

‘If only I got a Visa’: Configurations of residential preferences and contemporary migration of Africans to Europe and North America

Moses Balyejjusa Senkosi and Abisagi Ndagire Kasoma

Introduction

Although the number of Sub-Saharan immigrants to Europe and North America is relatively small, it is steadily increasing. These include regular and irregular, voluntary and involuntary, and labour migrants. A number of factors- political, economic, demographic, ethnic, psychological and ecological explain these forms of migration (International Organization for Migration [IOM] 2000; 2005). These factors are usually explained using the push-pull paradigm (Ravenstein 1885; Bockr and Havinga 1997; Castles and Miller 1998; IOM 2002; Bloch 2002; Troche 2005). For instance, political instability and wars, unemployment, human rights abuses, low standards of living, and many others, fall under the push factors, while high standards of living, availability of employment opportunities, democracy and good governance, high quality education and health care, and so on, are conceived as pull factors (Ravenstein 1885; Bloch 2002; IOM 2000; 2003; 2005). It is these push-pull factors that motivate human beings to migrate, including crossing internationally recognised state borders (Bloch 2002; IOM 2000; 2003; Loescher 1993).

Despite the fact that many individuals, including those from Sub-Saharan Africa, migrate due to push-pull factors (IOM 2000; 2003), the evolution of the push-pull paradigm in the case of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe and North

America is rarely explored. In this chapter, it is argued that a combination of both historical and contemporary factors explain the contemporary migration of Africans from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe and North America. We argue that the pre-colonial and colonial representation of Africa, especially in writings and images, as a primitive and backward continent while Europe as highly civilised led Africans to perceive whatever was African as negative and unattractive. This resulted in some Africans migrating to Europe and North America, especially for education purposes.

Furthermore, the advent of the development paradigm where Africa is presented as underdeveloped or developing also contributes to the negative image of Africa. We here critically explore the development of the 'developed-underdeveloped' dichotomy, its evolution and how it has contributed to the attractive-unattractive dichotomy, thus leading to emigration from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe and North America. These negative representations are further perpetuated by the art and media industry and in our education system. Africa is continuously portrayed as backward, underdeveloped and characterised by undesirable conditions of living. It is the combination of these factors which have resulted into the push-pull configuration - hence, Sub-Saharan Africans perceiving Africa as having poor/bad conditions of living, culminating into migration to Europe and North America which are presented with attractive/good conditions of living.

The chapter starts with a description of the trends of migration of Africans from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe and North Africa. We show how the number of Sub-Saharan Africans migrating to Europe and North America, although small, is increasing. We further illustrate the preference of Western Europe and North America by African migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa over other destination areas, such as the Middle East, Oceania and Asia. This is followed by a description of the push-pull paradigm of migration.

The second section involves a historical analysis of the evolution of the push-pull paradigm or negative-positive image of Sub-Saharan Africa and Europe and North America in relation to

migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. It is concluded that the long history of perpetuating the attractive-unattractive dichotomy has not only deprived Africa of its skilled human resources, but also stifled its development efforts in some respects (Rodney 1973; IOM 2003; Taiwo 2010; World Bank 2011a) and promoted the European and North American legacies and achievements.

It is important to note from the onset that this chapter strictly focuses on voluntary immigrants. Secondly, although the argument we advance in this chapter may apply to other cases of migration in other continents, such as Asia, South America, Central America and Eastern Europe, this chapter strictly explores the migration of Africans from Sub-Saharan Africa. *Also, the chapter does not discuss migration of North Africans. This is because of North Africa's proximity to Europe and the perception of North Africa as relatively more developed and advanced than Sub-Saharan Africa*²⁷. Lastly, the chapter examines migration of Africans from Sub-Saharan Africa from the colonial period to date, and not the slave trade period.

Notably, the chapter extensively relies on migration publications from the International Organisation for Migration. This is because most Sub-Saharan countries do not have up to date and accurate statistics (IOM 2005; International Labour Organisation [ILO] 2015).

Trends in Sub-Saharan migration and their explanations

Although there is a perennial problem of international migration data in relation to Sub-Saharan Africa, there is a substantial number of Sub-Saharan Africans living outside Africa (Martin and Widgren 2002; IOM 2005; ILO 2015). However, it is important to point out that this number is very small in relation to the total population of Africa (IOM 2000; 2005). Most people in Sub-

²⁷North Africa's proximity to Europe makes it easier for its residents to migrate to Europe compared to Sub-Saharan Africa. Including them would give a flawed impression. Furthermore, the pull factors that lead them to Europe and North America are different from those that pull Sub-Saharan Africans. The most important issue to note is that most Europeans and North Americans hold more positive views and perceptions about North Africa compared to Sub-Saharan Africa. It is considered relatively developed and sometimes the residents are not considered as Africans, but as Arabs. Therefore, it is not a good idea to lump them with Sub-Saharan Africans.

Saharan Africa have not migrated (IOM 2011; World Bank 2011a). Indeed, no African country is listed among the top emigration countries in the world (World Bank 2011b). According to IOM (2003, p.6), “most of the world’s inhabitants remain where they are as they have no resources, networks, opportunities or, quite simply, any personal benefits to be derived from mobility. Lack of any desire and motivation to leave home, family and friends is a powerful non-migration factor.” Note that only three per cent of Africans (thirty million) are international migrants (IOM 2011; World Bank 2011a; 2011b). However, this was an increment from twenty-three million in 2000 (IOM 2010). Furthermore, most Sub-Saharan migrations are within Africa, and not outside Africa (IOM 2000). For instance, IOM observes that “two-thirds of Sub-Saharan migrants move to countries within the region (2011, p.62)”. In fact, sixty-four percent of Sub-Saharan migrants resided in the region in 2010 (IOM 2011). Thirty-six percent are likely to be international migrants, and outside Sub-Saharan Africa.

At this point, it is important to point out what is meant by international migrants. However, it is worth noting that the boundary between internal migration and international migration is not hard fixed and can be misleading sometimes (IOM 2003). Despite this, IOM describes international migrants as:

... persons who take up residence in a foreign country. By this definition, international migrants do not include the tourists, business travellers, religious pilgrims, or persons seeking medical treatment who make millions of visits to foreign countries each year. Rather, only those foreigners who remain for an extended stay in a new country are counted as international migrants (2000, p.4).

IOM (2000) further notes that one’s stay in a foreign country should not be less than one year in order to qualify to be an international migrant. However, according to the United Nations Statistics Division (1998), these are referred to as long term migrants. Included in this definition are refugees, asylum seekers, students and labour migrants (unskilled, semi-skilled and

professionals). This category includes both regular and irregular migrants (IOM 2003; 2005; 2010).

However, the statistics on irregular migrants are not easy to find (IOM 2010; 2014). The situation is worse in Sub-Saharan Africa, since, as noted from the onset, there is a problem with migration data. The data is either incomplete, fragmented, inconsistent, outdated or absent (IOM 2008). Despite this, IOM (2010) indicates that irregular migrants world over are between ten and fifteen per cent of the total international migrant population, Sub-Saharan Africa included.

Although the majority of international migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa remain in the region (IOM 2012), there is a substantial and increasing number moving to Europe, especially western Europe, and North America (IOM 2005; 2011; Kohnert 2007; World Bank 2011a). As earlier pointed out, it is hard to find exact statistics on the trends of Sub-Saharan migrants to different countries generally and to Europe and North America in particular (World Bank 2011a; IOM 2015). However, World Bank (2011a) maintains that data on African migration to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries is significantly of high quality in terms of education qualifications. As such, IOM (2011) observes that four per cent of international migrants residing in OECD countries are from Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, 24.8 per cent of Sub-Saharan international migrants reside in OECD countries while only 2.5 per cent in high income non-OECD countries (World Bank 2011a). *The majority of Sub-Saharan migrants to OECD countries, mainly Western Europe and North America, are tertiary or highly educated individuals (IOM 2000; World Bank 2011a)*²⁸. For instance, IOM (2000) indicates that 23,000 qualified academic staff migrate each year in search of better working conditions, while 70,000 African professional and university graduates migrate to work in Europe and North America (IOM 2003). It further shows that an

²⁸Majority of the less educated are not visible since most of them fall in the category of the irregular migrants. Usually they have overstayed their visas and, as such, they avoid immigration department officers. This results in lack of reliable data on irregular immigrants.

estimated 10,000 Nigerian academics work in the US alone.

Indeed, IOM (2000) shows that around 100,000 Africans work in Western Europe and North America. Furthermore, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013: 4) maintains: “one in every nine tertiary educated persons born in Africa resides in OECD countries.” On the other hand, World Bank (2011a) notes that in 2000 one out of eight university educated Africans lived in OECD countries. Not surprisingly, World Bank (2011a) records nine Sub-Saharan countries among the top thirty countries of tertiary educated emigrants. These include Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Cape Verde, the Gambia, Mauritius, Seychelles, Sierra Leone and Mozambique. We should note that many of these migrate within Africa, especially South-Africa, and other parts of the world, especially Western Europe and North America (IOM 2003).

The distribution of Sub-Saharan migrants in Western Europe and North America is uneven. By 2005 statistics, France hosted the largest number of Sub-Saharan migrants in Western Europe, at 274,538, followed by United Kingdom at 249,720, while Germany and Italy hosted 156,564 and 137,780 respectively. On the side of the US, it hosted 881,300 African migrants (IOM 2005). This number includes both migrants from North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa.

However, the numbers could be even higher since most irregular migrants rarely find themselves in official records and figures because they always engage in efforts to elude the government and immigration officials in their host countries (IOM 2005). It is important to point out that available statistics of 2000 show that Sub-Saharan migration to Europe and North America varies across countries (World Bank 2011a). For instance, in 1997, Mali had 103,605 migrants to Europe, while Senegal had 125,000 migrants (IOM 2000). And these also vary with countries they migrate to. Senegalese mainly migrated to Italy and France, where each country hosts about 60,000 Senegalese migrants, while Germany hosts only 5,000 (IOM 2000) – an indicator that most Sub-Saharan migrants tend to migrate to their respective former colonial powers (IOM 2002; 2005). This, as it will be demonstrated

later, is partly due to the colonial representations of Sub-Saharan Africa and because of colonially determined linguistic considerations.

As pointed out in the introduction, the migration of Sub-Saharan migrants to Europe and North America is mainly understood and explained using the push-pull paradigm (IOM 2000; 2003; 2005; Kohnert 2007; 2010). This paradigm has its grounding in the neo-classical theory of migration. According to the theory migration is considered as an individual's rational decision. Individuals engage in some form of calculation of the costs and benefits of migration over staying. It is the disparity in the resource endowment, opportunities, and development between areas that causes individuals to migrate (IOM 2000; 2003; Martin and Widgren 2002; Kohnert 2007). They aim at maximising income and other benefits (IOM 2000; Moyo, Nicolau and Fairhurst 2012). For instance, Kabeer notes: "the simplifying core of the neo-classical theory is the assumption of rational choice... all human behaviour is explained as the attempt to maximise individual utilities in the face of economic scarcity" (1994, p.97).

Therefore, individuals are forced to migrate from areas of scarcity to areas with more opportunities. Indeed, IOM (2000, p.18) observes that "at its most basic, neoclassical economics conceives of migration in terms of supply/push and demand/pull factors". However, although many individuals' decisions to migrate, Sub-Saharan Africans included, involve rational choices, there are also individuals whose migration is due to other considerations, such as social networks, colonial history/relations, *psychological processes*²⁹, etc (ILO 2015; IOM 2005).

Sub-Saharan Africa has been conceived as having many push factors while Europe and North America as having a number pull factors. It is the combination of both the pull and push factors that motivate Sub-Saharan Africans to migrate to Europe and North America. Literature on the push factors in relation to

²⁹ These include the representation of Sub-Saharan Africa as backward and underdeveloped, while Europe and North America as developed and civilised. This has resulted in the desire by some Sub-Saharan Africans to be part of the civilised and developed societies/countries, thus migrating to these countries.

migration of Sub-Saharanans is diverse and comprehensive. Different publications emphasise different push factors, prominent among the push factors are the high levels of poverty. Many publications (IOM 2000; 2003; 2005; 2010; Martin and Widgren 2002; Kohnert 2007; ILO 2015) indicate that high levels of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa are causing many to migrate to Europe and North America. For instance, IOM shows that “as all studies tend to show, the extreme poverty that affected the Asian continent for the greater part of the 20th century is now having its biggest impact on the African continent at the beginning of the 21st century” (2005, p.27). Other push factors for migration include unemployment, income inequality, conflicts and wars, environmental factors (drought and floods), tyrannical regimes/governments, and many others (IOM 2000; 2003; 2005). For instance, IOM (2005, p.27) spells out the push factors as follows:

Africa is now the only continent in the world that still faces all of the classic obstacles ³⁰ to successful development: more than a third of the countries are experiencing armed conflicts or civil wars, a situation that has sometimes lasted for years and led to major forced population displacements. Education and health systems have continued to deteriorate under the combined impact of population growth (still close to 3% per annum) and structural adjustment plans. Natural hazards, especially drought, and the growing pressure on cities because of uncontrolled rural exodus, aggravate internal demographic imbalances and generate major social problems.

On the other hand, World Bank summarises the push factors as:

This high level of emigration partly reflects limited livelihood opportunities and a high variability of

³⁰These classic obstacles are what we later on in our discussion refer to as development traps. Collier (2007) refers to these traps as unending war, Natural resource traps, being landlocked with bad neighbours and bad governance.

income as a result of dependence on primary commodities (Docquier and Schiff 2009). Several countries suffering civil disorder also have high emigration rates. For example, after more than three decades of war, Eritrean emigrants represent almost 20 percent of the country's population (2011a, pp.17-18).

As Africa in general and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular is described in such terms, Europe and North America are described in positive terms. They are described as having more employment opportunities, higher wages, high standards of living, high quality education and opportunities, more advances in technology, etc (IOM 2000; 2005; 2008; Kohnert 2007; World Bank 2011a). Such positive factors pull Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe in order to tap into these opportunities. For instance, the number of African students in Europe and the US is substantial and increasing (IOM 2008). In the same vein, IOM (2008, p.108) indicates that “for their part, African students have a clear preference for Europe – France alone receives 55 per cent of all African students in Europe and 42 per cent of all international African students enrolled in the OECD area”. On the other hand, Kohnert (2007, p.7) notes the following about Africans, especially from West Africa migrating to Europe due to pull factors:

Apart from push factors, like violent conflicts, gross human rights violations, population pressure, degradation of natural resources, and poverty, the major part of current migration is due to external pull factors. Notably young people, threatened by unemployment and lack of perspectives in their home country, are eager to try their luck in what may appear to them at first sight as their El Dorado, i. e. Western Europe. Many of them struggle to reach it, in utter disregard of the involved risks, by all means, mostly illegally.

Although it is a fact that many Sub-Saharan Africans migrate to

Europe and North America due to push-pull reasons, the available literature rarely attempts to explain the evolution of this push-pull paradigm in relation to Sub-Saharan migrations. As pointed out from the onset, the push-pull paradigm has created the attractive-unattractive images of Europe and North America vis-à-vis Africa among Sub-Saharan Africans, as the above quote of Kohnert (2007) illustrates. Therefore, many Sub-Saharan Africans attempt to make risky journeys across the Maghreb to Europe in order to grab the opportunities there (IOM 2005). Furthermore, many queue at Western European and North American embassies for visas with all sorts of excuses and lies. However, the question is: how has this attractive-unattractive dichotomisation come about? The next section explores the evolution of this dichotomy.

The evolution of the attractive-unattractive characterisation

This section analyses the development of the attractive-unattractive dichotomy and characterisation of Sub-Saharan Africa. Two factors; that is, the colonial experience of Sub-Saharan Africa (historical factors) and the developed-underdeveloped caricature (contemporary factor) are used to explain the development of the characterisation. It is important to point out that although some migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Western Europe and North America is due to real push and pull factors, some of these push factors are exaggerated and generalised in ways that hardly show the attractive side of Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the unattractive side of Europe and North America is rarely depicted in such analysis. However, evolution of the negative and positive characterisation of Sub-Saharan Africa and Europe and North America respectively has not been examined. In this section, the role of each of these factors' ability to create negative feelings and images about Africa as opposed to positive ones on Europe and North America is explored. This is supported by the numbers of Africans migrating to Europe and North America as evidence. The first subsection focuses on the colonial characterisation of Sub-Saharan Africa, while the second subsection focuses on the developed-underdeveloped characterisation of Africa. In both subsections, the origins of the

terms and their meanings are explored.

Colonial characterisation of Sub-Saharan Africa

Before the coming of European explorers to Africa, much of Africa was unknown to the world. Indeed the 19th Century German Philosopher Hegel observed that “the Europeans have been in constant connection with America and the East Indies ever since they were discovered; but they have scarcely penetrated into the interior of Africa and Asia, because intercourse by land is much more difficult than by water” (2001, p.107). However, this does not mean that Africa did not have any civilisation in form of technology, philosophies, history, religion and development (Amin 1972; Rodney 1973). Indeed, Africa and Africans were endowed with all these. For instance, Amin (1972) argues that the period before the seventeenth century black Africa was not any different from the rest of the world in terms of civilisation and development. It was never isolated or primitive. He notes:

During this time, Black Africa was not on the whole more backward than the rest of the world. The continent was characterised by complex social formations, sometimes accompanied by the development of the state, and almost invariably based on visible social differentiations which revealed the ancient nature of the process of disintegration of the primitive village community (Amin 1972, p.506).

However, this changed with the advent of the European explorers and colonisation. Africa and black Africans were presented as primitive and savage (Amin 1972; Pieterse 1992; Mudimbe 1998; Henderson 2002; Troche 2011; Polezzi 2012; Ronnback 2014; Flint and Hewitt 2015). This included their histories, knowledge, traditions, values and practices, and the human beings themselves. Also, this ignores the fact that civilisation originated from Africa (Bernal 1991; James 2001; Troche 2011). For instance, Olutayo, Olutayo, and Omobowale note the following in relation to the civilisation of Sub-Saharan Africa:

That the art of writing emerged from Egypt is not more important than the fact that other prominent civilisations in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Oyo, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and so on, emerged in Africa even before the dominance of Roman and Greek civilisations. In other words, the peoples of Africa had *developed* ways of exploiting their environment, used same to satisfy their wants and needs, and had created institutions around these survival techniques even before 1482 when the Portuguese established the first trading port along the coast of Elmina (2008, pp.239-240).

Indeed, James (2001) argues that the Greek philosophy, which is the fulcrum of Western/European civilisation, was stolen from Africa. This they (Greek philosophers; Socrates, Plato and Aristotle) did by coming to Egypt to study Egyptian science and philosophies and by Aristotle taking on Egyptian writings during Alexander the Great's occupation of Egypt. The Egyptian knowledge was not only limited to Egypt, but spread across Africa. It is from the different parts of Africa that it spread to parts of the world. For instance, James points out:

As such, the people of North Africa were the neighbours of the Egyptians, and became the custodians of Egyptian culture, which they spread through considerable portions of Africa, Asia Minor and Europe. During their occupation of Spain, the Moors displayed with considerable credit, the grandeur of African culture and civilisation. The schools and libraries which they established became famous throughout the Mediaeval world; Science and learning were cultivated and taught; the schools of Cordova, Toledo, Seville and Saragossa attained such celebrity, that they, like their parent Egypt, attracted students from all parts of the Western world; and from them arose the most famous African professors that the world has ever known, in medicine, surgery, astronomy and mathematics. But these people from North Africa did more than merely distinguish

themselves in Spain. They were really the recognised custodians of African culture, to whom the world looked for enlightenment (2001, p.32).

Before discussing how Africa was presented as primitive and savage, it is helps to explore the meaning of the terminologies. According to Simpson (2007), the word savage comes from the Old French word-*sauvage*, meaning, 'from the woods'. It is also derived from the Latin word *sylvan*, meaning, 'beyond the governed realms of towns and settlements or uninhabited wooded lands which are not under the law, not tamed or cultivated' (Henderson 2002; Simpson 2007). Henderson (2002) argues that the term 'savage' was in use in Europe from Middle Ages. It was used to distinguish between cultivated (tame) and uncultivated (wild).

Although this was the case, Henderson (2002) maintains that by the sixteenth century the savage communities had been tamed or controlled by the more dominant societies, thus, a reduction of these communities in Europe. Despite the 'savage' terminology being a European concept, it was unfortunately applied to non-European societies, particularly Africa (Sub-Saharan Africa), by especially the European travellers, explorers, philosophers and colonialists. For instance, Pieterse (1992) asserts that "European notion of savagery was exported, along with its ambiguities, and transferred to non-Europeans [so that] by the nineteenth century it was a routine concept in descriptions of Africa."

Key among those who perpetuated the notion of savagery of Africans are philosophers, especially Immanuel Kant and Charles Hegel. In their analysis of races, they demonstrate that non-Europeans were backward in terms of morals and development. To Kant, this was due to lack of talent, which is a gift of nature, as such Africans were living in their natural state. Hegel (2001, p.111) similarly asserts:

The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality

— all that we call feeling — if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character.

Since the notions of savagery coincided with European colonisation of other parts of the world, as argued by Henderson (2002), it resulted in the development of another terminology, which is ‘civilisation’. Civilised means, ‘developed’ or ‘advanced’. As such, Europeans conducted and perceived themselves as more developed or civilised in relation to the rest of human races in general and Africans in particular (Mumford 1929; MacMillan 1934; Hegel 2001; Henderson 2002; Johnson 2003). Comparing Africans and Europeans, Hegel argues:

From these various traits it is manifest that want of self-control distinguishes the character of the Negroes. This condition is capable of no development or culture, and as we see them at this day, such have they always been. The only essential connection that has existed and continued between the Negroes and the Europeans is that of slavery. In this the Negroes see nothing unbecoming them, and the English who have done most for abolishing the slave-trade and slavery, are treated by the Negroes themselves as enemies. For it is a point of first importance with the Kings to sell their captured enemies, or even their own subjects; and viewed in the light of such facts, we may conclude *slavery* to have been the occasion of the increase of human feeling among the Negroes (2001, p.116).

Therefore, Europeans set out on the civilising mission of Africa and Africans so that Africans can be like Europeans. For instance, MacMillan (1934, p.197) maintains that “People are apt to forget that Europeanisation is an inevitable stage in civilisation... The civilised African must be more like a European than like his brother from the bush.” Indeed, looking at the education provided by Christian missionaries to Africans, Carpenter notes that “they

were concerned with Africans as persons - concerned with their growth into the full stature of manhood and womanhood which from the Christian standpoint was their birth right as Children of God (1960, p.191)". Taking on the task of civilising Africans is because, as Hegel asserts: "for the negroes are far more susceptible of European culture than the Indians, and an English traveller has adduced instances of negroes having become competent clergymen, medical men, etc" (2001, p.99). It can therefore be understood why most colonial masters set out in different ways on a mission of assimilating Africans so that they can become French, British, Portuguese, German, and thus civilised.

As seen in Hegel's account above, apart from Europeans behaving as civilised in relation to Africa, they also represented Africa and Africans as uncivilised, primitive and backward (MacMillan 1934; Carpenter 1960; Johnson 2003). For instance, MacMillan noted of African people: "certain tribes are inherently backward... I agree that the overwhelming mass of Africans are still backward" (1934, p.138). Hegel (2001) goes on to list what makes Africans primitive:

Among us instinct deters from it, if we can speak of instinct at all as appertaining to man. But with the Negro this is not the case, and the devouring of human flesh is altogether consonant with the general principles of the African race; to the sensual Negro, human flesh is but an object of sense — mere flesh. At the death of a King hundreds are killed and eaten; prisoners are butchered and their flesh sold in the markets; the victor is accustomed to eat the heart of his slain foe. When magical rites are performed, it frequently happens that the sorcerer kills the first that comes in his way and divides his body among the bystanders. Another characteristic fact in reference to the Negroes is Slavery.

Europeans carried out this portrayal through writings and images, which were works of European explorers, anthropologists,

travellers, missionaries, philosophers and colonial administrators (Simpson 2007; Henderson 2002; Polezzi 2012). For instance, Johnson notes the following reservations of a colonial administrator and explorer about Africans: “Negroes would never advance much above the status of savagery in which they exist in those parts of Africa where neither European nor Arab civilisation has yet reached them” (2003, p.109). The works of the explorers, anthropologists, colonial administrators and travellers were mainly for European audiences back at home (Europe). Relatedly, Polezzi (2012, p.337) argues that “visual images constituted an integral part of the way in which Italy’s African colonies were represented for the home public”.

These had a strong effect on the mindset and behaviours of most Europeans towards Africa (Polezzi 2012). Europeans looked at and treated Africans, especially Sub-Saharan Africans, as lazy, cruel, ignorant, barbaric, engaging in tribal wars, cannibalism and witchcraft etc, all indicative of how primitive and backward they were, especially in relation to Europeans (Crowder 1978; Hegel 2001; Johnson 2003; Ronnback 2014). The African means of production, technology, culture, morality, political systems and generally their ways of life were termed primitive. For instance, Johnson accounts for this superiority attitude of the British towards Africans thus:

In the late eighteenth century, expressions of British superiority were based on morality, law, religion and political institutions and there was a belief that certain factors made non-Europeans different: the debilitating effects of a hot climate, the effects of living under unenlightened ‘oriental despots’, and the necessity for each society to pass through the same stages of development (2003, p.1007).

Therefore, as noted by Fletcher (2013), the Africans were expected to ‘appreciate’ and ‘value’ the process of civilising Africa since it was in their ‘best interest.’ The colonialists acted as trustees promoting the welfare of Africans. This was based on the view

that Africans were unable to run and manage their own affairs, unable to lead or rule themselves. For instance, Lugard argues that “obviously the extent to which native races are capable of controlling their own affairs must vary in proportion to their degree of development and progress in social Organisation”(1922, p.194).

This perception and treatment of Africa and Africans not only had an effect on the mindset of Europeans, it also had an effect on Africans. They perceived many things African as traditional, primitive, backward, and therefore unattractive and undesirable, while everything European as modern, civilised, progressive, and therefore attractive and desirable (Fanon 1986; Johnson 2003; Polezzi 2012). As such, from pre-colonial and colonial periods, Sub-Saharan Africans, including their leaders, started desiring to own or have access to European products and goods (guns, clothes, etc) since they were perceived to represent civilisation or being civilised (Fildehouse 1981), while abandoning African ones. For instance, in Uganda, bark cloth was abandoned for cotton cloth from European countries. Cotton may be of better quality and more comfortable, however, that is not good enough reason to simply abandon one’s own products instead of improving them.

Furthermore, Africans also desired to have European knowledge and religion. For instance, in Uganda, the king of Buganda (Mutesa 1) through Henry Morton Stanley invited Christian missionaries to come to teach their religion to his subjects. It is not that Buganda kingdom did not have any religion or form of religion, but the king seems to have perceived Buganda’s religions as inferior vis-à-vis European religions.

However, some people have questioned the authenticity of the alleged Mutesa 1 letter. Despite the doubts about the letter, African religions came to be perceived as superstitious and ungodly or a form of witchcraft (MacMillan 1934) by both Africans and Europeans. Although Western religion was superior in some respect, especially in organisation and the concept of one God, African Traditional Religions had strong aspects, especially the commitment to worshipping their gods.

The civilising mission did not end with religion, but also included the education sector. The African form of education was perceived first and foremost by the Europeans, and later on Africans, as informal and unscientific, while the European one as formal and scientific (Mafela 2014). As earlier pointed out, since most things African were considered primitive, Europeans embarked on the work of implementing European education systems so as to achieve the goal of civilising the native Africans. It was as well a scheme for availing human resource which would serve their colonial interests and also assist in colonial administration (Johnson 2003). This sometimes necessitated taking Sub-Saharan African students to Europe to pursue studies.

In any case, Europe was perceived by both Europeans and Africans as the best place to provide superior education. Consequently, this chronicled the voluntary migration of Africans to Europe, and as we will see later, it has not stopped - it is rather on the rise. No doubt, Europe provided superior and quality European education since its institutions had long experience of doing so compared to education institutions in Africa which had just started doing the same. Notably, this does not mean that Africa was not good at providing African/indigenous education (education by apprenticeship and doing). Despite the inability by African colonies to provide quality European education, in some cases some African colonies did not have higher education institutions, such as universities, where native Africans could pursue their studies (Western education). Therefore, during the colonial period, we see again the migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe. This time round it was voluntary migration, for purposes of accessing superior and quality education in universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. It is important to note that, as Kasozi (1991) argues, this education was not desired and sought after merely for its superiority over African education, but it was also the gatepass to colonial administrative privileges and employment. However, some of the Sub-Saharan students who went to Europe in search of European education and training did not come back to Africa. They chose to stay. For instance, IOM asserts that:

Historical, cultural and linguistic ties have prompted large flows of skilled and unskilled migrants between African states and their former colonial powers. Many Sub-Saharan Africans who left in pursuit of higher education then stayed on in, e.g. Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain and the UK (2005, p.38).

A point to note here is that the Africans' stay was in part due to perceiving Europe as more attractive than Africa, which had been termed as savage, primitive and backward (Lugard 1922; MacMillan 1934; Hegel 2001; Johnson 2003; Polezzi 2012; Fletcher 2013). What could explain a person staying in a place which is not his/her home, if not that that place is perceived to be more attractive than their home? This attractiveness, as the push-pull paradigm stipulates, is due to high quality health care and education, availability of employment opportunities, fairly higher employment rewards and advanced physical infrastructural and technological development. However, as earlier noted, the attractive side of Europe and North America is sometimes exaggerated. This is through representing them as without unemployment, discrimination, violence, etc. Yet, the unattractive side of Sub-Saharan Africa is always exaggerated, especially in the media. For instance, in a sarcastic article titled 'How to write about Africa', Binyavanga (2006) argues:

Among your characters you must always include The Starving African, who wanders the refugee camp nearly naked, and waits for the benevolence of the West. Her children have flies on their eyelids and pot bellies, and her breasts are flat and empty. She must look utterly helpless. She can have no past, no history; such diversions ruin the dramatic moment. Moans are good. She must never say anything about herself in the dialogue except to speak of her (unspeakable) suffering.

Of special concern of all Sub-Saharan migrants to Europe and North America is the migration of health workers for better working conditions and remunerations. This is of special concern

because, although there is a world-wide shortage of health workers, Sub-Saharan Africa is worst hit. For instance, IOM (2005, pp.38-39) observes:

The British Medical Journal estimated that 23,000 health-care professionals emigrate annually from Africa. It is estimated that between 1993 and 2002, Ghana lost 630 medical doctors, 410 pharmacists, 87 laboratory technicians and 11,325 nurses. In 2002 alone, 70 doctors, 77 pharmacists and 214 nurses left Ghana. In the UK, the main source countries for nurses issued with work permits in 2001 were South Africa and Zimbabwe. Statistics available from the Ministry of Health in Zimbabwe indicate that between 1998 and 2000 around 340 nurses graduated, while the number of Zimbabwean nurses registered in the UK in 2001 was 382. As there is no surplus of nurses in Zimbabwe, these figures represent a major loss of the human resources required in the country.

The role of the education sector (founded on Western knowledge and philosophies – refer to Muwanga-Zake in Chapter 4) in perpetuating such an inferior identity (Sub-Saharan Africa) as opposed to a superior identity (Europe and North America), cannot be underestimated. The contemporary education offered by most post-colonial African countries is a legacy of the colonialists, and this is what Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania was against - that Western Education was alienating Africans from their own values and enforcing western values. African traditional value systems were being despised by the colonisers (Major and Mulvihill 2009). Indeed, Ngũgĩ (1986) argues that the African school makes students hate their native languages and idolise Western ones. This was our experience while pursuing elementary and high school education in Uganda. This, as earlier noted, is due to the colonial presentation of everything African as unattractive and primitive.

It did not end with the languages. Ssentongo (2016) lists

African things/products the so called modern Africans wish not to associate with in preference for Western products. They include names, languages, clothes, skin colour/pigmentation, music and dress code. For instance, Ssentongo notes:

It is trendy/modern to be called Sasha, Fifi, Ethan, Salvado, Nash, and so forth! They sound nice and allow for smooth tongue-rolling with a stereo effect, it is argued. Thus, in a number of 'modern' families today, at the birth of a child, such names would be the first to be thought about, sometimes in consultation of online name catalogues and TV soaps (2016, p.53).

Without doubt, the education sector (colonial and post-colonial) has played a big role in the contemporary migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe and North America, since, as earlier pointed out, it barely teaches Africans to love their things/products/environments. Although there are unskilled and semi-skilled Sub-Saharan Africans who migrate to Europe and North America, available evidence shows that it is usually those in the middle class and skilled who are leading (IOM 2003; 2005; 2010; World Bank 2011a; UNDESA 2013). As earlier noted in the section on trends of migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe and North America, one out of nine tertiary educated Africans born in Africa lived in OECD (UNDESA 2013).

The uneducated and less educated either engage in internal migration or remain in the regions of their countries of residence. This could be partly due to lack of adequate resources (financial, social and human). However, it is partly due to lack of enough knowledge about Europe and North America. Therefore, it is those who have gone through the education processes in Sub-Saharan Africa that often migrate. In their education, many come to the realisation that Africa is still a backward society, while Europe and North America are advanced and more desirable.

Educated Africans fulfil their desire and preference of being part of Europe and North America either by way of offering their labour or pursuing further studies. For instance,

IOM (2008, p.108) points out the following on African students abroad: “for their part, African students have a clear preference for Europe – France alone receives 55 per cent of all African students in Europe and 42 per cent of all international African students enrolled in the OECD area”.

Certainly, although most migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe and North America are skilled and in middle income, there are also unskilled and poor Sub-Saharan Africans migrating to Europe and North America. However, as earlier pointed out, the statistics are hard to come by, especially that most of these migrants either move irregularly, without legal papers, or overstay their visas (IOM 2010). This category’s migration can also partly be understood in terms of the characterisation of Sub-Saharan Africa as backward. For instance, what can explain the migration of people using the services of smugglers when the due processes and methods are clear and known? Or what can explain one’s overstaying of his/her visa when he or she has a home country? No doubt that some of them are hard-pressed by the negative circumstances in which they find themselves, such as biting poverty. However, as earlier noted, some of them unduly idolise Europe and North America as places devoid of undesirable conditions of living and disregard risks of being deported to their home countries when authorities in the destination countries find out or being duped by conmen or human traffickers.

From the above analysis, one can argue that the presentation of Africa as primitive and backward while characterising Europe and North America as absolutely civilised in one way or another has contributed to the emergence of the push-pull paradigm in relation to migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe and North America. The portrayal of Africa in general and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular as backward and primitive has also had a negative psychological and ideological impact on Sub-Saharan Africans. Many see, understand, perceive and experience Sub-Saharan Africa in negative terms, while Europe and North America are perceived in positive terms. Relatedly, many Sub-Saharan Africans have come to believe that they are as have been defined by others (Europeans), and not by themselves. For

instance, as projected by Hegel (2001). Finally, some believe that if they are to develop or if any development is to take place in Sub-Saharan Africa, then it is the Europeans with the ability to do it (see Taiwo 2010). Due to this negative ideation of Sub-Saharan Africa, this category of Sub-Saharan Africans chooses to migrate to Europe and North America at any opportunity.

Characterisation of Africa as underdeveloped

Another characterisation of Africa vis-à-vis Europe and North America which has reinforced the push-pull explanation of Sub-Saharan African migration to Europe and North America is the underdeveloped-developed dichotomy. Similar to the primitive-civilised characterisation, the developed-underdeveloped characterisation is binary in nature, where Sub-Saharan Africa is at one end of the spectrum, while Europe and North America on the other. Sub-Saharan Africa is perceived, considered and treated as underdeveloped, Europe and North America as developed. This characterisation largely replaced the primitive-civilised dichotomy of the colonial times, however with a similar mindset. Nederveen refers to it as the 'new religion of the West' (2000, p.175) in relation to the rest of the world.

Although such is the case, it is prudent to show how the underdevelopment-development paradigm developed, before demonstrating how it fuses into the push-pull explanation of Sub-Saharan migration to Europe and North America.

According to Gasper (2004), the underdeveloped-developed characterisation dates back to the 1940s. It was used in relation to countries in Latin America (underdeveloped) and Europe and North America (developed). For instance, Gasper (2004, p.33) notes that "in the late 1940s and early 1950s Latin America awoke to find itself, to its surprise and chagrin, now classified as "underdeveloped" by the new United Nations and its dominant member the USA, alongside nearly all of Africa and Asia." This confirms our earlier observation that underdevelopment is a new characterisation that has replaced the primitive or backward characterisation. Before turning to the meaning of these terms, it is important to point out other terms

that are used interchangeably with underdeveloped/underdevelopment. These include; third world, global south and poor countries.

Although the term ‘third world’ is used interchangeably with underdeveloped or developing, its meaning is different from that of underdeveloped. The term arose during the cold war period to refer to countries that were neither allies of the United States nor Soviet Union. The United States and its allies were considered as the first world while the Soviet Union and its allies were the second world (Dodds 2008; Rist 2010). On the other hand, since most wealthy and ‘developed’ countries are in the northern hemisphere while most poor countries are in the southern hemisphere, the term global north and global south were used to capture this. However, there are exceptions of countries such as Australia which are in the south, but also ‘wealthy’.

The term ‘poor countries’ is used in relation to countries’ Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Dodds 2008). These are the countries that are always at the bottom of the global economic system and are distinctive not just in being the poorest but also in having failed to grow. Such countries in the ‘bottom billion’ are impoverished and have been trapped in civil war, plague and ignorance (Collier 2007).

In order for one to define or understand ‘underdevelopment’, one has to first define or understand what development is. Underdevelopment is the opposite of development. Indeed, Rist (2010) notes that the two words are a polar couple. Although the term development and underdevelopment have been in use for a long time, they remain ambiguous and vague (Gasper 2004; Naz 2006; Rist 2010; Onyibor 2013). This could be because, as Rist (2010) argues, the word first appeared on the world scene as a public relations term when Harry S. Truman used it in his inaugural speech, since he wanted to include a fourth issue that would sound a bit original.

Rist further observes that, “from the very beginning, when the idea was first aired in international circles, no one – not even the US President – really knew what ‘development’ was all about” (2010, p.19). However, the term has been used to mean some form

of desirable transformation. This could be in terms of; economic indicators, physical infrastructure, social services such as education and health, science and technology and means of production, among others (Naz 2006; Sidaway 2008; Rist 2010). It is a process of growth or maturation (Naz 2006; Rist 2010). On the other hand, underdevelopment relates to immaturity or backwardness in terms of GDP, science and technology, physical infrastructure and means of production, among others. For instance, Lewis defines an underdeveloped country:

... in the sense that its technology is backward, when compared with that of other countries, or in the sense that its institutions are relatively unfavourable to investment, or in the sense that the capital resources per head are low when compared say with western Europe, or in the sense that output per head is low or in the sense that it has valuable natural resources (mineral, water, oil) which it has not yet began to use (1963, pp.19-20).

Using development and underdevelopment as organising terms, most of the Sub-Saharan countries are categorised as underdeveloped and most western European and North American countries as developed. For instance, thirty-four out of forty seven Sub-Saharan countries are listed as least developed, while Europe has none and North America has only one.

Looking at Sub-Saharan Africa as underdeveloped or developing is a wrong assessment and judgement of the region's development, and thus it gives a wrong impression about the sub-continent. First and foremost, as we earlier noted, Africa was at the same level of development as the rest of the world by 15th century. Secondly, it uses the West as the standard for judging development (Nederveen 2000; Hellsten 2013). Indeed, Nederveen (2000, p.175) argues that development "means cultural Westernisation and homogenisation". It is this kind of development which has been promoted and pursued in Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, Hellsten (2013, p.81) observes:

... what the Western development partners have promoted

as desirable development is actually the historical development of their own nations. The Western socio-politico-economic model has been set as an ideal for the rest of the world.

That aside, development as conceived by the West is narrow and simplistic, yet the concept is complex and broad. As Lewis (1963) demonstrates above, development has mainly been conceived in terms of economic aspects and indicators. Usually, the indicator used to measure this development is Gross Domestic Product, which itself has its own challenges. The GDP model ignores the African humanistic values, such as egalitarianism, solidarity, social responsibility and equity, as part of development (Hellsten (2013)). If these were considered while judging development, Sub-Saharan Africa would be considered developed or more developed than Europe and North America since they have scarcity of these values.

The current categorisation of Sub-Saharan Africa has negative consequences, especially on the mindset and attitudes of its residents. It is this kind of categorisation which is in part making many Sub-Saharan Africans, especially the skilled, to migrate to Europe and North America. Many seem to migrate to take advantage of employment opportunities, 'superior education' and high standards of living offered by Europe and North America. Migration offers a safety valve (collier, 2007). Kohnert asserts:

Apart from push factors, like violent conflicts, gross human rights violations, population pressure, degradation of natural resources, and poverty, the major part of current migration is due to external pull factors. Notably young people, threatened by unemployment and lack of perspectives in their home country, are eager to try their luck in what may appear to them at first sight as their El Dorado, i. e. Western Europe. Many of them struggle to reach it, in utter disregard of the involved risks, by all means, mostly illegally (2007, p.7).

IOM (2000: 145) also observes:

In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the existence of a stressful economic environment combines with declining real incomes to create a perception that the local economic future is dismal. This perception, in turn, contributes to the sustained exodus of skilled and unskilled persons—both men and women. While data on the proportions of skilled and unskilled workers in these flows are unavailable, the outflow of professionals and skilled workers to various African countries, Europe, the USA, and Canada is on a scale not experienced before.

The specified factors, such as the stressful economic environment are indicators of Sub-Saharan Africa's underdevelopment status, according to the definition of underdevelopment given by Lewis (1963). On the other hand, a flourishing economic environment, high incomes and employment opportunities are indicators of how developed Europe and North America are (see Lewis 1963; Naz 2006; Sidaway 2008; Rist 2010).

Thus, the developed-underdeveloped characterisation of Sub-Saharan Africa has similar influence on Sub-Saharan migration to Europe and North America as the civilised-primitive characterisation. As earlier pointed out, education provided in Sub-Saharan Africa is perceived and treated as inferior in terms of delivery methods and skills acquired thereafter compared to education from Europe and North America. Indeed, alluding to Nederveen's (2000) ideas of development as a process of Westernisation and homogenisation, Sub-Saharan Africa has not been in position to successfully provide quality Western education. Because most Sub-Saharan African countries cannot adequately provide education according to Western standards, since unlike the West they have just started doing so, most Sub-Saharan Africans perceive, and rightly so, the education provided by these countries as inferior and underdeveloped, hence the desire and actual migration to Europe and North America. For instance, IOM

(2005, pp. 34-35) notes:

The significant outflows of SSA migrants were mainly directed towards Western Europe, but also to North America and the Arab region. Many were traditionally directed towards former colonial powers; for example, Congolese emigrating to Belgium, Senegalese to France, Nigerians to the UK, Cape Verdeans to Portugal. Many migrants left for higher education and specialised training, thus contributing to the braindrain on the continent.

Therefore, the underdeveloped-developed configuration directly influences in the formulation of the push-pull paradigm of migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe and North America. This characterisation has painted Sub-Saharan Africa as a subcontinent with only negative development, while Europe and North America with positive development. Unfortunately, such characterisation hardly highlights any positive development aspects (humanistic values) of Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the negative aspects of Sub-Saharan Africa are sometimes exaggerated by both African and European writers, media and ordinary residents (see Binyavanga 2006). This has, similar to the primitive characterisation, created a negative psychological and ideological effect on the mindset of most Sub-Saharan Africans. As a result, some desire and others have actualised their desires by migrating to Europe and North America so as to partake of the imaginary or associated benefits.

Conclusion

We have shown that a number of factors; political, economic, demographic, ethnic, psychological and ecological, using the push-pull paradigm explain the forms of migration of Sub-Saharan Africans to Europe and North America. The majority of these immigrants are tertiary or highly educated individuals. Indeed, there is a substantial number of Sub-Saharan Africans living outside Africa although most people in Sub-Saharan Africa have not migrated. Individuals are forced to migrate from areas of

scarcity to areas with more opportunities and their decisions to migrate involve rational choices.

Collier (2007) observes that, to the educated, their migration decisions determine where wealth is held; and not much at all like the migration decisions of the uneducated who are more likely to migrate the wider the differential between their earnings at home and what they can earn abroad.

From the above explanation, it is noted that the idea of migration has had its roots way back from how the colonialists represented Africa and Africans as primitive, savage and uncivilised. This has been compounded by European travellers, missionaries, explorers' writings and images that have portrayed Africa as a backward continent and Europe as highly civilised. This representation has not only contributed to the evolution of the push–pull paradigm, but also effected the perception of many African things by Africans as traditional, primitive and backward, hence unattractive and undesirable while everything about Europe is perceived as modern and progressive. Furthermore, the contemporary characterisation and branding of Africa as third world and underdeveloped has also had negative consequences, especially on the mindset and attitudes of Africans who always want to migrate to Europe and North America – perceived as the first and developed world, to take advantage of employment opportunities and high standards of living.

This 'attractive–unattractive' identity dichotomy has not only stifled Africa's development efforts but also continued to promote the developed countries' legacy over Africa. How Africans perceive themselves and how others from the developed world perceive Africans has greatly influenced the realities of development. Africans should therefore break and transcend the chains of the past (Rodney, 1973) and false contemporary representations, and re-create their own history (self-image). Africans should appreciate themselves as Africans (Major and Mulvihill 2009). This is indeed a big toll on Sub-Saharan Africa, considering the complicated set up of the international institutions and social structures that perpetuate the disastrous images. Nevertheless, with a conscious move towards recasting curriculum,

governance, and mindsets, it is still possible to erase much of the damage so as to check on self-denial, self-hatred and the desire to migrate.

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