receiver of immigrants from Europe in this group is **Réunion**, but that is still part of France. In this group the unspecified immigration from 'other North' is high.
- The biggest growth of immigration can be noticed in Mali and Côte d'Ivoire (from France, and 'other North' respectively).
- Many of these countries experienced major immigration from other parts of Africa, and part of that was return migration of refugees (with children born elsewhere and counted as immigrants). **Cameroon** had 202,000 immigrants from the Central African Republic in 2015, 82,000 from Nigeria, and 54,000 from Chad in 2015. The **Central African Republic** in its turn had 20,000 immigrants from Sudan, and 17,000 from the DRC. **Congo** hosted 170,000 immigrants from the DRC, 41,000 from Angola, 34,000 from Mali, 33,000 from the CAR, and 25,000 from Rwanda. **Mali** had 33,000 immigrants from Gabon, 30,000 from Congo, 24,000 from Burkina Faso and 20,000 from Côte d'Ivoire. **Senegal** had 51,000 people from Mauritania, 50,000 from Guinea, 33,000 from Mali, and 29,000 from Guinée Bissao. Information about **Côte d'Ivoire** has already been included in the section above, where also the high to-and-fro numbers have been given with Burkina Faso. However, **Burkina Faso** also received many migrants from Mali (44,000), and Ghana (32,000), it certainly is not only an 'expulsion country'. Finally, **Niger** counted 85,000 immigrants from Mali.

Table 9. Low HDI countries: former French colonies: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Country in Africa	Europe and Other North				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
Madagascar	France	7	9	1.29	-			
	Oth. N.	4	5	1.25				
Cameroon	France	12	4	0.33	-			
	Oth. N.	7	1	0.14				
Reunion	France	38	84	2.21	-			
	Oth. N.	6	5	0.83				
CAR	France	11	10	0.91	-			
	Oth. N.	2	6	3.00				
Congo	France	9	10	1.11	-			
	Russia	1	3	3.00				
	Oth. N.	0	5	>				
Mali	France	3	18	6.00	-			
	Oth. N.	2	13					
Niger	Oth. N.	3	2	0.66				
Burkina Faso	Oth. N.	6	13	2.17				
Senegal	France	11	13	1.18	-			
	Oth. N.	12	14	1.17				
Guinea	France	2	7	3.50	Lebanon	1	3	3.00
	Germany	1	3	3.00	S. Arabia	1	3	3.00
Côte d'Ivoire	Oth. N.	9	39	4.33				
					Total Asia	2	6	3.00
	Total Europe	95	161	1.69	Total AAO	2	6	3.00
	Other North	51	103	2.02	Total	148	270	1.82

Other low-HDI countries: former Belgian, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian colonies; and Ethiopia and Liberia, with at least 3,000 immigrants from at least one non-African country in either 1990 or 2015

- This group of 'other countries' experienced a decreasing immigration from outside Africa, but that is mainly because of the dwindling non-African immigration to the DRC, Burundi, and to Liberia between 1990 and 2015.
- Portuguese migration to Angola, and French migration to Equatorial Guinea, grew rapidly.
- Former Belgian colonies formed a special case as all information was missing (in both years) about specific immigration from Europe (Belgium and France in particular), information that was part of 'Other North'. For the intra-African migration in and around these former Belgian colonies, see the section above, proof of the high political and military turbulence in Central Africa during the decades under review.

Table 10. Low HDI countries: other countries (former Belgian, Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish colonies and Ethiopia and Liberia): stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015

Country in Africa	Europe and Other North				Asia, Americas and Oceania			
	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990	countries	1990	2015	Index 2015/1990
DRC	Oth. N.	30	12	0.40				
Rwanda	Oth. N.	1	3	3.00				
Burundi	Oth. N.	9	3	0.33				
Mozambique	Portugal	6	4	0.67	-			
	Oth N.	17	16	1.06				
Angola	Portugal	5	16	3.20	-			
	Oth. N.	3	8	2.67				
Eq. Guinea	France	1	5	5.00	-			
Somalia	Oth. N.	6	8	1.33				
Liberia	Oth. N.	6	1	0.17	Lebanon	4	1	0.25
					USA	3	0	0.00
Ethiopia	Oth. N.	7	17	2.43				
					Total Asia	4	1	0.25
	Total Europe	12	25	2.08	Total AAO	7	1	0.14
	Oth. N.	88	68	0.77	Total	107	94	0.88

Conclusion

In 1990 African countries hosted 15,691,000 immigrants from other countries, and that was 2.5% of the total population of the continent during that year. However, the large majority of those international migrants were intra-African migrants: 91%, and only 1,450,000 people were from non-African origins, just 9%. We concentrated our analysis on these inter-continental migrants and looked at receiving countries with more than 3,000 immigrants from a particular source in either 1990 or 2015 (and often both years). So counting these people gives us an inter-continental immigration figure in 1990 of 1,165,000 people, of whom 551,000 (47%) came from specified countries of origin in Europe, and 418,000 (36%) from specified countries of origin in Asia.

In 2015 total immigration had increased to 20,650,000 people. Due to the high population growth in Africa between 1990 and 2015, the growth of total immigration was lower than the growth of the population, and for African countries as a whole immigrants in 2015 were only 1.7% of Africa's total population. However, the intercontinental migration to Africa had increased more than total international migration: from 1,450,000 people to 2,485,000 people. In 2015 12% of all international migrants to Africa came from outside Africa. However, this was not yet enough to catch up with population growth: in 1990 intercontinental migrants were 0.23% of Africa's total population, and in 2015 0.21%. If we count the 3000+ cases in 1990 and/or 2015 we arrive at a figure of 2,281,000 immigrants from non-African countries and we know that that covers 92% of all intercontinental

migration to Africa in 2015. Out of those 2,281,000 people 882,000 came from specified countries in Europe (39%), and 1,074,000 from specified countries in Asia (47%). Asia had become more important than Europe in those 25 years. However, despite the fact that there has been a lot of talk about Chinese immigration to Africa (in 2015 50,000, including those from Hong Kong), other Asian countries are (much) more important: West Asian countries like Palestine (494,000), Syria (183,000), Iraq (96,000), Saudi Arabia (53,000), but also India (90,000). And also the USA (54,000), and most former colonizers were still more important than China in 2015: the UK with 358,000 immigrants, France with 243,000, Germany with 78,000, and Portugal with 74,000.

Table 11 shows that the majority of Africa's immigrants from outside Africa had migrated to African countries with a relatively high score on the Human Development Index, and to four countries in particular.

Table 11. Africa: stock of immigrants x 1000 in 1990 and in 2015, from countries of origin with at least 3,000 migrants to particular countries in Africa in either 1990 or 2015

Destination	Origin in 1990			Origin in 2015		
	Europe	Asia	Total	Europe	Asia	Total
South Africa	236	23	296	536	89	682
Libya	97	242	261	50	480	490
Egypt	30	78	117	29	343	383
Algeria	16	49	74	3	92	101
Other high HDI	46	10	66	70	43	128
Low HDI, Br	19	10	96	8	20	133
Low HDI, Fr	95	2	148	161	6	270
Low HDI, other	12	4	107	25	1	94
Total	551	418	1165	882	1074	2281

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