Re-Think Migration in Africa: The Current Geopolitical Challenges of Migration

Hamid Semri[1]; Mostafa Yahyaoui[2]; Souad Jobayr[3]; Youssef Elkartite[3]; Abdelfattah Harouch[3]; Abdelhak Achramti[3]; Elhoussaine Barik[3]; Mohammed Triss[3]; Hassan Eloumadan[3]; Fatima Ezzahraa Khirchi[3]; Hajar Khirchi[3]; Nouhaila El Gounch[3]; Said El Maich[3]; Adil Merrzak[3]; Mohamed Iyass[3]; Salah El Amrani[3]

[1] PhD Student in Geography, Faculty of Letters and Humanities Mohammedia, Hassan II University, Laboratoire de Recherche Interdisciplinaires en Sciences Humaines et Sociales Mohammedia (LARISHS), Morocco

[2] Habilitated Professor in Political Geography and Public Policy Evaluation, Faculty of Letters and Humanities Mohammedia, Hassan II University, Laboratoire de Recherche Interdisciplinaires en Sciences Humaines et Sociales Mohammedia (LARISHS), Morocco

[3] Students of the Master "Urban Dynamics, Governance and Social Change in Africa", Mohammedia Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Hassan II University, Morocco

E-mail: hamid.semri-etu@etu.univh2c.ma

Abstract

This study is part of the field of political and social geography and African studies. Its aim is to address the current geopolitical issues (migration policies, migration systems and dynamics, forms of otherness, clandestine migration and different routes, the role of borders in migration as a geostrategic tool) of migration in Africa. To bring scientific rigor and clarity to our study, we draw on both methodical approaches from social and political geography, life stories, ethnographic observation and various documentary sources. Reflection on the current migratory situation in Africa leads us to discuss the impact of the colonial era on the continent through colonial economies centered essentially on the exploitation of African natural resources such as minerals, rubber and cotton. This reality has engendered, on the one hand, an African migratory system represented by the migration of labor from rural regions to economic centers, creating demographic and economic imbalances within African countries; and on the other hand, a migratory system between colonizing countries and colonized countries. It's true that Africa is a continent of glaring disparities. It's a multi-ethnic, plural space that conceals flagrant socio-spatial inequalities, which are becoming increasingly acute. This area of the world becomes a space of paradoxes par excellence, insofar as wealth and poverty are intertwined. As a result, the spatial injustice between North and South generates a great deal of frustration among Africans, and has an impact on the construction of a hopeful migration project. Moving elsewhere offers would-be migrants the right to dream, rebuild their lives and shape their values. This ultimate goal is made possible by cosmopolitanism

and the desire to discover a different culture. In the current context, Morocco is becoming a new frontier for Europe. Its geographical and geostrategic position makes it both a place of transit and residence. Indeed, moving there or leaving generates new urban dynamics in Moroccan cities, creating new forms of otherness between migrants and locals. Such mobility generates ephemeral, relocated territorialities that shape the urban landscape of African cities, in this case Moroccan cities. Migration is a highly complex phenomenon, involving individuals and their societal lives on the one hand, and states and their integration policies on the other. Indeed, dealing with the issue of migration in its political, economic, social, cultural and diplomatic dimensions is a necessity, and raises a legitimate question: how can we think about the geopolitical stakes of migration in Africa? To answer this major question, we propose a two-point plan. The first section will address current migration dynamics in Africa. The second deals with migration policies in Africa and future challenges in Africa and in third section, we will look at the future challenges of migration in Africa.

Keywords: *Africa; Migration; Geopolitical Issues; Migration Policies; Urban Dynamics; Morocco*

Introduction

The Colonial Paradigm: Division and Rules

The reflection on the current migration situation in Africa has leads us to discuss the impact of the colonial era on the continent through colonial economies that are centered essentially on the exploitation of African natural resources such as minerals, rubber and cotton. Indeed, the European powers of the time sought to extend their influence, exploit Africa's abundant natural resources and establish markets for their manufactured goods. However, these imperialist ambitions often resulted in lasting negative consequences on the African population. European colonialism was founded on the doctrine of the private space.[1] The main motive of the Europeans was, first and foremost, to search for energy and mineral resources. However, as the colonial process progressed, European states adopted the cultural paradigm. In this sense, French colonialism was founded on cultural assimilation. French culture was disseminated and remained after decolonization, which explains the development of a totally Frenchized indigenous elite, adopting the French way of life and values. British colonialism was the least centralizing of all European colonialism. Based on the principle of indirect government.[2] Colonialism is thus distinguished as a process involving the settlement of overseas lands from a European metropolis; as for these empty or semi-empty lands, this process brings a foreign culture and technology leading to the assumption of new and different forms of spatiality.[3]

Borders drawn by colonial powers, often disregarding the local ethnic and cultural realities, would create artificial nations, exacerbating tensions and conflicts between ethnic groups. Colonial practices such as economic exploitation, forced labor and the suppression of traditional institutions have had long-term consequences on the socioeconomic development of many African countries. The division of Africa meant that the human frameworks of the new states were not homogeneous, resulting in a series of active or underlying conflicts due to the partitioning of ethnic groups on either side of superimposed international borders. Despite the independence of many African countries, the scars of colonial domination are still evident in persistent socioeconomic inequalities, corruption and internal conflicts such as the civil wars in Sudan and Nigeria[4], while security issues remain paramount in a number of

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[1] Sanguin, A.L. (1977). *La géographie politique*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, p 150
[2] Ibid, p150
[3] Ibid, p149
[4] Philippe, H. (2006). *Conflits armés, insécurité et trappes à pauvreté en Afrique*. Dans Afrique contemporaine Afrique contemporaine, 2 (n° 218)2006/2 (n° 218), pages 33-47 Éditions De Boeck

countries. Civil war continues to weigh heavily on the situation in South Sudan, and the violence engendered by the general elections in Burundi. In addition, acts of violence perpetrated by Boko Haram and other rebel groups have multiplied in a region covering Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria and Chad, but also in Kenya and Mali, hampering the progress of many African countries.[5]

Colonialism has deepened the socio-spatial inequalities between different geographical scales in Africa: village-city, city-city, and region-region and between states. State independence was poorly achieved, as political and economic dependence on the colonizing countries is still evident in the African political landscape. In addition, there are the obstacles posed by a lack of infrastructure and a low level of education.[6] The average level of education remains low compared to other regions of the world, and access to education and health care remains limited for certain demographic groups due to the lack of means to pay for these services, as well as geographical access difficulties, particularly in rural areas. African states are therefore faced with an ongoing dilemma: the confrontation of colonial effects and the need for a sustainable development model. This paradox hampers any public action in the field of development. Other structural characteristics of sub-Saharan African countries also seem to be correlated with greater inequality. The region's persistently high fertility rate limits the percentage of the population of working age, delaying the expected "demographic dividend" that should reduce inequality. High levels of income and wealth inequality can be a source of sociopolitical instability and poor governance, and therefore a deterrent to private investment (Bardhan, 2005). Added to this are the effects of climate change on the economies of African countries, which influence development policy decisions. As a result, this complex reality has created a marginal African space.[7] The marginal here is that which is on the edges, at the ends and at the limits. Marginality in Africa is the result of various socioeconomic, sociopolitical and colonial criteria.[8] This African marginal space has created backward zones characterized by a certain interplay of productive forces and social groups. Such paradox has produced, on the one hand, an African migration system (South-South) represented by labor migration from marginalized rural and urban areas to economic centers, creating demographic and economic imbalances within African countries; and, on the other hand, a migration system (South-North) represented by mobility from colonizing countries to colonized countries.

The Reality of Migration in Africa: Two Contradictory Landscapes

On the one hand, the African continent is characterized by the variety of its natural resources and the weight of its youth, and on the other by the poor management of these resources. Poor governance makes the continent economically and politically unstable in many countries. This contradiction has contributed to an obsession among potential migrants with a bitter search for better living conditions. This search for a stable, productive life involves a number of migration strategies: clandestine, study, trafficking or visa. The destination changes according to the priorities of the candidates and the circumstances of the migratory journey. And faced with successive waves of sub-Saharan migration to the Maghreb countries, European migration policies have outsourced their European borders to these Maghreb countries. The sedentarization of migration in Nord of Africa remains the main motive for these European policies. The application of these policies has been spatialized through "Frontex", the European Agency for External Borders, and notably through bilateral agreements with so-called "source" countries of migrants.[9] Libya, which has become one of the main transit countries, particularly towards Italy, has tightened its border controls since the spring of 2009 and the entry into force of a diplomatic agreement

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[5] Fonds monétaire international, (2015 Octobre). *Perspectives économiques régionales, Afrique subsaharienne Faire face à un environnement qui se dégrade*, p.p. 55-67

[6] Ibid, p.p. 55-67

[7] Georges, C. (1985). *Jalons pour une géographie de la marginalité en Afrique Noire*. L'espace géographique, n°2, 1985, p.p.139-150

[8] Ibid, p141

[9] Harzoune, M. (2010). « *Les deux visages de l'Afrique* ». Hommes & migrations, 1286-1287 |, p4

with Silvio Berlusconi's government. All these upheavals are redrawing the map of Mediterranean migration. Flows have shifted eastwards, and the new gateway to Europe is now Turkey.[10] In another context, Morocco has become Europe's policeman. Morocco plays a strategic role in Spain's and the European Union's efforts to curb immigration from sub-Saharan Africa. This country has participated in numerous EU-sponsored initiatives to control the southern Mediterranean border. This has a cost on the political and economic stability of the Maghreb countries. As a result, Morocco and Libya are obliged to manage this complex migration situation. Such migration management requires a great deal of capital investment: financial, social and diplomatic. However, such management remains somewhat ambiguous, as the legal literature on immigration in Morocco tries to disempower the situation of migrants by adopting the term "transit". Whereas the sedentarization of migrants in Morocco means a different migratory situation. The new popularity of the term transit is curious, given that migrants did not seem to be transiting through Morocco, but rather found themselves in a contradictory migratory landscape: transiting Morocco to reach Europe, or sedentarization and consequently being immobile in Morocco.[11]

Methodology

To bring scientific rigor and clarity to our study, we draw on two methodical approaches of analysis: social geography, which is concerned with social practices and representations, and more broadly with the lived experiences that are inseparable from social relationships; and political geography, which studies the interaction between geographical areas and political processes, taking into account the correlation between space and power. In addition, the approach of political geography, which studies the interaction between geographical areas and political processes, with regards to the correlation between space and power through oppositions such as equilibrium-disequilibrium, stability-instability, aggregation-dispersion, high-low and centralization-decentralization.[12] Finally, various sources, notably reports, official documents and international agreements.

Results and Discussion

1. **Current Migration Dynamics in Africa**

Historically, Africa has been a region of intense mobility, taking a variety of forms, destinations and rhythms. These migration dynamics are mainly driven by political, economic, socio-cultural and family factors. African migration varies according to the profile of the actors involved, their motivations, and their push and pull factors. Migration dynamics in Africa also differ according to the continent's regions.

1.1. **Migration in East, Southern and West Africa: A Historical Overview**

The pioneers of migration in Eastern and Southern Africa were the Bantu ethnic group, who migrated from the Congo to the Niger Delta basin in present-day Nigeria. They were followed by the Luo ethnic group from Bahr el Ghazel in southern Sudan and the Ngonis of southern Africa. The Bantu migration is considered one of the largest in human history. Likewise, the regions of eastern and southern Africa maintained dense trade links with other countries of ancient cultures and civilizations, such as Persia, China, India and Arabia. This interaction between the regions of East Africa, Southern Africa and other regions outside the continent stems largely from the network of maritime trade. The influence of

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[10] Ibid, p5

[11] Stock, I. (2019). *Time, Migration and Forced Immobility, Sub- Saharan African Migrants in Morocco*. Bristol University Press, p2

[12] Bailly, A & al. (1991). *Les concepts de la géographie humaine*. MASSON, Paris Milan Barcelone Bonn, p55

these distant countries can be seen today in the language, architecture and culture of these regions. Similarly, Ki-Swahili, the language of the coastal regions of East Africa, contains words borrowed from Persian and Arabic. In other words, the history of migration to Southern Africa has undergone structural changes that can be traced back to one focal point: the modernization of the South African economy has resulted in a large number of redundancies, now numbering in the thousands in the mining, agricultural and industrial sectors.[13] The mobility of populations within and outside the regions of East and Southern Africa has been achieved for a variety of reasons, which range from one era to another. In Southern Africa, the mining workforce was mainly destined for South Africa, the plantations of Zimbabwe and Botswana. It also came from neighboring countries such as Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and Zambia.[14] In East Africa, labor laws during the colonial era would have imposed circulatory migration patterns with zones divided into production and reproduction. As a result, many African families in the sub-region were transferred to labor reserves, where men were recruited to work in towns and on plantations.

For some sending countries, current migratory movements are based on long-established traditions of regional labor migration, destined for the mines and plantations. While other countries in the region, such as Angola, South Africa and Botswana, have often been considered as destination countries for these migrants. While other countries, such as Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo, have been considered as countries of departure.

The East African region, like other parts of the African continent, has a long history of population mobility for a variety of reasons. On the one hand, there have been mobility motivated primarily by the search for work, between East African countries and towards other African regions, for example, in plantations (cotton and coffee in Uganda), mining (Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda) and seasonal movements of pastoral communities in Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya. On the other hand, mobilities produced because of civil and political conflicts, natural disasters such as drought, and cross-border mobilities by ethnic groups that have been separated by colonial demarcations.

Table 1: Intra-African migration, excluding North Africa, year 2017

Origin, 2017 estimates	Destination (percentage)			
	East Africa	Central Africa	Southern Africa	West Africa
East Africa	82,0	15,1	60,0	0,1
Central Africa	17,0	66,4	8,3	2,6
Southern Africa	1,0	1,9	29,7	0,0
West Africa	0,2	16,6	2,1	97,3

Source: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2017

These population mobilities are mainly fueled by a variety of reasons such as wars, conflicts arising from political upheavals and ethnic tensions. However, the search for employment and a better economic life are also migratory reasons for populations in this region.

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[13] Wa Kabwe-Segatti, A. (2006). *Migrations en Afrique austral : Levier de la Renaissance ou facteur d'inégalités ?*, Transcontinentales, 2 / 2006, p5

[14] Flora Mndeme Musonda (2006). *Migration Legislation in East Africa, International Labour Organization*
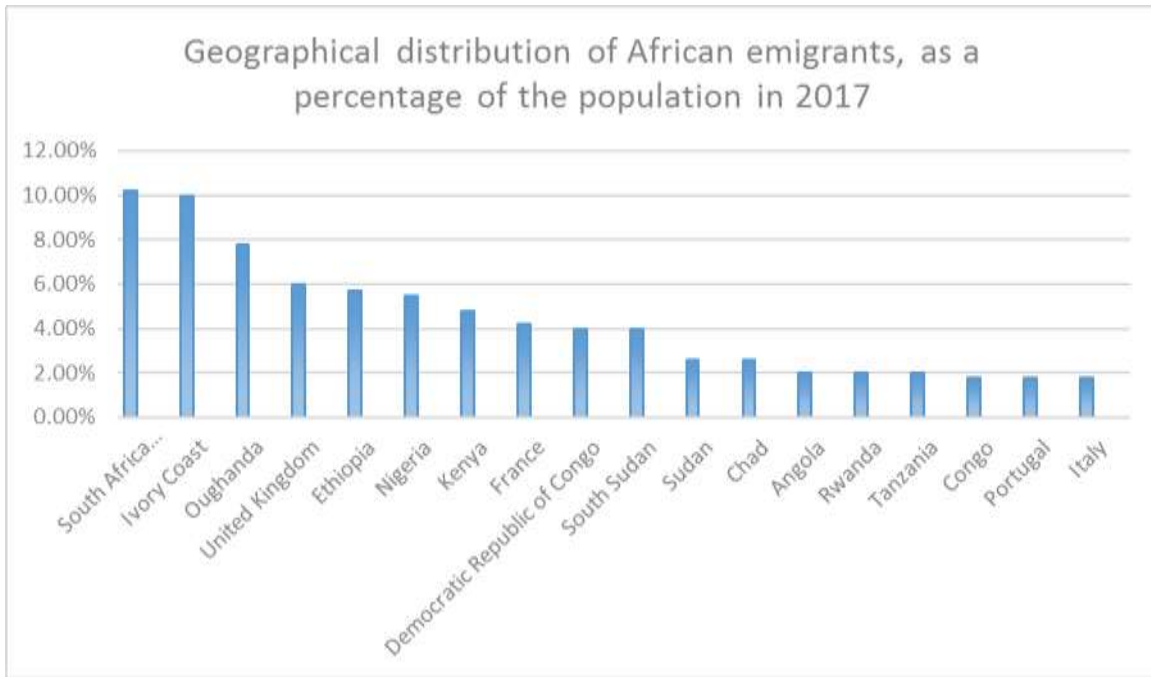
Figure 1: Geographical distribution of African emigrants, as a percentage of the population in 2017
Source: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2017

Graph 1 shows that the most popular destination for African emigrants on an intra-African scale is South Africa. In other words, the number of migrants on the continent increased from 15.6 million in 1990 to 18.6 million in 2013, representing just 8% of total migration. The African emigration rate is 2.4%, compared with 5.7% in Latin America and 5% in Europe.[15]

1.2. Emigration in North Africa: The Case of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia: A Changing Migration Dynamic

Morocco is at the crossroads of trans-Mediterranean mobility from all horizons. Migration from this country has diverse characteristics. It is mainly concentrated in Europe. While France is the leading destination for Moroccans, Spain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, for example, are not far behind. This migration has begun during colonization, as a form of labor migration. It was experienced as periodic expatriation (seasonal, short-term or other mobility) or long-term expatriation. But this migration was not governed by specific laws. With independence, it developed within the framework of agreements between Morocco and the destination countries.[16] As a result, every European country, following agreements, asked for Moroccan labor: France had the Souss (southern Morocco), Holland had the Rif (northern Morocco), Italy had the central Atlantic plain, whose capital is Fkih Bensaleh. At that time, migrants were workers for a given period. But following the 1973 oil crisis, unemployment hit unskilled labor, and Western European countries closed their borders to this category of migrants. This closure of borders and the introduction of family reunification encouraged both long-term settlement and a move away from the idea of returning home, and on the other hand, the production of irregular migration.[17] Indeed, given the high level of youth unemployment, the continuing appeal of Europe and the country's proximity to the European coast, particularly Spain, Morocco has a large number of its own nationals

[15] Zaheera, J. (2016). *L'Afrique du Sud face aux migrations économiques*. Dans politique étrangère, 1 (Printemps), p 55

[16] Naîr, S. (1998). ''La politique de codéveloppement liée aux flux migratoires''. in Hommes et Migrations n° 1214, p. 50.

[17] Naîr, S. (2008). ''Codéveloppement et flux migratoires''. In Migrations Société n° 117-118, p. 72

living illegally in Europe. It should also be noted that during the decade 2000 a considerable increase in irregular migration flows was recorded. In this respect, the phenomenon of "*harragas*" (undocumented migrants) is taking on unprecedented proportions, exposing even more people to danger.[18]

In Algeria, a number of researchers and specialists in Algerian migration have stated that detailed analysis of the characteristics of Algerian emigration in terms of demographics, the diversity of destination countries and integration into the labor market is fraught with statistical and methodological difficulties. However, they recognize that this migration has its own specificity in terms of its relationship with the colonizing country, France. Considered a French overseas territory, Algeria's early migration to France dates back to the middle of the 19th century. Neither French nor foreign until 1962, Algerians were in turn "indigènes", "sujets français" and then "Français musulmans d'Algérie", before becoming Algerian migrants in their own right.[19] Algerian migration is not really inter-Maghrebi, representing just 1.69% of Algerians living abroad. Figures, not very precise, indicate that 20,000 settled in Morocco and 10,000 in Tunisia between 1990 and 2013. These Algerians represent the largest foreign communities in both countries. They benefit from the opportunities offered by the law of establishment in the Maghreb.

The civil war (1991-2001) combined with the social and economic crisis (unemployment, drop in oil prices, which remains the country's main source of income, corruption scandals, precarious security situation and protest movements, etc.) has fueled the migration phenomenon. While Europe, and France in particular, remained to be the main destination for Algerian migrants, with regard to other destinations, such as North America, notably Canada, which is welcoming a significant number of Algerians, following the political restrictions put in place by Europe.[20]

Algeria is also faced with the migration of its qualified nationals. A study carried out on behalf of the ILO (Bouklia-Hassane, 2010) shows that Algerian emigrants with a higher level of education represent 14.7% of the total emigrant population aged over 15. Nearly 2/3 of Algerian emigrants live in Canada (62%). The United States and Great Britain also attract qualified Algerian migrants. The diversification of Algerian migrant profiles is also reflected in the presence of women in these movements, initially as part of family reunification and then on their own, with a variety of motivations.[21]

Tunisia, like other countries in the region, has a long tradition of migration, essentially motivated by a society in crisis (underemployment, imbalance between town and country, demographic expansion, low standard of living, politics, etc.). Faced with this situation, international migration has also developed as an alternative, and was initially mainly directed towards Western Europe, particularly France.[22]

The MEDA program is the financial instrument of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership established at the Barcelona Conference in November 1995. Initially set up in 1996, MEDA was subsequently modified and renamed MEDA II in 2000, before finally being abolished in 2006, following the reform of Community aid instruments and the creation of the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) on January 1, 2007. Under this program, framework financing agreements were signed with Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and the Palestinian Authority.[23] But with the closure of borders and the introduction of the Schengen visa, following the oil crisis of the 1970s, the migratory center of gravity shifted to Mediterranean Europe (Spain, Italy, Greece). The Middle

[18] Przybyl, S., & Ben Tayeb, Y. (2013). *« Tanger et les harraga : les mutations d'un espace frontalier »*. Hommes et migrations, 1304, p41

[19] Labdelaoui, H. (2012). *« L'Algérie face à l'évolution de son émigration »*. Hommes & migrations,1298 |, p26

[20] Ibid, p31

[21] Rafik, B.H. (2010). *La migration hautement qualifiée de, vers et à travers les pays de l'Est et du Sud de la Méditerranée et d'Afrique subsaharienne*. Recherche Transversale DOCUMENT ALGERIE, p3-4

[22] Jaouani, A. (2013). *« Migrants et sociétés d'accueil : des partenariats prometteurs » l'approche migratoire tunisienne : globale, cohérente, adaptée*. Organisation Internationale des Migrations, p7

[23] http://www.medea.be/fr/themes/cooperation-euro-mediterraneenne/programme-meda/

East and the Gulf region are also strong migration areas for Tunisians, even though the wars of the 80s and 90s relatively reduced the attraction towards these countries. This migration has also become more feminized thanks to the introduction of family reunification. It should be noted, however, that Tunisian women began emigrating on their own in the 80s. Alongside this migration, they also developed commercial activities in the Mediterranean area. Their preferred destinations were Italy, Turkey, Libya, Syria and Morocco. They made short stays to buy products, which they then sold in Tunisia.[24]

1.3. Immigration to North Africa: The Case of Morocco

Morocco is the result of an inextricable intermingling of populations from different origins, fueled by successive migrations. Since the 1990s, the country has been faced with a changing and increasingly complex migratory reality - emigration as well as immigration. In October 2005, the events in Ceuta and Melilla helped to focus attention on the migration of sub-Saharan Africans to Europe via Morocco. Yet other forms of migration are emerging, both temporary and longer-term.

The aim here is to reflect on the various interpretations of the terms "foreigner", "migrant" and "integration" in the Moroccan context. It's clear that Morocco's migratory landscape has become highly varied, due to the diversified migratory flows of French, Chinese, students and sub-Saharan Africans. The introduction of the Schengen system has had a considerable impact on migration routes and patterns in Mediterranean Africa. Migrants have had to adapt by prospecting new destinations, thus reinforcing South-South migration, as well as seeking new entry points and producing new strategies for bypassing countries of emigration, such as those in the Maghreb, which are also becoming countries of long-term or temporary settlement.[25]

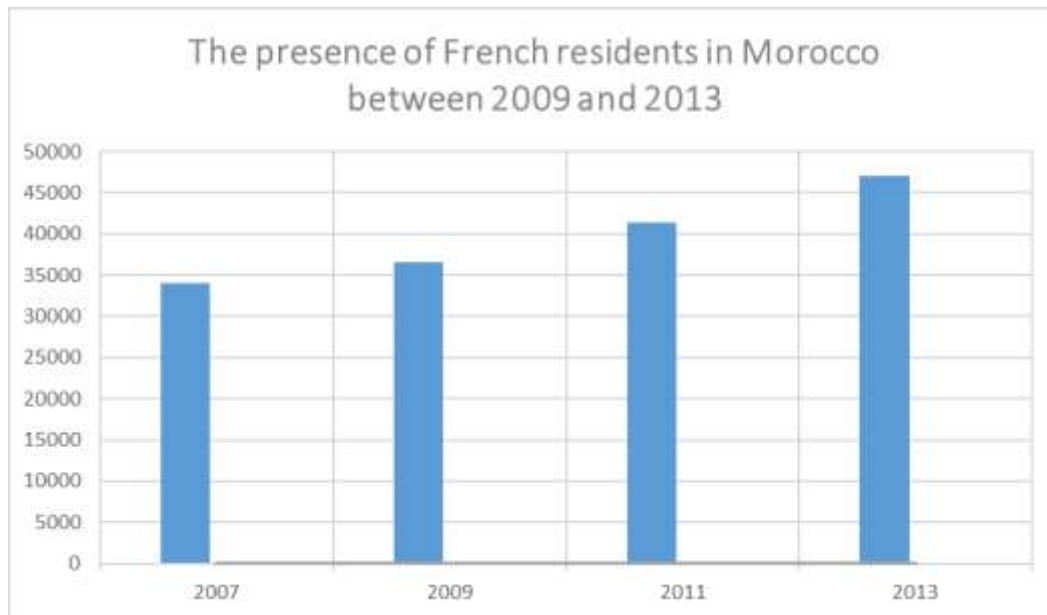- **French Immigration to Morocco Is One Aspect of North-South Migration**

Figure 2: The presence of French residents in Morocco between 2009 and 2013
Source : Migrants au Maroc ; Cosmopolitisme, présence d'étrangers et transformations sociales Sous la direction de Nadia KHROUZ et Nazarena LANZA, 2017

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[24] Enquête Nationale sur la Migration Internationale, Observatoire Nationale de la Migration, statistiques Tunisie, 2020, p14-15

[25] Khrouz, N., & Lanza, N (2017). *Migrants au Maroc : Cosmopolitisme, présence d'étrangers et transformations sociales*. Konard Adenauer Stiftung, Centre Jacques-Berque, p17

Today, the French are an increasingly represented group. Over the past ten years, according to the Direction of French people abroad and the consular administration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France), the number of French nationals living in Morocco has been on the rise: 34,097 were registered on consular registers at the end of 2007, rising to 46,995 by the end of 2013, half of them dual nationals. These French nationals embody the phenomenon of migration North-South from Europe to Morocco.[26] This new migratory landscape in Morocco is characterized by the presence of young working people who have come to open a restaurant, others who have left to join a lover they met on a trip, couples who are opening a guest house, and retirees who want to settle down for their retirement. The arrival of this new population has led to the development of businesses catering to them. Paradoxically, however, they remain invisible in some respects. They are often confused with tourists in the urban environment, particularly in the places they frequent. Even if their settlement, whether in the form of residence or pendurality, seems to be a migratory phenomenon, it remains difficult to qualify them as "migrants".
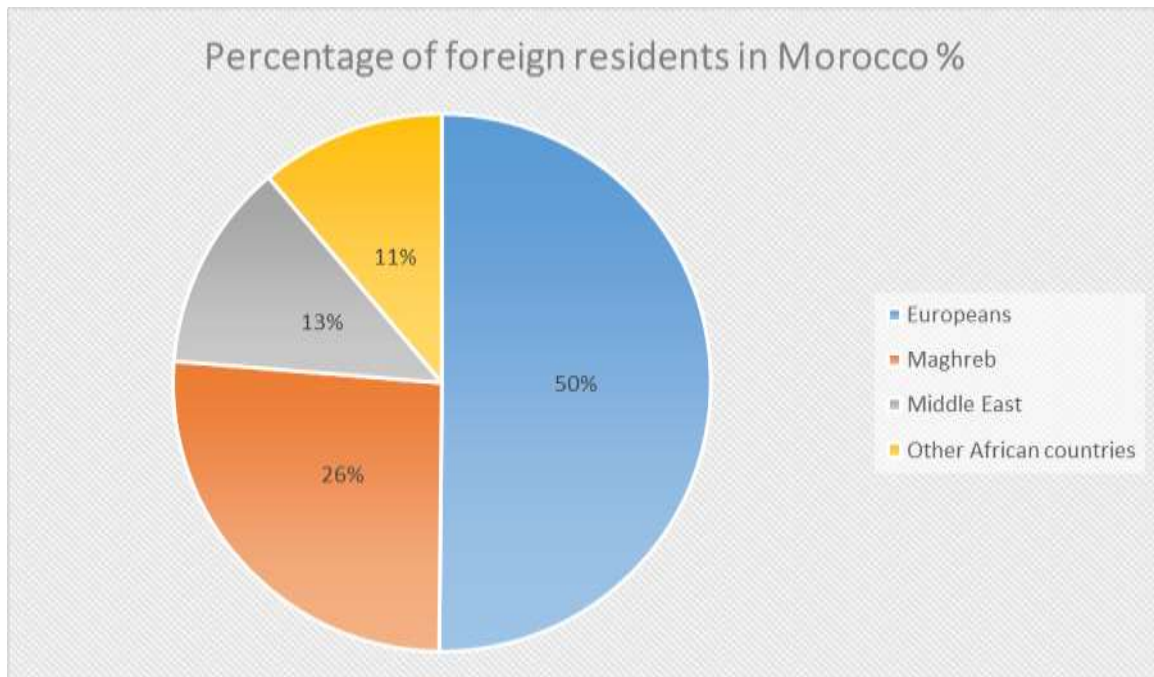

Figure 3: Percentage of foreign residents in Morocco
Source: 2004 General Census of Population and Housing

Figure 3 shows that Europeans make up the majority of foreign residents, representing 45.9% of this population. They are followed by foreign residents from the Maghreb (23.9%), the Middle East (11.5%) and other African countries (10.4%). However, what deserves more attention is that we can qualify residents as tourists? The presence of Europeans in Morocco is reflected in their authorization to enter the country for tourism purposes. This authorization, linked to bilateral agreements between Morocco and certain European countries, is valid for 3 months, with the possibility of extension for a further 3 months. It is also used by some to stay longer in Morocco, thanks to regular exits from the country followed by immediate entries.

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[26] Khrouz, N., & Lanza, N (2017). Op. cit, p24

- **Sub-Saharan Africans in Morocco: Between a Temporary Settlement and an Unfulfilled European Dream**

Sub-Saharan migrants certainly describe themselves as "adventurers", but this notion encompasses lived experiences.[27] The times of migratory adventure", writes S. Bredeloup, "are not limited to ritualized periods of action when the protagonists can test their courage and determination; they can also include moments of waiting and confinement, which are usually obscured in narratives, even though they can lead to states of extreme tension. In Morocco, these waiting periods are all the more important as the situation is experienced as a "blockage". Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco experience a temporality marked by a present that does not always depend on them, and by an uncertain future. The notion of "adventure" carries with it a diversity of destinies, from the knight errant to the ancient hero, from the simple explorer to today's migrant. The plight of sub-Saharan African migrants in Morocco is simultaneously linked to a range of important national and international political concerns in the European Union, such as border security, economic development policies and human rights.

The Moroccan case thus provides an interesting example of how international, national and local political interests in migration management merge and produce enforced immobility and a lack of rights for particular groups of people outside European borders, while simultaneously the demand for a moral politics of rights to guide migration management is still alive and well in international migration policy. The political context in which particular conceptions of mobility and migration have come to structure both spatial and temporal migration management tactics that are effectively employed and exported to third countries in order to halt the movement of people, discipline migrants and produce immobility and lawlessness. The time and space have been used as governmental tools in migration policies to justify and control both mobility and access to rights for specific migrants in Morocco and represent a new migration management device, how this has succeeded in producing and legitimizing a situation of forced immobility for sub-Saharan African migrants in Morocco and contributed to the definition of migrants' rights as a short-term humanitarian concern, rather than a longer-term development issue. EU policies have effectively contributed to keeping migrants in situations of forced immobility, with no possibility of claiming legal settlement in Morocco.[28]

- **Chinese Migration to Morocco: Casablanca's Migrant Traders**

The emergence of the Chinese figure in Moroccan society during the 2000s is evocative of the transformations taking place in Morocco. There are now 3,000 Chinese nationals in the country, as well as expatriates working in the diplomatic sphere. We note that there is voluntary migration involving small-scale Chinese business entrepreneurs in Casablanca. Their visibility is reinforced by the emergence of a "Chinatown" in Derb Omar, born of the concentration of small Chinese businesses positioned in wholesale and semi-wholesale sales of goods imported directly from China. Their migratory profile resembles that of "temporary residents", who through entrepreneurship acquire a social position and significant economic gains in a very short space of time. The reputation of "Chinatown" among the local population contrasts with the total absence of any indication of its location. The first Chinese traders settled in Derb Omar in 2003. At that time, the migratory flow was not directly from China, but from Senegal, where they had moved in the late 1990s. At the time, Casablanca was a major metropolis in a French-speaking country such as Senegal, with a regional and national influence and, above all, as yet untouched by Chinese traders. These are entrepreneurial migrations that follow a family logic and form the core of economic activities. The businesses are run by families or couples, and generate very few jobs for the Chinese community. The majority of Chinese shopkeepers are aged between 20 and 50. Often,

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[27] Stock, I. (2019). *Time, Migration and Forced Immobility, Sub- Saharan African Migrants in Morocco*. Bristol University Press, p37
[28] Stock, I. Op. cit, p 25

however, the management of the business operates on a transnational basis, either for economic reasons, with one of the family members in China handling the supply and export of goods, or for family reasons, with a relative returning to China to look after the children.[29] Outside this framework, interaction is extremely limited. The language barrier also makes it difficult to communicate with the local population. While the majority of Chinese migrants set about learning French on their arrival in Morocco, with Darija (dialectal Arabic) as a secondary language, their command of languages proves to be very rudimentary and hardly audible outside the circle of close collaborators.

- **Migration to Morocco and the "Arab Spring": The Case of the Syrians**

Popular uprisings in the Maghreb and Mashreq have forced a number of people to move outside their own borders. Migratory journeys are often guided by family, friendship, professional or religious ties, which these refugees can take advantage of in their destination countries. Others preferred Morocco, because of its political stability, its good reputation, existing family and professional relations between the two countries, and the announcement by the Moroccan authorities of the regularization of migrants. The possibility of crossing the Straits of Gibraltar to reach Europe is another reason why some Syrians are in Morocco. They then passed through Maghnia to clandestinely cross the Moroccan-Algerian border to Oujda. Once in Algeria, Syrian refugees mobilize practices and adopt strategies already explored by other migrations, notably that of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. Some attempt to settle in Morocco as the final stage of their journey, while others continue on to Europe.

2. Migration Policies in Africa

At first glance, it should be noted that the process of immigrant integration encompasses five essential dimensions: economic, residential, linguistic, social and cultural integration. It is also crucial to recognize that the success of this process depends on the collaboration of several stakeholders. It is a two-way dynamic involving both the immigrant and the host society. On the one hand, the immigrant must invest in the integration process, while on the other, actors of the host society must be open to his or her inclusion in their main social relationships. Thus, successful integration depends on reception policies at both national and local level, the residents' attitudes towards immigrants, as well as the newcomer's characteristics and willingness to integrate.

2.1. Co-development and Migratory Flows: Mutual Migration Management

In the context of co-development and migratory flows, Sami Naîr reinforces the idea of co-development through remittances, which are beneficial to both countries of origin and host/settlement countries. In this respect, he poses questions centered on the rationalization of these transfers as a source of enrichment, and on the establishment of systems and programs promoting economic, commercial relations with the help of local communities and governments to better ensure co-development and migratory flows. Naîr also links free movement as a means of consolidating this process. The co-development, in this sense, has centered on the permanent legal presence of the immigrant in France and on free movement between France and the country of origin in Africa. However, analysis of the role of migration in the development of countries of origin showed - as in the past for Spain and Portugal, or today for the countries of the Maghreb or Black Africa - that remittances from immigrants to their families represented enormous sums and were often the main source of foreign currency for the countries of origin. Finally, this process of co-development remains less reinforced by host/settlement countries,

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[29] Khrouz, N., & Lanza, N (2017). *Migrants au Maroc : Cosmopolitisme, présence d'étrangers et transformations sociales.* Konard Adenauer Stiftung, Centre Jacques-Berque, p49

despite its importance in ensuring a better economic and social life for migrants in both countries of origin and settlement.[30]

2.2. Migration Policies in Africa: Principles and Shortcomings

The Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was created by the Treaty of Lagos on May 28, 1975, with the aim of uniting and strengthening cooperation and solidarity between countries divided since independence (Monzala, 2009). From the outset, ECOWAS's ambition was to become the region's sole economic community, with the aim of achieving economic integration and attaining the objectives of the African Economic Community (AEC). With this in mind, the free movement of people and goods became an essential prerequisite. It was to this end that the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment was established on May 29, 1979. This Protocol had the merit of setting a 15-year deadline for its implementation in three stages: the first corresponds to the right of entry and the abolition of visas and free movement (1980-1985); the second refers to the application of the right of residence (1985-1990); the third stage related to the right of establishment (1990-1995).

ECOWAS

ECOWAS has set up other mechanisms, such as the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), which was created by the Treaty of January 10, 1994 and brings together eight states in this area: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo. Its aim is to strengthen the competitiveness of member states' economic and financial activities within the framework of an open, competitive common market. The idea is to create a harmonized legal and economic framework based on the free movement of people, goods and services, the right of establishment for self-employed and salaried citizens, a common external tariff and a common trade policy. But despite all this, border red tape is still a real obstacle to the free movement of people. What's more, these regional arrangements are not always in line with the national laws of member states, which, it should be remembered, have discretionary powers regarding the application of ECOWAS legal instruments.

COMESA

The treaty establishing the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) was signed in 1993 and ratified in December 1994. COMESA has put in place legal instruments governing the movement of people. These include the Protocol on the progressive easing of visa requirements between certain countries, and the Protocol on the free movement of persons, labor, services, right of establishment and residence, which dates from 2001 and was adopted in May 2006. This protocol has not been ratified by all countries. Indeed, since its adoption, only four countries (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Zimbabwe) have signed it, and only Burundi has ratified it (Pape Sakho, 2006). The effective implementation of this protocol in its entirety should foster the advent of an integrated Common Market. However, in addition to a lack of political will on the part of certain states, the discrepancy between national legislation on migration within member states seems to be an obstacle to the effective implementation of this free movement protocol. Aware of this problem, COMESA has adopted what would be called the "Model Law" on immigration, which should constitute a point of reference on which member states can base themselves to harmonize their national legislation and practices in this area, asserted Secretary General Sindiso NGWENYA[31] at the organization's meeting on March 16, 2011.

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[30] Naîr, S. (2008). *''Codéveloppement et flux migratoires''*. In Migrations Société n° 117-118, p 73

[31] These words were spoken by the organization's Secretary General at the March 16, 2011 meeting of the Ministers of Immigration of COMESA member countries, held at the organization's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia. The aim of the

SADC

The Southern African Development Community (SADC), created in 1992, has sought to establish a harmonized framework for managing migration in the region. The treaty establishing this community includes a Protocol on Free Movement (launched in 1997, signed in 2005), but this has not been ratified by all states. This regional body has been instrumental in establishing and strengthening cooperation between the nations of the region to promote their economic integration through the free movement of people, capital and commodities. According to Dodson and Crush, the SADC treaty aimed to "ensure development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, improve the quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration". The SADC provides for the free movement of people between the borders of the countries in the region. This article also stipulates that the regional community will develop policies aimed at progressively eliminating obstacles to the free movement of capital and labor, goods and services and people in the region. However, this policy of free movement of people has been met with opposition from some countries, particularly those that are economically more developed. For example, the governments of South Africa and Botswana were not in favor of the "open borders" concept promoted by the SADC Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons in Southern Africa.

Decision no. 03/CCEG/VI/90 of January 26, 1990 on the free movement of certain categories of people within the Community was adopted, 7 years after the creation of the Community. Article 40 of the ECCAS founding treaty states that "the citizens of the ECCAS States shall be considered as nationals of the Community" (article 40 of the ECCAS treaty). This article calls on member states to facilitate freedom of movement and the right of establishment for individuals. This region also has another entity, the Economic and Monetary Community of Central African States (CEMAC), one of whose objectives is to promote the free movement of people and the creation of a common market facilitating trade between member countries.

The CEMAC seems to be moving further along the road to community implementation of the free movement of people and goods within its area than the ECCAS. Indeed, following the treaty of March 16, 1994 establishing the CEMAC, the convention of July 5, 1996 affirms that "the union constitutes a single customs territory within which the movement of persons, goods, services and capital is free" (article 27 of the CEMAC treaty). Unfortunately, this principle has been deferred ad vitam aeternam in the face of reluctance on the part of the signatory states. However, despite the existence of these frameworks, free movement within this community space remains to this day an unfulfilled project, taking place in a variable-geometry configuration, with some countries making progress while others are held back.

2.3. Morocco's New Migration Policy

Europe forms a migratory space with the southern shore of the Mediterranean. The majority of migratory flows to Europe originate from the southern shore of the Mediterranean, given the historical and neighborly ties between Europe and this region, and the demographic and economic complementarities between the two areas. The gateways to Europe - Gibraltar, Melilla and Ceuta, Malta, Lampedusa, the Canary Islands, Cyprus and the Greek-Turkish border - are currently receiving an influx of sub-Saharan Africans and refugees from the Near and Middle East. In this sense, transit countries such as Morocco have become immigration countries.[32]

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meeting was to get the protocol on the free movement of people between member countries up and running. http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/fr/newsroom/all-news/le-comesa-en-marche-vers-la-libre-circulation-des-personnes

[32] Schmoll, C,. Thiollet, H., & Wihtol de Wenden, C. (2015). *Migrations en Méditerranée: permanences et mutations à l'heure des révolutions et des crises*. CNRS Éditions, pp.11,

These dependencies, this reciprocal presence, these complementarities between North and South, these passions and tensions make this area a migratory system.[33] The cooperation arrangements put in place since the early 1990s through bilateral agreements and various development partnerships are aimed at deploying or outsourcing the control of the European Union's external borders. Some countries are seeking to stem the flow of migrants from the South in exchange for development policies and the issuing of visas for the most qualified. Italy and France, for example, have signed numerous agreements with Morocco, Tunisia and Libya, as well as with Senegal, Mali, Mauritania and others, preferring to deal face-to-face with their neighbors over flows that are difficult to manage on a European scale.[34]

Development aid, particularly in Africa, with increased funding for the EU Trust Fund for Africa, is thus presented as one of the components of the Union's external policy. The EU's external action, as presented in the Europe Agreement, focuses primarily on the co-management of migratory flows. The aim of the EU's external action is to settle migratory flows in North Africa, and particularly in Morocco.

The outsourcing of European borders to Morocco has produced a complex migratory landscape: on the one hand, the Moroccan state has to monitor the international borders between northern Morocco and Spain, and on the other, it has to find a place for migrants within Moroccan society. The introduction of the Schengen system has had a considerable impact on migration routes and patterns in Mediterranean Africa. Indeed, in recent years, Morocco's geographical position has made it a destination country for new forms of migration. While some migrants settle here after unsuccessful attempts to reach Europe, others opt for Morocco as their destination.[35]

Despite the efforts made by the Moroccan government, the conditions for legal residence in Morocco remain somewhat ambiguous. Generally speaking, articles 3 and 4 of law 02-03 subject foreigners crossing Moroccan borders to control by the authorities. While article 3 concerns checks on passport and visa validity, article 4 provides for checks whose necessity and, to a certain extent, content are left to the discretion of the authorities. These checks involve verifying the financial resources of immigrants, their reasons for entry and guarantees of their return to the country. Foreigners who meet the entry requirements are allowed to stay in Morocco for the duration of their visa's validity. If their stay exceeds three months, they must go to the prefecture of police in their place of residence to complete the formalities required to obtain a residence permit, before their visa expires, or within 90 days if they are exempt from the visa requirement. In practice, however, this provision is not always observed by the Moroccan authorities or by foreigners themselves. The foreigners we interviewed confirmed that they only carried out this formality between three and four months after entering Morocco, and that they had never been penalized for doing so. This delay is often due to difficulties in providing the required documents. When the residence permit is issued, the foreigner may be asked to produce either a registration card, if he or she is a short-term resident or student, or a residence card, if he or she has been living in Morocco for at least four years.[36]

In all cases, foreigners without a valid residence permit - with the exception of refugees recognized by the United Nations Refugee Agency - must leave the country within fifteen days (article 11), failing which they will be : - being deported if they have entered the country illegally, if their visa has expired and they have remained on Moroccan territory, if they have not renewed their residence permit, or if they have been convicted of forgery or falsification of a residence permit (article 21); - being expelled

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[33] Ibid, p 12

[34] Ibid, p 14

[35] Alioua, M. & Ferrié, J-N. (2017). *La nouvelle politique migratoire marocaine*. Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, p9

[36] Khrouz, N & al (2008). *Maroc Le cadre juridique relatif à la condition des étrangers au regard de l'interprétation du juge judiciaire et de l'application du pouvoir exécutif*. Avec le soutien de : La Cimade, Echanges et partenariats, le Fonds pour les droits humains mondiaux et le Gisti

from Moroccan territory if they constitute a serious threat to public order (article 25). Lastly, there are various penalties for foreigners who are in an irregular situation or who fail to comply with the conditions set out in law no. 02-03. Article 42 stipulates that foreigners who overstay their visas are liable to a fine of between 2,000 and 20,000 dirhams and/or a prison sentence of between one and six months. If the residence permit is not renewed within the allotted time, without valid justification, the foreigner is liable to a fine of 3,000 to 10,000 dirhams and a prison sentence of one month to six months, or one of the two penalties (article 44). Also, any foreigner who changes residence and fails to declare this to the prefecture of police at his place of residence is liable to a fine of between 1,000 and 3,000 dirhams (article 47).[37]

3. The Future Challenges of Migration in Africa

3.1. Morocco as a Migratory Crossroads and Host Country: What Challenges for the Future?

Morocco's particular geographical location has influenced its relations with the outside world and the understanding of its place and role. Nestled between the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the Atlas Mountains to the east, Morocco enjoys close proximity to Europe via the Strait of Gibraltar, while being constrained to the south by the Sahara Desert. This has facilitated the adoption of a north-south orientation in its diplomatic relations, which has been reinforced since 1994 by the closure of the land border with Algeria to the east. This relational structure has also been nurtured by the recent history of the Spanish and French protectorates over the Kingdom. In public debate, Morocco is often defined as a platform between sub-Saharan Africa to the south and Europe to the north. So Morocco is not just a country of passage. It is also a host and destination country for various types of immigration, of diverse geographical origins, from Europe, Africa and elsewhere, whether permanent or temporary. The advantages and attractions of Morocco as a destination country are geographical, economic, linguistic and cultural, as well as political. As a politically stable country, in the process of economic and social modernization, offering geographical and linguistic-cultural proximity to Europe, Morocco attracts a potentially large target group of foreigners wishing to expatriate. Morocco's immigration policy is currently being regularly questioned. Access to citizenship through naturalization is essentially based on the principle of blood ties, and makes the question of integration of foreigners settled in the country less meaningful. The question remains: how will the state and society in a modernizing developing country like Morocco react to these long-term changes and trends?

3.2. Migration and the Issue of Urbanization in Africa

In Africa, the percentage of the population living in urban areas has risen from 15% in the 1960s to 43% in 2018, and is expected to reach 50% by 2030 (UNECA, 2017).[38] Migration and urbanization are certainly not new phenomena, even if the figures are higher than in the past (IOM, 2015). As part of an ongoing demographic transformation, we are also seeing an increase in the share of the population of African countries residing in urban areas, creating mega-cities, medium-sized cities and small towns. This increase is not homogeneous across all African countries, but urban population growth is occurring mainly in medium-sized and small cities (Satterthwaite, 2016).[39] A number of studies have highlighted the important link between population growth in Africa and urbanization, particularly among vulnerable segments of society (Potts, 2012).[40] In addition, migration from rural areas to cities and from cities to

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[37] Khrouz, N., & Lanza, N (2017). *Migrants au Maroc : Cosmopolitisme, présence d'étrangers et transformations sociales*. Konard Adenauer Stiftung, Centre Jacques-Berque, p 101

[38] Organisation internationale pour les migrations (2019). Rapport sur la migration en Afrique : remettre en question le récit, p.p 42-51

[39] Ibid, p.p 42-51

[40] Ibid, p.p 42-51

cities is also a key factor influencing urban population growth and the shape of cities across Africa (Mercandalli and Losch, 2017).[41]

The concentration of people and activities in cities can enable countries to promote positive economic growth for all, both inside and outside urban areas. Recent research shows that these benefits are sometimes offset by problems such as overcrowding, traffic congestion, lack of adequate public services, poor economic prospects, lack of access to housing and secure land tenure, and exploitation of young boys and girls (Tacoli et al., 2015).[42] As urbanization is the present and future of African countries, the adoption of appropriate multi-sectoral policies and an adequate governance structure is therefore crucial to ensure that cities are resilient systems. A resilient city is one that assesses, plans and acts to prepare for and respond to all risks - sudden or slow, expected or unexpected. Spatial segregation exacerbates the high costs of commuting and finding work. Data show that in Addis Ababa and Kigali, young residents of peripheral neighborhoods who do not benefit from a non-fungible subsidy for public transport are more likely to have informal jobs. For migrants, there is therefore a trade-off between the search for new opportunities and higher prices in urban versus rural areas due to commuting, land and rental costs. Food products, such as fresh or chilled vegetables, eggs, milk and egg products, are also relatively more expensive in African cities than in other regions (Nakamura et al., 2019).[43]

3.3. Climate Variability and Forced Displacement in Africa

Climate change has caused significant displacement elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, forcing almost 2.6 million people to flee their homes due to drought, cyclones and floods in 2018 (IDMC, 2019).[44] Small-scale, frequent disasters go relatively unnoticed as conflicts take center stage, but these localized crises show that displacement is more an endogenous problem of poverty and lack of development than the consequence of external threats posed by natural hazards. We predict that the population and urbanization rate of sub-Saharan Africa will increase dramatically over the coming decades, exposing more people to the risk of disasters. If nothing is done, poverty, vulnerability and climate change will increase the risk of population movements. The combination of climate change and increased vulnerability is expected to exacerbate this trend over the coming decades, as extreme weather-related calamities become more frequent and intense (IDMC, 2017b).[45] The most vulnerable groups often lack the means or connections to move and may be stranded in place. Others, such as pastoral communities in the Sahel and Horn of Africa regions, rely on seasonal migration as a livelihood strategy. At the same time, the planned relocation of populations in the face of a particular risk such as major land degradation can act as a pressure-relief valve, reducing environmental pressures on fragile ecosystems but in reality also "exporting" their ecological footprint elsewhere. It's also important to remember that displacement/migration itself can have environmental impacts, causing environmental degradation that can prolong the humanitarian emergency or worsen relations with host communities. Rapid urbanization or mismanagement of refugee camps and IDP settlements can put pressure on scarce water, energy and food resources, lead to uncontrolled waste management and put refugees and migrants in direct competition with local communities.[46]

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[41] Ibid, p.p 42-51

[42] Ibid, p.p 42-51

[43] Ibid, p.p 42-51

[44] Ibid, p.p 67-76

[45] Ibid, p.p 67-76

[46] Restoring, rebuilding and meeting the energy and shelter needs of displaced people requires natural resources. For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 36 million trees in Virunga National Park were used to meet refugees' cooking and shelter needs between 1994 and 1996.

3.4. Migration and Development

The other crucial aspect of the migration-development nexus is the way in which migration can enhance development. However, it is difficult to generalize, given the variety of migration patterns. Similarly, it is important in this debate not to deal solely with migration from the South to the North, as this only concerns a small proportion of migrants (UNCTAD, 2018).[47] Migration to Africa is more common and may be more important for development, as its lower costs make it more accessible to a greater number of individuals. A modest increase in income can have a considerable impact on poverty levels (Bakewell, 2009; Flahaux and de Haas, 2016). Host countries in Africa can benefit from migration; migrants can fill gaps in the labor market and bring new skills, ideas and innovations (Bakewell, 2009). Countries need policies on how to integrate migrants, particularly in the face of possible xenophobia, although few studies have been carried out in this area. There are also concerns about the pressure migrants could exert on wages and public services. Nevertheless, the reality shows that wage differentials remain low between African countries (with the exception of South Africa) with varying migration patterns, including between sending and receiving countries. Consequently, contrary to general expectation, host countries do not seem more inclined to offer lower wages than countries of origin (UNCTAD, 2018). Similarly, there is no correlation between spending on health and education and different levels of immigration or emigration. Migrants and their families are also thought to benefit from migration, notably through remittances. The question is whether migration improves the development of countries of origin at community or national level. Development gains are often cited when migrants return to their home countries, either permanently or as part of circular migration, bringing with them new technologies and skills, and contributing to trade, investment and social standards. The capital obtained through migration can be used for investment and business activities, which in turn can stimulate employment and economic growth. European donors are therefore funding new programs to help entrepreneurs returning to Africa set up businesses (Åkesson and Baaz, 2015). Return migration rates are low, however. Of the total number of international migrants, only 3% returned to Nigeria, 9% to Senegal and 25% to Burkina Faso within 15 years of migration. Analysis of what happens if migrants stay abroad is therefore a source of greater debate, particularly in terms of the loss of highly skilled people and the impact on links between diaspora and home country.

Conclusion

Africa is a continent of glaring disparities. This multi-ethnic and plural space conceals more acute socio-spatial inequalities. This leads us to describe this part of the world as an area of paradoxes par excellence. Wealth becomes the sister of poverty. The spatial injustice between North and South generates a great deal of frustration among Africans, and has an impact on the construction of a hopeful migration project. Settling elsewhere to give oneself the right to dream, to rebuild one's life, and to shape one's values, all become obvious with cosmopolitanism or the desire to discover a different culture. The Maghreb-Sahel region is becoming Europe's new frontier. In this context, Morocco's geographical and geostrategic position makes it a place of both transit and stability. Moving there, or leaving, generates new urban challenges for African and Moroccan cities, creating new forms of otherness with migrants and locals alike. Indeed, it is essential to rethink the political, economic, social, cultural and diplomatic dimensions of migration in Africa today.

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[47] Ibid, p.p 121-133

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