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Migration for Structural Transformation

CHAPTER 3

Contemporary labour migration

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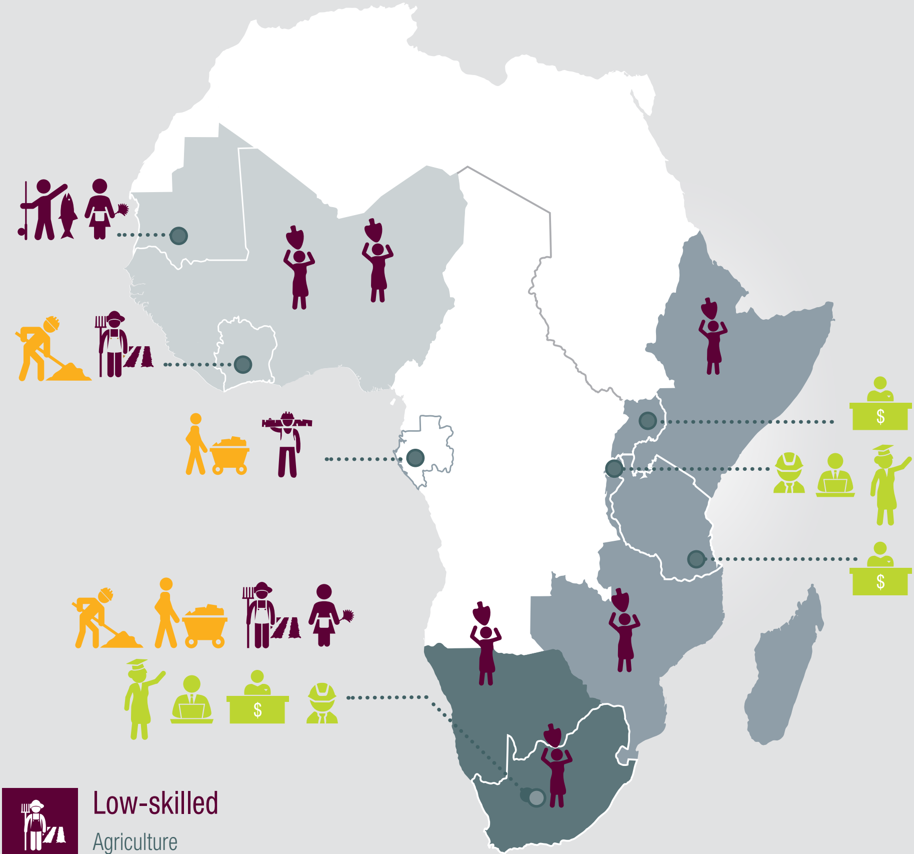
This chapter examines contemporary migrants, including low-skilled, semi-skilled or highly skilled migrants, and education levels, as well as seasonal and/or short-term migrant workers. In addition, this chapter explores the factors that drive persons to migrate, by drawing on data detailing household-level characteristics in a sample of countries in Africa. Finally, this chapter highlights the sectors in which migrants engage in regional labour markets in Africa and how economic migration can contribute to socioeconomic development in Africa.

MIGRANT OCCUPATIONS



Low-skilled

- Agriculture
- Domestic services
- Lumber
- Fishing
- Informal cross-border trade

Semi-skilled

- Construction
- Mining

Highly skilled

- Information technology
- Education
- Engineering
- Financial services

Migration can contribute to upskilling

Economic migration is a key feature of movements in Africa, characterized by relocations to key economic hubs for employment and other economic opportunities. Demand in sectors such as agriculture, mining and construction, which historically influenced such movements, remains an important driver of economic migration on the continent. Growing demand in domestic work, retail and hospitality, as well as in skill-intensive sectors such as finance, information technology and engineering, among others, is also an important driver of labour movements. Consequently, the migration of skills, whether low-skilled, semi-skilled or highly skilled migrants, has become a salient feature of contemporary intra-African economic migration. The growing importance of women's economic migration, with increasing volumes of women migrants, is also reflected in contemporary economic migration on the continent.

The first section provides an overview of the personal and household characteristics of contemporary economic migrants, drawing on microlevel data from two sets of comparable household surveys, those of the World Bank Africa Migration Project and of the Migrating Out of Poverty household surveys (see chapter 1), and examining the socioeconomic characteristics of migrants, including demographic profiles, education levels, ages and gender, in nine countries and highlighting key migration trends within and across regions on the continent. The second section provides an overview of the key corridors for economic migrants from these nine countries, along with key features of and trends in contemporary intra-African economic migration. It also examines the types of economic migration on the continent, including low-skilled, semi-skilled or highly skilled migrants, highlighting the sectors in which economic migrants in Africa engage. The role of migration recruitment agencies, which broker migrant employment, is also discussed. The concluding section discusses how economic migration can contribute to socioeconomic development and structural transformation both at home and abroad.

3.1 Economic migrants

In characterizing contemporary economic migrants in Africa, this section uses data from household surveys undertaken as part of the World Bank Africa Migration Project in 2009 in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda and from the surveys undertaken as part of the Migrating Out of Poverty project in 2013–2015 in Ethiopia, Ghana and Zimbabwe. The datasets of the latter focus on rural households, yet the two sets of surveys are comparable to the extent that they explore the diversity of migration patterns, both internal, or within a person's origin country, and international, or beyond the borders of a person's origin country, including neighbouring countries, other countries in Africa and extra-continental destinations, and also explore the reliance of households on migration to generate incomes and support livelihoods (see chapter 1). The results of the surveys provide useful insights on economic migrants and the nature of contemporary economic migration on the continent. However, owing to the small sample sizes in some countries, the findings presented are illustrative of the samples.

The nine countries vary considerably in their levels of economic development. Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Senegal, Uganda and Zimbabwe are low-income economies; Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria are lower middle-income economies; and South Africa is an upper middle-income economy. With regard to migration-related characteristics, Burkina Faso and Nigeria are among the top sending and receiving countries in Africa, respectively, and South Africa is the top migration destination in Africa (see chapter 2). Ethiopia and Kenya are also receiving countries, and the latter is host to a large refugee population. The geographical proximity of Senegal to Europe influences its outflows to the region. Uganda is a top receiving country and, as a landlocked country, its geographical location is an important determinant of migration to and from other countries in the region. Zimbabwe is a sending country and South Africa is a key destination for a large share of its outflows.

3.1.1 Economic migrant characteristics

Contemporary economic migration in Africa is men-dominated. The multivariate analysis of the factors associated with being a migrant generally suggests that women are less likely to migrate than men (see figures 12 and 13). Economic migrants in Africa in the nine countries under discussion are disproportionately men, yet there is a considerable gender divide in some countries with regard to internal migration (table 12). More than three quarters of internal migrants in Ethiopia, Ghana, South Africa and Uganda are men, roughly half of international migrants from Burkina Faso, Senegal and Zimbabwe are men, and almost half of international migrants from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Kenya and Senegal are women.

Table 12
Migrant destinations by gender
(Percentage)

	MEN	WOMEN	SHARE OF HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE SIZE	HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE SIZE
Burkina Faso (2010)				
Internal	40	57	42	909
International	60	43	58	1 244
				Total: 2 153
Ethiopia (2014)				
Internal	82	59	71	1 086
International	18	41	29	444
				Total: 1 517
Ghana (2013)				
Internal	93	97	94	1 191
International	7	3	6	71
				Total: 1 262
Ghana (2015)				
Internal	91	97	93	714
International	7	3	7	52
				Total: 766
Kenya (2010)				
Internal	56	52	55	1 203
International	44	48	45	1 002
				Total: 2 205
Nigeria (2009)				
Internal	72	81	75	2 486
International	28	19	25	815
				Total: 3 301
Senegal (2009)				
Internal	46	56	48	1 070
International	54	44	52	1 137
				Total: 2 207
South Africa (2009)				
Internal	84	83	84	302
International	16	17	16	58
				Total: 360
Uganda (2010)				
Internal	76	83	79	1 305
International	24	17	21	340
				Total: 1 645
Zimbabwe (2015)				
Internal	44	41	43	657
International	56	59	57	860
				Total: 1 530

Source: UNCTAD calculations, based on University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013.

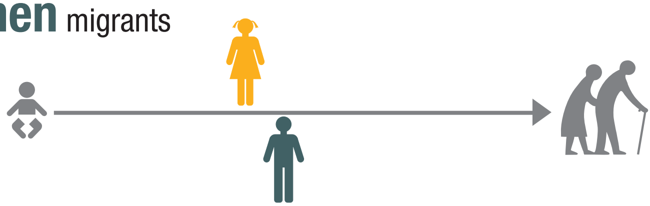
Notes: The surveys in Ghana captured few international migrants (see section 1.6.2). The figures on international migrants are therefore highly underestimated and cannot be used to infer the proportions of internal compared with international migrants.

With regard to marital status, a large share (65 per cent) of migrants from Ethiopia are single, including children, and migrants in the other eight countries are primarily married or cohabiting. The share of separated, divorced or widowed migrants is higher among women migrants compared with men, except for in Burkina Faso, and almost one quarter (23 per cent) of women migrants from Zimbabwe are separated, divorced or widowed (University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013).

3.1.2 Migrant age and duration of migration

The United Nations and ILO define youth as persons aged 15–24. Young people under 35 comprise a large share of the population of Africa, a characteristic reflected in migration patterns on the continent, and youth in sub-Saharan Africa have the largest share of those willing to migrate, at an estimated 38 per cent (ILO, 2016). This chapter adopts the national conventions of the countries under consideration. Contemporary economic migrants in Africa are primarily young people, who comprise large groups of the continent's labour market entrants. The median age of migrants from Africa, at 31 years in 2017, is lower than the global median of 39 years. In the nine countries under discussion, migrants comprise young people aged 18–35 who move within their countries, to other destinations in Africa and to extra-continental destinations for work and other economic opportunities, including for education. The high level of youth unemployment in Africa is a key driver of youth movements on the continent. In Northern Africa, youth unemployment, which peaked at 29.3 per cent in 2016, is a driver of extra-continental migration from AMU to Europe, and youth unemployment in sub-Saharan Africa, which reached 10.9 per cent in 2016, is a driver of intra-African and extra-continental migration (ILO, 2016).

Surveys reveal **women migrants** are **younger than men** migrants



With regard to demographic profiles, men migrants in the nine countries are, on average, older at the time of migration than women migrants, except for women migrants from South Africa, who are slightly older than men migrants at the time of migration (table 13). Women migrants from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Uganda are, on average, aged 18–21 at the time of migration. The multivariate

Table 13
Age of migrants at times of survey and of departure and duration of migration

	MEN			WOMEN		
	AGE AT SURVEY (YEARS)	AGE AT DEPARTURE (YEARS)	DURATION OF MIGRATION (MONTHS)	AGE AT SURVEY (YEARS)	AGE AT DEPARTURE (YEARS)	DURATION OF MIGRATION (MONTHS)
Burkina Faso (2010)	31.5	23.4	97	25.9	18.5	88
Ethiopia (2014)	26.6	23.3	40	23.7	20.7	36
Ghana (2013)	32	28.3	56	28.7	25.9	55
Ghana (2015)	28.6	27.2	36	26.4	24.5	32
Kenya (2010)	32.7	26.3	77	30.7	24.2	78
Nigeria (2009)	29.6	23.7	70	26.3	21.2	61
Senegal (2009)	35.2	27.8	88	30.8	23.5	87
South Africa (2009)	32.9	26.9	72	33.6	27.6	72
Uganda (2010)	29.5	23.5	71	27.2	20.9	76
Zimbabwe (2015)	36.6	33.1	42	33.6	30.9	39

Source: UNCTAD calculations, based on University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013.

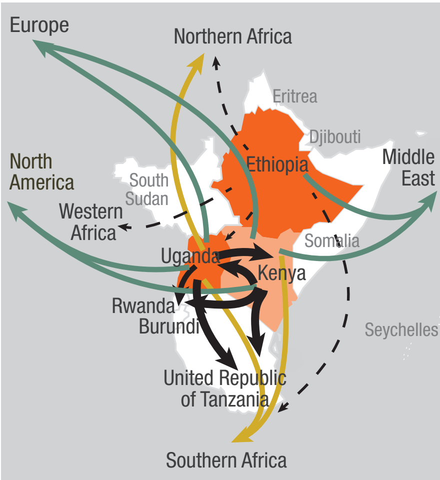
analysis of the factors associated with being a migrant suggests that younger people are generally more likely to migrate, possibly reflecting the transferability of skills that are less specific to location or sector.

Child labour migration remains a feature of contemporary economic migration on the continent. The Convention on The Rights of the Child defines a child as a person under 18. Child labour migration is reflected in the nine countries, yet its incidence in most of the countries is low. In the countries in which its share is relatively higher, it is characterized by children under 18 engaging in low-skilled and semi-skilled occupations in agriculture and domestic work and in the informal sector, with limited education opportunities and poverty levels in these countries may be possible drivers of migration. Africa has the highest incidence of child labour globally, at 19.6 per cent, compared with 9.6 per cent worldwide (ILO, 2017a).

With regard to duration of stay, the Migrating Out of Poverty surveys show that women migrants remain in destinations for a shorter duration, of 3–4 years, compared with men migrants, at 5–6 years. In contrast, the Africa Migration Project results show that, overall, migrants remain in destinations for longer durations, of 5–7 years, on average, with considerable variation in the duration of stay among women and men migrants. At the same time, there were notable changes in the migration dynamics in Ghana from 2013 to 2015, reflected in the increase in the number of households with a migrant in 2015, compared with 2013, which suggests that unemployment is a driver of migration to and from destination countries.

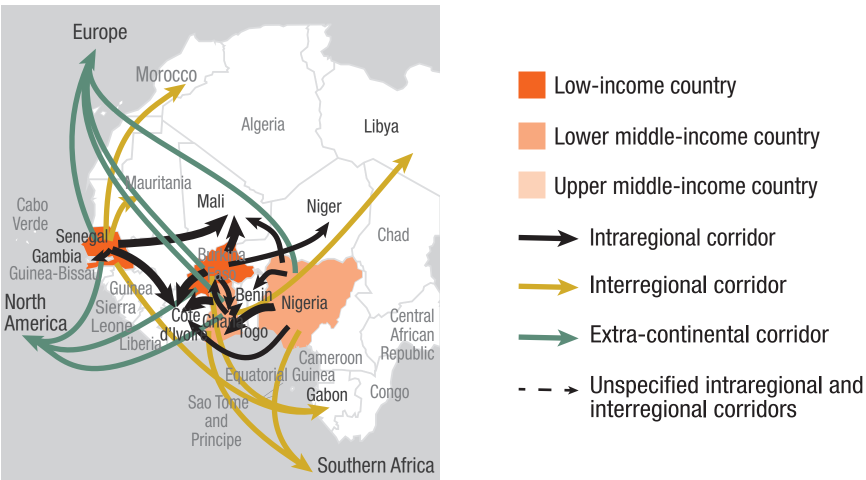
Figure 11
International migration corridors in selected regions

(a) Eastern Africa



(b) Southern Africa

(c) Western Africa



Source: UNCTAD elaboration, based on University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013.

3.1.3 Economic migration destinations

The key economic migration corridors from the nine countries under discussion are shown in figure 11, highlighting the heterogeneity in patterns, trends and dynamics. Besides internal movements to destinations within national borders, economic migration is also characterized by intraregional movements to destinations within regional economic communities, interregional movements to other regional economic communities and movements to extra-continental destinations.

Economic growth has significantly influenced migration flows within countries and to intra-African destinations. Internal migration is the dominant pattern of contemporary economic migration on the continent, yet intraregional and interregional migration are also important features of intra-African economic movements. Intra-African migration is primarily intraregional but also has regional economic community-level dimensions (see chapter 2). In 2017, the share of migrant stocks in regional economic communities in which the nine countries had membership were substantially higher than their interregional shares. Ethiopia and Uganda have relatively high shares of migrant stocks in CEN-SAD, possibly due to their geographical proximity to other countries in CEN-SAD (table 14).

Table 14

Shares of international migrant stock in regional economic communities, 2013

(Percentage)

	DESTINATION							
ORIGIN	AMU	CEN-SAD	COMESA	EAC	ECCAS	ECOWAS	IGAD	SADC
Burkina Faso	0.0	99.6	0.0	0.0	0.3	99.7	0.0	0.0
Ethiopia	1.2	87.5	87.9	24.2	0.0	0.0	94.6	3.4
Ghana	0.2	96.0	0.2	0.0	1.0	95.9	0.0	2.8
Kenya	0.2	2.7	55.7	68.3	0.7	1.4	52.1	43.6
Nigeria	0.7	67.0	5.0	0.0	26.8	62.3	4.2	5.9
Senegal	8.9	72.7	0.7	0.0	15.7	72.6	0.0	2.0
South Africa	0.4	0.9	30.2	0.6	28.6	1.0	0.2	98.2
Uganda	0.0	56.1	97.3	72.1	1.3	0.0	80.5	3.9
Zimbabwe	0.0	0.1	11.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	99.9

Source: UNCTAD calculations based on United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017a.

Note: Countries may have membership in more than one regional economic community.

In Western Africa, robust labour demand in agriculture and construction continues to fuel movements from Burkina Faso to Côte d'Ivoire, a significant economic corridor, and from Senegal to Côte d'Ivoire. In addition, trade is an important driver of migration from Nigeria to neighbouring Benin, Ghana and Togo, as well as to Côte d'Ivoire and Mali (table 15). The ECOWAS protocol related to free movement of persons, residence and establishment has facilitated migrant mobility within the region's labour markets.

Table 15
Intraregional and interregional migration destinations (for selected countries)

ORIGIN	INTRAREGIONAL DESTINATIONS	INTERREGIONAL DESTINATIONS
Burkina Faso	Côte d'Ivoire; Ghana; Mali; Niger; Togo (ECOWAS)	Gabon
Ethiopia	Unspecified (within IGAD)	Unspecified
Ghana	Burkina Faso; Côte d'Ivoire; Togo (ECOWAS)	Libya; South Africa; Zambia
Kenya	Rwanda; Uganda; United Republic of Tanzania (EAC)	Congo; South Africa; Sudan; Zimbabwe
Nigeria	Benin; Côte d'Ivoire; Ghana; Mali; Togo (ECOWAS)	South Africa; other unspecified destinations in Africa
Senegal	Côte d'Ivoire; Gambia; Mali (ECOWAS)	Gabon; Mauritania; Morocco
South Africa	Unspecified	Nigeria
Uganda	Burundi; Kenya; Rwanda; United Republic of Tanzania (EAC)	Sudan; South Africa
Zimbabwe	South Africa (SADC)	Unspecified

Source: UNCTAD, based on University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013.

Note: Data covers selected regional economic communities, as most States belong to more than one regional economic community, which affects the classification of movement as intraregional or interregional.

In Eastern Africa, growing labour demand in the region's diversified economies, notably in Kenya and increasingly in Rwanda, has been a driver of intraregional migration. Demand in services and trade has fuelled migration from Uganda to EAC partner States, in particular, Kenya, Rwanda and the United Republic of Tanzania, and from Kenya to Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania. The EAC protocol on the common market, with regard to the free movement of persons, along with the abolition of work permits by some EAC partner States, has facilitated mobility within regional labour markets.

In Southern Africa, contemporary economic migration has been influenced by multiple factors. Labour demand in the region's diversified economies, in particular Botswana and South Africa, remains an important driver of economic migration in SADC. Demand in commercial agriculture, mining, construction and, increasingly, services are significant drivers of most economic migration, including from Zimbabwe to South Africa, which is a significant corridor.

In the Horn of Africa, informal trade has been an important driver of economic migration, and demand in domestic services and construction in the Middle East continues to be a significant driver of extra-continental movements to the region.

Demand for labour in various **sectors** a **key driver** of intra-African **migration**

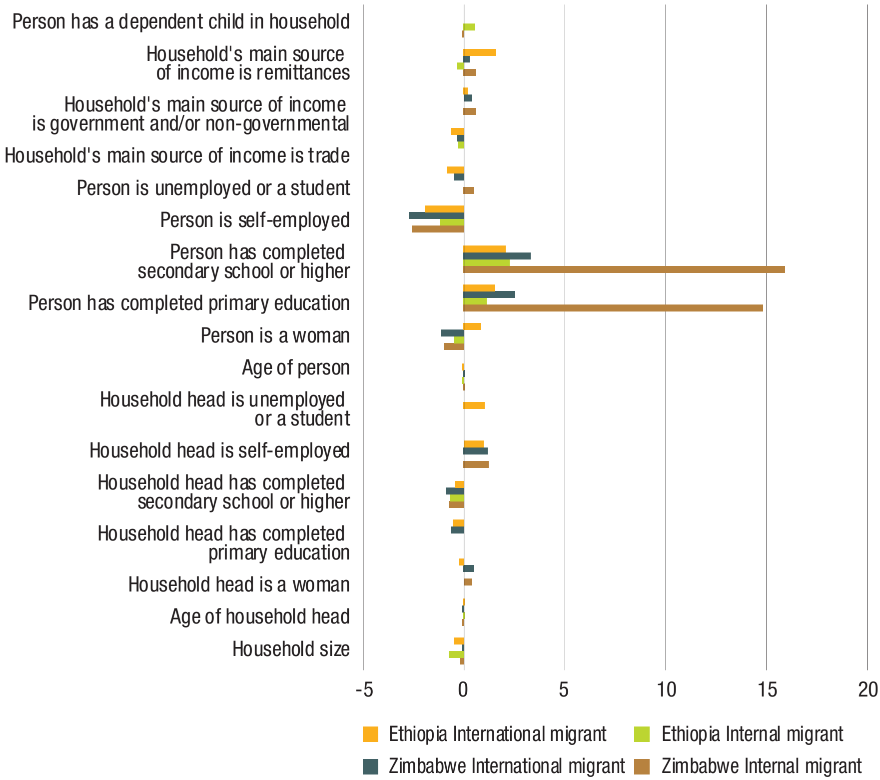
Contemporary interregional economic migration on the continent has been to economic growth hubs. Demand in the skill-intensive finance, education and information technology sectors and other sectors in South Africa has fuelled migration along the eastern corridor from Kenya and Uganda, and trade has been a driver of interregional migration from Eastern Africa to the Congo and the Sudan. Labour shortages in the agriculture and lumber sectors have fuelled interregional migration from Burkina Faso to Gabon, a key migration destination, as has demand in labour and skill-intensive sectors in South Africa, which has influenced low-skilled and highly skilled migration from Nigeria. In addition, in Western Africa, demand in agriculture, construction, fishing and mining has been a driver of interregional migration from Senegal to Gabon and Mauritania.

3.2 Migration, education and labour market outcomes in origin and destination countries

Skills are a salient feature of contemporary economic migration in Africa, are determined by education levels and significantly influence the prospects of migrants in the labour market. Higher levels of education allow for skills transferability to different sectors and increase a person's potential to earn higher incomes. Education level is an important determinant of a person's propensity to migrate, except when the head of household is well-educated, and also influences the mobility of migrants in destination countries (figure 12; box 1).

Figure 12

Ethiopia and Zimbabwe: Determinants of migration based on personal and household characteristics



Source: Litchfield et al, 2018.

Notes: The figure shows the logistic regression odds ratios of the probability of being an internal or international migrant compared with being a non-migrant. Positive or negative log odds ratios suggest that a given factor is associated with a greater or lower probability, respectively, of being an internal or international migrant compared with not being a migrant (see box 1).

This section examines the education levels of migrants in the nine countries under discussion and the deployment of various skills categories within regional labour markets in Africa, as well as key trends in skills categories and sectors of the economy that provide economic opportunities for migrants within and across regions.

Box 1 Modelling migration-related outcomes

The multivariate analysis presented in figures 12 and 13 explores the factors associated with the probability of whether a person is a migrant, modelling migration outcomes at the personal level. The analysis models the likelihood of a person's being a migrant with the following probit model, in which outcome variable is binary, equal to 1 if the person is a migrant and 0 if the person is not a migrant:

$$\Pr(M = 1)_{ihd} = \alpha + \gamma_1 X_{ih} + \gamma_2 H_h + \gamma_3 D_d$$

Where X_{ih} is the set of characteristics of person i in household h in district d, H is the set of household characteristics and D is the set of regional or district controls. The model specification includes the age, gender and education level of the migrant and a set of household characteristics. The correlations of migration type, that is, distinguishing between internal and international migrants, are also explored for Ethiopia and Zimbabwe with a multinomial logistic regression model with three possible outcomes, namely not a migrant, internal migrant and international migrant. The analysis clusters the models at the household level, to capture unobserved correlations across persons who belong to the same household, such as risk-taking attitudes.

Source: Litchfield et al (2018).

3.2.1 Migrant education levels

Migrant education levels vary considerably in the nine countries surveyed. Migrants in the three countries surveyed under the Migrating Out of Poverty project are slightly better educated and have higher levels of educational attainment than non-migrants (table 16). In Ethiopia, migrants are likely to have completed secondary school and tertiary-level education, compared with a higher share of non-migrants without formal education. In Zimbabwe, most migrants have completed secondary school.

Table 16
Ethiopia, Ghana and Zimbabwe: Migrant education levels
(Percentage of total migrant sample)

	NONE	SOME PRIMARY	COMPLETED PRIMARY	SOME SECONDARY	COMPLETED SECONDARY	HIGHER EDUCATION	OTHER
Ethiopia (2014)							
Non-migrants	36.2	16.3	24.9	14.0	2.6	1.7	4.3
Migrants	8.9	12.0	30.9	24.0	6.3	13.3	4.6
Ghana (2015)							
Non-migrants	31.6	14.5	5.7	20.2	14.0	4.6	9.4
Migrants	24.2	12.2	3.8	23.1	18.2	7.5	11.0
Zimbabwe (2015)							
Non-migrants	17.8	36.0	-	33.7	1.6	0.2	10.7
Migrants	0.7	4.0	-	20.0	64.3	2.8	8.1

Source: Litchfield et al, 2018.

Among migrants in the six countries surveyed under the Africa Migration Project, a large share of migrants in Burkina Faso and Senegal have low levels of education, with 63 and 60 per cent, respectively, having no formal education, and 25 and 18 per cent, respectively, having a limited education, of up to primary school level. Conversely, about two thirds of migrants from Nigeria (67 per cent) and South Africa (62 per cent) have higher levels of educational attainment, of at least secondary or tertiary school level.

Education levels among migrants in the nine countries correlate with the types of employment or economic activities undertaken. In Burkina Faso, for example, migrants with low levels of education are primarily engaged in agriculture or animal breeding, and migrants in Nigeria with higher levels of education are engaged in highly skilled occupations.

3.2.2 Highly skilled migrants

Highly skilled migration is a characteristic feature of contemporary economic migration in Africa and is a feature of economies in Africa irrespective of economic development level. The share of migrants in highly skilled occupations is shown in table 17. Small and low-income countries, as well as countries experiencing conflict and small island developing States, have higher rates of skilled emigration (Ratha, Mohapatra, Özden et al, 2011).

Table 17

Share of migrants in highly skilled occupations (managers, professionals and technicians and associate professionals) in origin and destination countries

(Percentage)

	IN ORIGIN COUNTRY	IN DESTINATION COUNTRY
Burkina Faso (2010)	2.2	3.2
Ethiopia (2014)	6.3	11.9
Ghana (2013)	9.4	8.5
Senegal (2010)	7.8	11.9
South Africa (2010)	25.2	29.9
Zimbabwe (2015)	16.1	14.7

Source: UNCTAD calculations, based on University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013.

Highly skilled migrants in Africa have a tertiary-level education and/or professional qualifications, and work as managers, professionals and technicians. Demand in skill-intensive sectors such as education, engineering, finance, management and information technology have been drivers of highly skilled migration in regional markets on the continent. In Southern Africa, labour shortages in finance, the largest sector in South Africa in terms of value added, have fuelled highly skilled migration from SADC partner States, in particular from Zimbabwe, and interregional migration from Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda. South Africa has historically granted work permits aimed at attracting highly skilled professionals from SADC partner States, as well as interregional migration, to address labour shortages in the highly skilled category, and has recently adopted a policy to raise immigration levels of highly skilled workers (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013a; see box 6).

Similar labour shortages in information technology, engineering, finance, hospitality and management in some regional markets in Eastern Africa have fuelled highly skilled migration from the region, including among young highly skilled professionals. Rwanda is a major destination for migrants from Kenya and Uganda and has attracted highly skilled professionals. Its burgeoning information technology sector has driven labour mobility among young highly skilled migrants from Kenya, who have taken advantage of economic opportunities in the sector, and demand in financial services and other skill-intensive sectors in Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania has also fuelled mobility among professionals from Kenya (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013a; IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013b). Mutual recognition agreements between various professional bodies within EAC allow for cross-border practices among professionals and entitle professionals from partner States in accounting, architecture, dentistry, medicine and engineering to the same treatment as nationals. Such agreements, along with the abolition of work permits by some EAC partner States, have been vital in facilitating labour mobility among highly skilled professionals within the region. Regional investment in economic sectors, besides creating labour demand in specific sectors, has also become an important driver of intraregional economic migration (box 2).

Besides generating employment and other economic opportunities, intraregional migration has contributed to economic growth in countries, while boosting regional economic development. The policy of Rwanda to attract investment from EAC partner States, which led to significant investments by Kenya in its financial services sector, has served as a catalyst for labour mobility from Eastern Africa (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013b). Intraregional economic migration to Rwanda has increased its labour supply in sectors with shortages, while contributing to the development of education, engineering, finance, hospitality and financial services through the exchange of skills (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific

Box 2 Kenya and Rwanda: Cross-border investment and economic migration

The abolition of work permit fees in 2013 for nationals of Kenya and Rwanda has allowed for labour mobility between the two countries. Labour legislation in Rwanda, which has provisions that allow citizens from EAC partner States to work in the country, and for granting work permits to foreign workers, along with the establishment of a temporary resident permit for semi-skilled workers, have been vital in facilitating labour migration, including among semi-skilled migrants. In addition, cross-border investment has been a catalyst for intraregional migration. The strategy of Rwanda to attract investment from EAC partner States and highly skilled workers, both of which are elements of its national migration policy framework, has helped to stimulate intraregional economic migration. Significant private investment by EAC partner States has contributed to business growth, generated employment and helped drive intraregional labour migration. Investment by Kenya in 2000–2014 in banking, construction, education, information and communications technologies and insurance and in the retail sector, contributed to the registration of 1,302 Kenyan businesses and the employment of almost 250,000 Rwandan and more than 2,000 Kenyan workers by 2014.

Significant investment by financial institutions from Kenya such as Equity Bank and KCB, which have established subsidiaries in Rwanda, has contributed to growth in financial services while fuelling highly skilled migration to the country, and the abolition by Rwanda of work permits for workers from Kenya has facilitated labour mobility among accountants and auditors. Investment by the retail franchise Nakumatt of Kenya, which opened stores in Rwanda in 2008, has helped to drive regional trade while generating employment in both countries. Similarly, investment by cross-border small and medium-sized enterprises in various sectors, including the automotive and construction sectors, as well as in services such as hospitality, has generated employment for Rwanda nationals while attracting semi-skilled migrants from the region. In the education sector, the establishment in Rwanda of branch campuses of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology and Mount Kenya University has fuelled the migration of highly skilled professionals, including academics and students from the region. The strategy of Rwanda to scale up the use of English as the language of instruction has provided an impetus for teacher recruitment from EAC partner States.

The strategy of Rwanda to boost cross-border investment, along with an enabling business environment, and comprehensive policies aimed at encouraging labour migration across skills categories, have thus been important drivers of intraregional economic migration.

Sources: Trade Mark East Africa (2014); The East African (2012).

Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013a; IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013b). In addition to promoting intraregional trade and sectors, regional investment can serve as a vehicle for fostering greater regional integration.

Wage differentials between origin and destination countries within and across regions have been a key driver of highly skilled mobility to South Africa, with substantial income disparities between South Africa and Zambia, for example, fuelling the migration of health professionals to South Africa (see Vujicic et al, 2004). Similarly, the prospect of earning higher incomes has been a significant driver of highly skilled interregional migration from Nigeria to South Africa (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013c).

Migrants in highly skilled occupations in selected destinations can readily transfer and use their professional skills in countries of destination. There is limited evidence of de-skilling, whereby due to a lack of recognition of professional qualifications in destination countries, migrants cannot find jobs commensurate with their skill levels. Highly skilled migrants tend to earn relatively high incomes in destinations. For example, skilled Nigerian migrants in Ghana and South Africa have household incomes that exceed the average professional household income in the two countries (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013c). Similarly, young professionals from Kenya in Rwanda, South Africa and the United Republic of Tanzania earn incomes that are relatively high by African standards (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013a).

There is some evidence that highly skilled women migrants have generally fared well in the labour market in South Africa, especially in managerial and professional positions (Migrating for Work Research Consortium, 2013), suggesting that career development has enabled some women to engage effectively and achieve positive outcomes in regional labour markets. Similar observations that highly skilled youth fare well in regional labour markets imply that with the requisite education and skills, and measures enabling some free movement to regions with labour shortages, migrants can achieve positive outcomes in regional labour markets.

As highly skilled migrants engage in skill-intensive sectors that boost economic productivity, harnessing their potential through well-managed migration mobility can be critical for economic development. Highly skilled migrants in sectors such as information and communications technologies, for instance, could play a role in fostering innovation. New economic activities generated within the sector through the development of start-ups and other knowledge-based activities could create additional employment in the local economy. Besides enabling entrepreneurship and stimulating job growth, such activities could generate knowledge and skills transfers and support the development of skill-intensive sectors. Other positive externalities for origin countries include technology flows.

However, there is some evidence of de-skilling. For example, 27 per cent of highly skilled migrants in Uganda work in semi-skilled positions in other countries in Africa (World Bank, 2013). Similarly, 16 per cent of young highly skilled migrants from Kenya with qualifications in management and tourism, among others, are unable to find employment in their professions in regional labour markets, suggesting a possible skills mismatch (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013a).

Negative externalities associated with highly skilled migration in Africa include brain drain, or the outflow of skilled human resources, with critical skills shortages in some sectors, along with the loss of investment in education and training, adversely affecting origin countries (UNCTAD, 2012). Some countries have taken steps to restrict highly skilled migration in sectors in which critical skills shortages as a result of emigration can adversely affect origin countries (Mwaniki and Dulo, 2008). The National Department of Health of South Africa, for example, prohibits the recruitment of foreign health-care professionals from developing countries, including from SADC partner States (Segatti, 2014). Highly skilled migration, however, can have a net positive impact on the demand for skills accumulation through higher education in origin countries, resulting in brain gain (Kone and Özden, 2017). In turn, the demand for skills accumulation can stimulate increased investment in education and contribute to a better educated domestic workforce (Docquier and Rapoport, 2012).

To reap benefits from migration, countries should address the constraints faced by highly skilled professionals. On the demand side, the lack of policy frameworks that recognize academic and professional qualifications in destination countries can hinder the ability of migrants to enter and effectively engage in regional labour markets, possibly contributing to de-skilling. Measures to harmonize skills, competencies and qualifications, implemented in EAC, ECOWAS and SADC, can allow highly skilled migrants to take advantage of economic opportunities in regional labour markets by addressing underlying issues of skills mismatches. In addition, the lack of portability of pensions and other benefits, as well as the retention in employment of highly skilled professionals in destinations, can constrain the engagement of migrants in the labour markets of destination countries. On the supply side, high costs associated with obtaining work permits, a constraint in some regions, can hinder the mobility of migrants in regional labour markets.

3.2.3 Semi-skilled migrants

Semi-skilled migration is a characteristic feature of contemporary economic migration in Africa. Sectors such as construction, mining and services, which have some barriers to entry with regard to education and the skills required to engage in the sector, attract semi-skilled persons, most of whom have a secondary school level of education and/or vocational training.

In Southern Africa, demand in labour-intensive sectors such as mining, construction and services, has been a key driver of semi-skilled migration. Despite its decline, mining in South Africa remains an important sector for semi-skilled migrants in SADC, although the share of international migrants from the region declined from 32 per cent of the workforce in 2006 to 22 per cent in 2012 (Migrating for Work Research Consortium (2013). Similarly, construction remains an important sector in South Africa for men migrants, with SADC partner States, in particular, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe supplying much of the labour. Bilateral labour agreements between South Africa and SADC partner States have facilitated the mobility of miners and construction workers to these sectors, while work permits granted to construction workers from Lesotho have facilitated access to employment in the construction sector in South Africa.

In the Horn of Africa, demand in manufacturing has been an important migration driver, with the development of the Eastern and the Bole Lemi industrial zones in Ethiopia fuelling internal migration among women who work in footwear, textile and garment production firms in special economic zones. Similarly, demand in construction generated by infrastructure projects in Ethiopia and in the Middle East has been an important driver of men's internal migration and extra-continental migration to the Middle East.

In Eastern Africa, services have become an important driver of semi-skilled migration. Semi-skilled migrants from Uganda, for example, have gained access to labour markets in Rwanda and the United Republic of Tanzania and fuelled interregional migration to South Africa and the Sudan. Demand in trades has been a significant driver of intraregional semi-skilled migration. For example, the temporary resident permit of Rwanda for semi-skilled workers enables such workers from countries in Eastern Africa to take advantage of opportunities in labour markets, including in small and medium-sized enterprises in Rwanda, and to find employment as motor vehicle mechanics, restaurant workers and beauty salon attendants (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2013b).

With regard to the experiences of semi-skilled migrants in regional labour markets, positive outcomes include possible skills upgrading, as reflected for example in the decline in the share of semi-skilled migrants from Senegal and South Africa (table 18) and the corresponding increase in the share of migrants from these countries in highly skilled occupations (see table 17). Similarly, the corresponding increase in the share of semi-skilled migrants from Burkina Faso in destination countries, most of whom were concentrated in low-skilled occupations prior to migration, implies upskilling and underscores the potentially positive effects of migration.

Table 18

Share of migrants in semi-skilled occupations (in skilled agriculture and fisheries, clerical work, crafts and related trades and as plant and machine operators and assemblers) in origin and destination countries

(Percentage)

	IN ORIGIN COUNTRY	IN DESTINATION COUNTRY
Burkina Faso (2010)	6.2	31.3
Ethiopia (2014)	3.8	10
Ghana (2013)	19.5	23.2
Senegal (2010)	77.8	59.7
South Africa (2010)	43.0	40.5
Zimbabwe (2015)	23.6	33.9

Source: UNCTAD calculations, based on University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013.

Semi-skilled migrants, who comprise a large share of international migrants in some countries, face constraints that hinder their mobility in regional labour markets. On the demand side, the lack of recognition of skills, competencies and academic and/or professional qualifications across regional labour markets can pose barriers to mobility, possibly resulting in de-skilling. In addition, restrictive immigration policies and the lack of work permits and visas targeting semi-skilled migrants can hinder regional mobility. The lack of legal protection for semi-skilled migrants in temporary unregulated employment, as casual labourers in construction and mining, can make workers vulnerable to exploitation and push them into illegal status in destination countries. On the supply side, costs associated with migration to regional destinations can be prohibitive and pose challenges for semi-skilled workers. Reducing barriers to mobility, including by extending the recognition and harmonization of skills, competencies and qualifications, including in vocational training, could substantially improve outcomes for semi-skilled migrants and allow them to take advantage of economic opportunities in regional labour markets.

3.2.4 Low-skilled migrants

Contemporary economic migration in Africa predominantly involves low-skilled migrants and is largely concentrated in sectors such as agriculture, domestic service and informal trade.

With regard to Western Africa, for example, a large share of low-skilled migrants from Burkina Faso, including children, work in agriculture in the region, in particular in Côte d’Ivoire. Similarly, a large share of migrants from Ghana, most of whom are internal migrants, are concentrated in agriculture, domestic service and informal cross-border trade, with women migrants dominating in the latter two categories. Multiple drivers influence low-skilled migration in the region. Demand in agriculture and domestic work drives internal and intra-African migration from the region, and porous borders between countries, a key feature of economies in the region, influence migration to the region. Domestic service has been an important driver of rural–urban migration among low-skilled women in Ghana, for example, and has also fuelled intraregional child labour migration among young girls aged 8–14 from Togo to Ghana and from Senegal and the Gambia to Mauritania (IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration, 2012). Similarly, women migrants that trade informally across national borders often buy and sell a variety of goods, including clothes and beauty products, such as women migrants from Ghana and Nigeria who sell cosmetics in Senegal (Andall, forthcoming).

In Southern Africa, low-skilled migrants from Zimbabwe have gained access to labour markets in SADC partner States. Commercial agriculture in South Africa, which has historically absorbed low-skilled migrants from SADC partner States, remains an important sector for such migrants. Despite the decline of the sector in recent years, commercial agriculture employs a large number of workers, many of them seasonal migrants from Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe (Munakamwe J and Jinnah Z, 2015). Increasingly, demand in services has been an important driver of intra-African labour mobility among low-skilled migrants. Domestic work, for instance, has generated economic opportunities for low-skilled women from Lesotho who work in South Africa, while demand in other services has become a significant driver of interregional low-skilled migration. With regard to informal cross-border trade in Southern Africa, 70 per cent is undertaken by women migrants and accounts for as much as 30–40 per cent of SADC trade (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2010). The interregional pattern of informal trade is characterized by informal traders from Eastern Africa, namely Ethiopia and Somalia, as well as from Middle and Western Africa, who have moved to the region to take advantage of opportunities in the services sector.

In the Horn of Africa, the high level of women's migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East is linked to the growing demand in domestic work, which has created economic opportunities for low-skilled workers. The multivariate analysis of migration suggests that women are generally less likely to be migrants and that women from Ethiopia, for example, when they migrate, are more likely to choose international destinations, reflecting the high demand for their labour in the domestic service sector in the Middle East (Litchfield et al, 2018). Similarly, in Eastern Africa, demand in domestic services and retail in the Middle East has become a significant driver of women's migration from Kenya and Uganda to the Middle East. Unlike other low-skilled migrants who tend to have low levels of education, women migrants from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda to the Middle East are often better educated. This trend is reflected in informal trade in EAC, which is increasingly absorbing young, relatively well-educated persons, including some with professional qualifications (Ogalo, 2010), reflecting a lack of economic opportunities in origin countries.

Migration can raise productivity, while offering low-skilled migrants opportunities for skills acquisition and upgrading. For example, the decline in the share of low-skilled migrants from Burkina Faso, Ghana and South Africa and the corresponding increase in the share of semi-skilled migrants from Burkina Faso and Ghana suggest possible skills upgrading (table 19). The transition of migrants from Burkina Faso, from low-productivity activities in agriculture to higher productivity occupations in plant and machine operations, which implies skills upgrading, underscores the positive effects of migration. At the same time, the transition of low-skilled migrants to other low-productivity sectors that presumably have higher returns to labour reflects positive outcomes in labour markets. For example, low-skilled migrants from Ghana may transition from agriculture to other low-skilled occupations in destination countries where they earn higher returns. Similarly, in some countries in Africa, child labour migrants transition from a low-productivity sector such as agriculture to other low-productivity activities in the informal economy, which presumably have higher returns to labour (Hashim and Thorsen, 2011).

Table 19

Share of migrants in low-skilled occupations (agriculture, domestic service and informal trade) in origin and destination countries

(Percentage)

	IN ORIGIN COUNTRY	IN DESTINATION COUNTRY
Burkina Faso (2010)	90.6	52.9
Ethiopia (2014)	40	57
Ghana (2013)	59.5	49
Senegal (2010)	6.7	11.2
South Africa (2010)	20.3	17.8
Zimbabwe (2015)	41.2	40.8

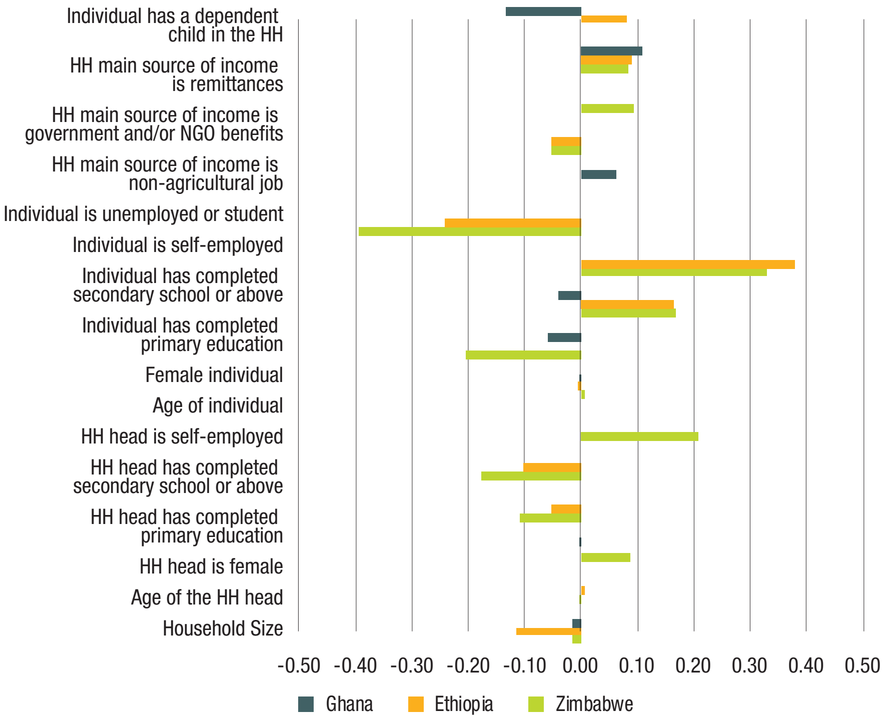
Source: UNCTAD calculations, based on University of Sussex, 2018, and World Bank, 2013.

Gender-related barriers create significant competitive disadvantages for low-skilled women migrants and can negatively impact their outcomes in regional labour markets. Family and care responsibilities in origin countries that are not always easily reconciled with employment options in destination countries, in addition to required logistical and care arrangements for children while providing financially for households, pose additional challenges to women migrants (Andall, forthcoming). The multivariate analysis suggests that care responsibilities are a deterrent to migration from Ghana, for example, but that when the prospects of significant remittances are high, for example for international migrants from Ethiopia, then migration levels may be higher for those with dependent children. Aspirations for children may therefore be an important factor in determining who migrates and to where they migrate (see figures 12 and 13).

Figure 13

Ethiopia and Zimbabwe: Change in probability of being a migrant based on personal and household characteristics

(Percentage)



Source: Litchfield et al, 2018.

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effects based on a probit model. Positive or negative values show the increase or decrease, respectively, in the probability of being a migrant (see box 1).

Addressing constraints for low-skilled migrants, most of whom work in labour-intensive sectors, can allow them to take advantage of economic opportunities in regional markets and contribute to regional economic development. On the demand side, a lack of formal contracts, decent working conditions and adequate social security and other benefits, which are pervasive in unregulated employment in commercial agriculture, domestic service, hospitality and the informal sector, can have detrimental outcomes for low-skilled migrants. Women migrants, who are disproportionately represented in domestic service and the informal sector in some countries, experience a lack of legal protection, and the informal nature of employment, often without benefits such as social security, pensions and worker's compensation can amplify vulnerabilities in destination countries (box 3). At the same time, poor trade facilitation, which increases transaction costs for informal cross-border traders, creates incentives for traders to circumvent non-tariff barriers such as time-consuming and inefficient customs formalities and complex technical requirements. In addition, due to a lack of mechanisms to safeguard the safety of migrants in destination countries, they often risk facing xenophobia and hostility from nationals.

Box 3 **Women migrants in the domestic services sector: Challenges and opportunities**

Domestic service is an important sector for migrants in Africa, with growing demand in the sector driving intra-African and, increasingly, extra-continental migration. With regard to regional distribution, Northern Africa has a higher share of migrant domestic workers as a share of all migrant workers (9.3 per cent), compared with sub-Saharan Africa (7.3 per cent), and Northern Africa also relies more on migrant domestic workers than sub-Saharan Africa. In Southern Africa, domestic work is largely dominated by women who migrate primarily from Lesotho to work in South Africa, and Lesotho–South Africa is a key corridor in this sector. Demand in domestic service in urban areas is a significant driver of rural–urban migration. In addition, adults comprise a large share of domestic workers, yet the widespread use of child labour, in particular of young girls, is a key feature of the sector. Besides its internal dimension, domestic service has an intraregional dimension that is dominant in Southern and Western Africa. In Southern Africa, low-skilled young women migrants, primarily from SADC partner States, dominate the domestic service sector in South Africa. In Western Africa, domestic service includes intraregional child labour migration among young girls aged 8–14, who migrate from Togo to Ghana. In recent years, the extra-continental dimension has grown in importance, with robust demand in domestic service in the Middle East driving women's migration from Eastern Africa, namely Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda.

The migration of low-skilled women in domestic service reflects growing poverty and a lack of economic opportunities in regions on the continent. In South Africa, the decline in mining and the corresponding decrease in men's migration, primarily from SADC partner States, resulting in a loss of incomes for households, has prompted the internal and intraregional migration of women from rural areas in search of wage employment, primarily in domestic service. Conversely, the fact that relatively well-educated migrants in Eastern Africa seek opportunities in domestic service in extra-continental destinations such as the Middle East may reflect the lack of economic opportunities in origin countries.

Box 3 *(continued)*

Social networks play an important role in facilitating mobility, yet formal recruitment agencies have become increasingly important in brokering employment in Africa and to extra-continental destinations (see section 3.2.5). In Africa, formal recruitment agencies that broker employment in domestic service provide a range of services, including training in child care, the care of the elderly, food preparation and housework, to prospective domestic workers prior to placing them with families. Formal, well-regulated migrant recruitment agencies provide pre-departure training and medical screening for domestic migrants seeking work in extra-continental destinations, to prepare them for work. Well-regulated agencies can reduce the uncertainties of migration and improve outcomes for migrants, yet unregulated migrant recruitment agencies, in particular, can be a source of exploitation of prospective migrants, through debt-financed migration and/or deception on the nature of work at the destination.

Challenges for domestic service workers include precarious employment characterized by a lack of formal contracts, as well as low wages, long working hours and a lack of benefits such as social security, pensions and worker's compensation. In South Africa, for example, the sector absorbs many international women migrants who often work without a contract, earn low wages (ranging from approximately $36 to $220 per month) and work long hours and without benefits. The lack of work permits for employment in private households in South Africa poses obstacles to international migrant workers in domestic service, who may be forced to work illegally, subject to deportation due to their unauthorized status. Immigration status, a key concern, in particular in countries where deportation is strictly enforced, has the potential to jeopardize the ability of women migrants to support their families and may lead to sexual exploitation by officials in return for preventing detention and deportation. Moreover, owing to their family and care responsibilities, women migrant heads of households often engage in complicated transnational arrangements to arrange for family care while they engage in domestic services.

Actions that have been taken to address the rights of domestic workers include the adoption of a code of conduct for domestic service employers by the Zambia Federation of Employers, which aims to ensure that employers assume a key role in the protection of workers. South Africa has ratified the ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189), which identifies the rights of domestic workers, including entitlement to a minimum wage, daily and weekly rest hours and employment conditions. In addition, Sectoral Determination 7 (2002) of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, on the domestic work sector, addresses employment rights. However, barriers to realizing better working conditions for domestic workers in South Africa remain, with key obstacles including a lack of institutional capacity to enforce labour laws and low levels of participation by international domestic workers in unions.

Recent developments, in particular recent bilateral labour agreements between Governments in Africa and the Middle East, including between Kenya and the United Arab Emirates (2015) and between Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia (2017), which aim to facilitate the recruitment of domestic workers to work in the Middle East, highlight the growing demand in the sector outside of Africa.

Sources: Andall (2000); Andall (forthcoming); Awumbila et al (2017); Crush et al (2010); ILO (2015); ILO (2017b); IOM and African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States Observatory on Migration (2012); Kiwanuka et al (2015); Lefko-Everett (2007).

On the supply side, costs associated with migration can be prohibitive for low-skilled workers (ILO, 2017b), posing challenges for migrants, including for low-skilled women seeking opportunities in domestic service in extra-continental destinations. Migrants may offset such costs by raising funds through gifts from family and friends, savings and loans and by selling off assets, as suggested by the findings of the surveys undertaken as part of the Migrating Out of Poverty project. A lack of work permits and visas targeting low-skilled migrants not only hinders their mobility in regional labour markets, but is likely to push them into irregular status. Moreover, while demand in low-skilled sectors creates employment opportunities for men and women migrants, women are less likely to migrate than men. Gender-related barriers that create significant competitive disadvantages for women migrants, lower levels of education and higher levels of risk aversion, as well as difficulty in balancing family and care responsibilities, contribute to their lower propensity to migrate (Andall, forthcoming; Litchfield et al, 2018; see figure 13).

Harnessing the potential of semi-skilled and low-skilled migrants through well-managed migration mobility can be critical for regional economic development. Besides generating significant economic benefits in local communities in terms of incomes earned and other revenues accrued from economic activities, other positive externalities include the potential to generate revenues for Governments through taxes derived from migrant incomes and from other revenues. Moreover, the transition of migrants from low-value sectors and activities to higher value-added sectors in the economy, beyond increasing their productivity through skills upgrading, could boost economic growth. In addition, as poverty is a driver of migration from poor households, remittances from low-skilled migrants, on which their households depend, are critical to spreading risk and offsetting income shocks, and can have a substantial impact on alleviating poverty.

3.2.5 Migration recruitment agencies

Recruitment agencies play an important role in facilitating migration. Besides brokering the recruitment and placement in employment of prospective migrants, such entities also provide information and, in some cases, employment-related training and pre-departure training and medical screening for international migrants, with the aim of preparing them for work in destination countries. In Zambia, for example, as part of employment placement, recruitment agencies place prospective domestic workers in centres that are strategically located next to childcare centres, to enable them to acquire employment-related skills. However, this can also lead to exploitation, if workers are induced to provide free labour under the guise of training (Andall, forthcoming).

Labour brokerage is a key feature of migration, including in Africa, yet its precise nature and scope on the continent are unknown. In Ghana, for example, recruitment agencies in domestic service range from formally registered entities, with a licence to operate, to formally registered unlicenced agencies and unregistered and unlicenced informal brokers and subagents (Awumbila et al, 2017). In Kenya, recruitment agencies, most of which broker employment in international destinations, have proliferated as a result of growing demand in domestic work, security, logistics and retail in the Middle East (ILO, 2017b). In South Africa, recruitment agencies that broker permanent or temporary employment in the country, as well as to international destinations, are widespread.

Well-regulated recruitment agencies can help prospective migrants negotiate better pay or working conditions and reduce information asymmetries and other risks associated with migration, thereby improving migrant outcomes in destination countries. Yet if migration recruitment is loosely regulated, recruitment agencies can be a source of exploitation of prospective migrants. Common unethical practices include deception on the nature and conditions of work at the destination and illegal wage deductions and debt bondage linked to high processing fees often charged to prospective migrants (ILO, 2017b).

The regulation of recruitment agencies is critical not only to ensure the ethical and fair recruitment of migrants, but also to improve their welfare in destination countries. Stipulating employment conditions and earnings in formal contracts can be critical in safeguarding migrant welfare and as part of achieving a decent work agenda. Recent efforts have been made by Governments in Eastern Africa to regulate international labour recruitment, including by temporarily banning the recruitment of migrant domestic workers. Strengthening the role of national trade unions, such as the Ghana Trades Union Congress in order to support the local Domestic Services Workers Union, as well as deploying labour attachés in international missions, can be vital in safeguarding migrant rights. In addition, ratification of the ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189), which identifies the rights of domestic workers, and has not yet been ratified by countries in Africa except for South Africa, could contribute to improving outcomes for migrants.

3.3 Conclusions

This chapter shows that contemporary migrants in Africa include men, women and youth, as well as children, who move primarily within the continent, except for migrants from Northern Africa, for work and to seek economic opportunities. Contemporary migrants are predominantly men, yet women migrants have increasingly become important participants in economic migration on the continent. With regard to skill levels, contemporary migrants comprise low-skilled, semi-skilled and highly skilled labour, and most of their movements are intraregional and interregional, in response to labour demand in various economic sectors.

The average international African migrant is a young man of 31 years of age, for whom limited economic opportunity in the origin country is a key driver of migration, and who seeks economic opportunities in other countries in Africa, and in extra-continental destinations.

Regional policy frameworks address underlying issues that hinder the mobility of highly skilled migrants in regional markets, such as the recognition of skills and academic qualifications, yet the lack of comparable measures and of visas and work permits aimed at low-skilled and semi-skilled migrants constrains their mobility in regional labour markets.

Well-managed migration could more effectively allocate labour from areas with excess supply to those with shortages and can play a vital role in promoting economic growth and driving structural transformation on the continent. Besides allowing migrants with varying skills to take advantage of economic opportunities in regional labour markets, well-managed migration can also help alleviate youth unemployment. In addition, well-managed migration can foster social inclusion by ensuring that women, most of whom are concentrated in low-skilled occupations, can earn incomes that improve their livelihoods and lift them out of poverty.

Economic growth in Africa is crucial in order to generate demand for labour for migrants. Growth in labour-intensive sectors such as agriculture and services, which have strong absorptive capacities for low-skilled migrants with limited levels of education, can create significant employment paths out of poverty. With rapid urbanization in Africa fuelling demand in housing and other infrastructure, prospects for growth in the construction sector appear promising. Growing demand in this sector could generate employment for semi-skilled and highly skilled migrants, while demand in services subsectors such as agriprocessing and light manufacturing could also create employment for semi-skilled persons. With the relatively high barriers to entry with regard to the technical skills demanded in these sectors, secondary-level education and/or vocational training at post-secondary levels is critical for semi-skilled occupations.

Demand in finance, engineering and information technology, in addition to generating employment for highly skilled migrants, including youth, if met, can promote innovation and yield positive spillovers in other productive sectors in local economies. Given the high barriers to entry in skill-intensive sectors, tertiary-level education and/or other professional qualifications are a prerequisite for occupations requiring high skill levels. Investment in human capital development in vocational training and in tertiary education in origin countries is critical in ensuring adequate skills development that can meet the needs of regional labour markets.

The next chapter focuses on intra-African migration and structural transformation.