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THE AGE OF INTRA-AFRICAN MIGRATION

A Synthesis

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1 The age of intra-African migration

Western public perceptions of African migration history tend to concentrate on two of its most dramatic and visible forms. First, the intercontinental slave trades, which involved the forced displacement of an estimated 18 million people across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans as well as the Sahara and Red Sea from the 16th century through to the late 19th century, of which about two-thirds ended up in the Americas (Manning 1990, 84; see also Eltis 2000; Campbell 2004, 2005; Klein 2010). Second, the more recent irregular waves of African migration to Europe, which are expected by many to further intensify considering Africa's ongoing demographic expansion and limited economic opportunities for its aspirational young generations (European Commission, Joint Research Centre 2018; United Nations Development Programme 2019).

Attention to both expressions of mobility, past and current, is certainly warranted. Slave migration had a distinctly violent and pernicious character and left deep legacies across the globe. Likewise, in the context of overwhelming global disparities in wealth and security, it is of eminent importance to address the plight of African migrants crossing the Mediterranean. Yet, when we view Africa's long-term migration experience solely as an "exodus" of its young and able across the oceans, we unduly understate the historical and contemporary importance of migration *within* Africa, and the many important connections between mobility within and beyond the continent. Surveying and synthesizing the diversity of migration patterns that have emerged, transformed, and disappeared *within* Africa from the 19th to the 21st century contributes to correcting this imbalance, which is the central aim of this book.

While mobility has always been integral to human societies, the long-distance movement of individuals and groups across oceans and between world regions has expanded to unprecedented rates in the past two centuries. In the context of accelerating globalization, industrialization, colonization, decolonization, and the increasing pace of demographic growth and technological change, global patterns of human mobility have transformed with dizzying speed. Notably, Africans were highly visible as intercontinental movers in the first half of the 19th century and the later part of the 20th century, but largely absent

DOI: 10.4324/9781003225027-2

from intercontinental migration in the long intervening century between 1850 and 1960. This book captures the ways in which African migration changed across the continent over this long century; how people moved over short and long distances, as laborers in mines and on farms, as temporary sojourners and permanent settlers, to rural and urban destinations, voluntarily or forced, spontaneously or assisted, and individually or in groups. We will argue that such mobility was entangled with the same processes of globalization, industrialization, and imperialism that spurred migrant flows between and within other world regions (McKeown 2004; Hatton and Williamson 2005). By placing African continental migration in a long-term global perspective, this volume seeks to fill an important gap in the study of global migration and African history.

Until the 1820s, for every European that migrated to the Americas, four to five Africans disembarked (Eltis 1983, 255). In contrast, while the trans-Atlantic slave trade dwindled, over 50 million European migrants converged upon the Americas in the period 1850–1940. Figure 1.1 visualizes this shift. Asian long-distance migration also surged as, from c. 1830 onward, Indian and Chinese migrants provided a source of cheap labor – both indentured and voluntary – after the abolition of slavery in the British, and, subsequently, French empires (Northrup 1995; Huff and Caggiano 2007). Some 50 million migrants, also mostly from India and China, converged upon the export-oriented colonial economies of

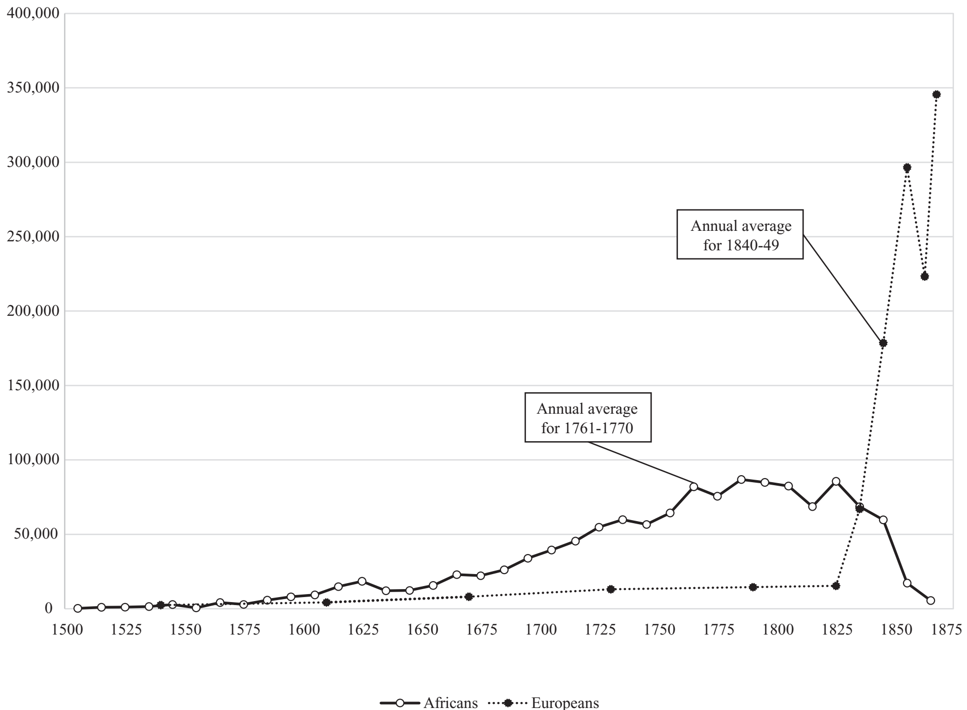

FIGURE 1.1 Annual migration of Africans and Europeans to the Americas, 1500–1875.

Sources: African migration from slavevoyages.org. European migration 1501–1820 from Horn and Morgan (2005, 21–22) and 1820, 1820–59 from Eltis (1983, 256), and 1861–80 from Ferenczi and Willcox (1929, 192). The dots represent mid-period annual averages; two examples of periods to which the annual averages apply are indicated in the graph.

Southeast Asia. Another 50 million migrants colonized the Russian and Chinese frontiers in Northeast Asia (McKeown 2004, 156). This surge in long-distance migration across the globe – sometimes spontaneous, at other times assisted, overwhelmingly voluntary, and facilitated by the revolutions in transportation and information technology – is widely referred to as the "age of mass migration" (Hatton and Williamson 1998).

Curtin (1997, 76) summarized the momentous shift in Africans' role in this age of mass migration: "the African slave trade was phased out of existence. In its place came new global patterns of migration. Africa was to play a part, but no longer the central part, in intercontinental migration." Africans first reappeared in large numbers outside the continent, and only transiently, when they were mobilized during the First, and especially the Second World War, to fight in the European and Asian theaters. Yet, as Figure 1.2 illustrates, the tide really turned from the 1960s onward, when North African migration to Europe led the way, but extra-continental migration from sub-Saharan Africa, be it for purposes of seeking prosperity, escaping violent conflict, or both, began to rise as well (Flahaux and De Haas 2016; Manning, Chapter 16, this volume).[1] Estimates on the number of residents living outside their country of birth, compiled by the World Bank (WB) and the United Nations (UN), show that only 13 out of every 10,000 African-born individuals lived outside the continent in 1960. In 2019, this figure had risen to 81, a six-fold per capita increase which,

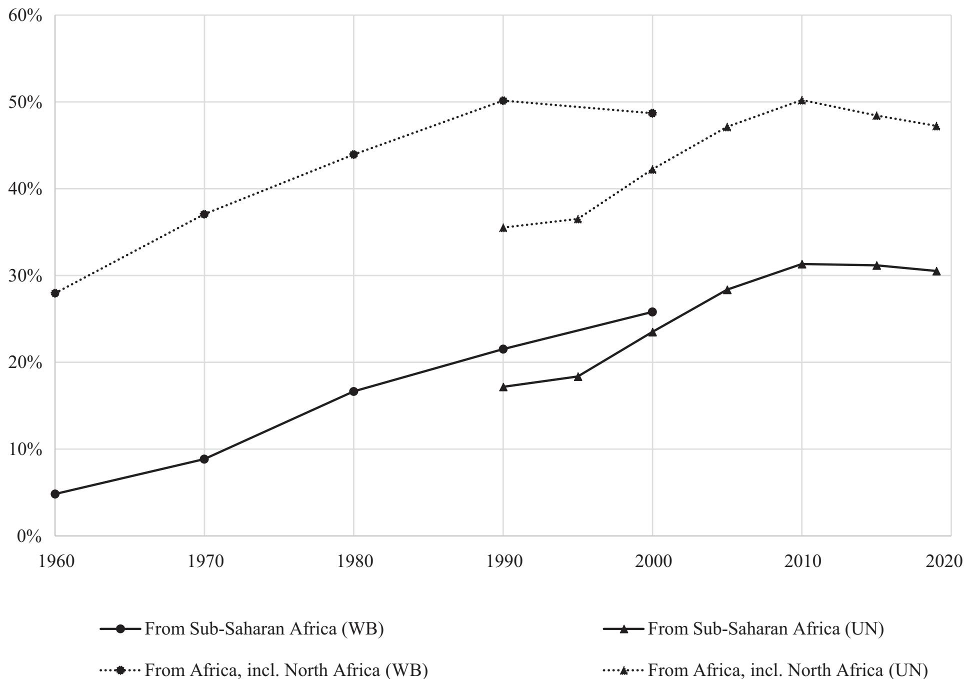

FIGURE 1.2 Share of international migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and Africa (including North Africa) that have moved outside the continent, 1960–2020.

Source: Migration data from the World Bank, Global Bilateral Migration Database (indicated as WB), and United Nations (indicated as UN). More analysis of the UN data in Manning, Chapter 15.

if we factor in population growth, corresponds with a 30-fold *absolute* increase (see Table 1.1 for sources).

Many African intercontinental movers were highly educated and moved via regular channels to diverse destinations across North America, Europe, and the Middle East (Lucas 2015). Still, most of the scholarly, political, and public attention goes out to irregular migration to Europe, involving dangerous and often fatal Saharan and Mediterranean crossings, generating anxieties and controversies in the receiving societies. Recent alarmist claims of an African "exodus" or "invasion" (Asserate 2018; Smith 2019) are overblown and hardly backed up by numbers (De Haas 2008). Nevertheless, these migratory flows should be expected to further intensify in the coming decades, considering the overwhelming global disparities in wealth, employment, and security (Hatton and Williamson 2003; Lucas 2015; Carling and Schewel 2018; European Commission, Joint Research Centre 2018; De Haas 2019; United Nations Development Programme 2019; Clemens 2020).

But what happened in the long century separating Africa's two global diasporas – the external slave trades and today's intensified extra-continental migration? In this book we refer to this era as the "age of intra-African migration," and view it as a constituent manifestation of the global "age of mass migration." As will become clear, we do not seek to argue that intra-African migration was unimportant before the decline of the slave trades.[2] We also do not propose that Africans entirely refrained from intercontinental mobility during the age of intra-African migration.[3] Nor do we posit that intra-African migration has lost its relevance as African intercontinental migration has become more important in recent decades, or that it is set to dwindle in the near future.[4] What we do argue, instead, is that the age of intra-African migration saw *an accelerated succession of overlapping migration patterns within the African continent which were driven, in large part, by the same forces that shaped the global age of mass migration*.

There are at least three reasons to view Africa's internal migration history as an *integral part* of the global historical migration dynamic. First, the growing volume of migrants in Africa was consistent with the growing global significance of migration, which involved intensified inter- as well as intra-regional moves. Second, African migration was responsive to the widening spatial opportunity disparities resulting from accelerated economic and political globalization after c. 1820, in ways broadly comparable to migration in other parts of the world. As we will see, European industrialization and improving terms of trade for tropical commodities during much of the 19th century intensified demand for labor – both coerced and free – in labor-scarce regions of commodity production. Spatially uneven opportunity structures that emerged in this period also fueled large-scale rural and urban migration. In addition, shifting patterns of African mobility were driven by changing ideologies concerning labor coercion, transformative declines in transportation costs, and imperial expansion and conflict, all of which are best understood in a global perspective. Third, changing patterns of African migration were directly connected with the intercontinental migration of Europeans and Asians, especially from India and the Middle East, into Africa. These latter groups of immigrants, although making up a very small proportion of the population in most regions of Africa, had a disproportionally large impact on the opportunities and constraints faced by migrants, imposing new territorial borders, labor relations, and spatial distributions of economic activity in the receiving societies.

The magnitude of intra-African migration in this era was remarkably large. For example, according to a widely circulated estimate, in the vast region west of Nigeria, the ratio of population in the labor-supplying interior savanna zones versus the coastal cash-crop zones shifted from roughly 1:1 to 1:2 between 1920 and 1970, largely as the result of labor migration (Amin 1995, 35–6; Curtin et al. 1995, 466). With a total estimated population of 45 million in 1970 (United Nations 2019), this implies a "net" shift of 7.5 million people, or 17% of the region's total population.[5] While we are certainly not the first to observe and explain such momentous shifts, the analytical framework we apply will move beyond oversimplified interpretations of a purported transition from "traditional" to "modern" migration, or from "forced" to "voluntary" mobility. Such dichotomies have long dominated our understanding of historical migration in Africa's 19th and 20th century. The new framework we propose is partly conceptual, distinguishing between migration *flows*, *systems,* and *patterns*, and classifying different types of migration and migrants. It is also partly explanatory, distinguishing "contextual" drivers, which include the forces that are *endogenous* to specific migration flows and systems, from "macro-historical" drivers, which encompass fundamental societal transitions that have initiated long-term shifts in overarching migration patterns across the continent and beyond. We view these drivers as operating simultaneously. Transcending earlier debates, we do not seek to argue that migration should be explained with reference to *either* local conditions *or* external forces but instead take a pluralist approach in which general macro-historical trends intertwine with the place- and time-specific unfolding of migratory activity.

We continue in Section 2 with a review of the African migration historiography. We elaborate our conceptual framework in Section 3. Section 4 offers our synthesis of the age of intra-African migration, which we argue consisted of five shifting patterns of migration that are explored in greater detail in this volume. Section 5 provides a brief reflection on the renewed global diaspora of Africans.

2 Historiographic foundations for a synthesis

Numerous scholars have recognized the centrality of migration in Africa's modern history. Historians, in particular, have produced rich long-run accounts of specific migrations systems, including Harries (1994) on Mozambican migrants to South Africa, Manchuelle (1997) on the Soninke diaspora, and Cordell, Gregory, and Piché (1996) and Piché and Cordell (2015) on the Burkinabe diaspora. However, attempts at historical synthesis and long-term, continent-wide comparisons of migration have remained limited to a few short essays, including a statement on Africa and global migration in the *longue durée* (Curtin 1997), a review of migration in Africa from 1900 to 1975 (Cordell 2013), and a brief survey on African migration history (Usman and Falola 2009). Specifically, the broader *patterns* and deeper *drivers* that characterize the age of intra-African migration have remained understudied and superficially theorized, and are yet to be interpreted in the context of the dramatic shifts in global mobility that occurred during the "age of mass migration" (c. 1850–1940). Moreover, migration *within* Africa is underrepresented in a growing body of macro-regional histories which explore migration as one of the core phenomena of globalization, regional integration, and transnational connections across Eurasia (Moch 1992; Lucassen and Lucassen 2009, 2014; McKeown 2010; Siegelbaum and Moch 2015) and the Indian and Atlantic oceans (Hatton and Williamson 1998; Eltis 2000; Campbell 2004,

2005). In this section we review the key strands in the historiography on migration in Africa, highlight gaps and prevailing misconceptions in the literature, and make our case for a new, pluralistic framework.[6]

The early roots of scholarship on African migration are found in the studies and reports written and commissioned by officials of and advisors to the European colonial bureaucracies. Such writings were typically motivated by the instrumental concern of how to pin down "drifting" African populations –nomadic pastoralists as well as shifting cultivators – in designated tribal areas and how to get sufficient African workers to offer their labor at the right place and at rates low enough to satisfy foreign employers, investors, and colonial governments (Orde-Browne 1933). Central were concerns of "detribalization" of laborers, the merits and dangers of oscillating versus permanent migration, and the position of women and children in migration systems (Read 1942; Cooper 1996). Reflecting preoccupations of governance and labor supply, biased and poorly informed conceptions of Africa's migration history emerged, for example, presuming that Africans tended to move collectively and in waves of settlers or invaders and that individuals were instead firmly embedded in tribal structures and inherently reluctant to move.

Many such preconceptions were challenged, but others were reinforced when, post-Second World War, the issue of labor migration began to attract sustained attention from anthropologists (Schapera 1947; Richards 1954), economists (Elkan 1959; Berg 1961), and sociologists (Mitchell 1959). These studies shared a common concern with the role of migration in processes of economic development and "modernization." Despite the richness of some of these accounts, they were often commissioned by colonial states and mostly refrained from fundamentally challenging the structures of colonialism. A particularly innovative contribution was made by anthropologist Hill (1963), who demonstrated that Ghana's cocoa revolution was realized not by immobile and tradition-minded peasants, but by mobile farmers with a capitalist mindset, who invested in land and accumulated large farms outside their home region.

Throughout the colonial era, dissenting observers and the incipient *International Labour Organization* had drawn attention to how colonial policies produced flight as well as exploitation and high mortality among recruited migrant laborers (Cadbury 1910; Ross 1925; Buell 1928). During the 1950s, with Africa still under colonial rule, the Saint Lucian economist and Nobel Prize winner Lewis (1954) and Burmese economist Myint (1958) began to address the role of colonial extraction in generating migration flows in Africa more systematically. After independence, and especially during the 1970s and 1980s, scholarly debates took a decisively critical turn, using Marxist and World Systems approaches to link migration explicitly to underdevelopment. Numerous studies emphasized the extractive conditions engineered by European capitalists and colonizers, ranging from the strategic introduction of direct (monetary) taxes and the formation of native reserves, to outright force (Arrighi 1970; Wolpe 1972; Amin 1974; Van Onselen 1976).

In his influential and encompassing iteration of this position, Samir Amin (1972, 1974, 1995) argued that cheap labor supply to core areas of commodity extraction, such as mines and cash-crop plantations, was crucial to the functioning of colonial capitalism. To generate such supply colonizers systematically disrupted livelihoods in migrant-sending regions, which were designated as "labor reserves." Migration further contributed to such peripheralization, as it drained their productive and reproductive labor. The shape that labor migrations took, Amin argued, depended on whether they emerged in areas dominated by

European settlers and mining in Southern and Eastern Africa, the "Africa of the labour reserves," or in the indigenous cash crop economies of West Africa, the "Africa of the colonial trade economy," where slave-based production systems were reshaped to fit the interests of European colonizers.

While Amin and others diametrically opposed the earlier view that migration was a "natural" or "functional" aspect of modernization and instead focused on the role of global power structures, they simultaneously reinforced the prevailing dichotomy between "traditional" and "modern" migration. Amin even posited that "before European colonization, Africa was the scene of mass movements of peoples" (Amin 1974, 66), and juxtaposed this "traditional" migration of peoples (note the plural!) to the "modern" migration of laborers, "[taking] their place in an organised and structured host society" (Amin 1995, 29). Either praising or lamenting it, modernization and underdevelopment scholars converged in their attribution of this purported transition from "traditional" to "modern" migration to the rapid diffusion of capitalist relations of production under European colonial rule.

Following broader trends in migration studies – and the social sciences in general – scholarship since the 1990s has shifted away from grand theoretical paradigms of modernization and underdevelopment, toward a more contextualized treatment of migrant experiences and aspirations, and the ways in which migrants carved out spaces to exert their agency within broader colonial and post-colonial structures. More attention has been paid to the role of culture, identity, and the lived experiences of migrants and people in the sending communities (Harries 1994; Dougnon 2007; Guthrie 2016). Historians have emphasized the importance of gender and family for migration across Africa (Stichter 1985; Walker 1990; Bozzoli and Nkotsoe 1991; Rodet 2009; Penvenne 2015). The work on the Soninke diaspora by Manchuelle (1997), and labor migration in South Africa and Mozambique by Harries (1994), in particular, has uncovered deep histories of mobility, with both continuities and complex shifts between the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras. Moreover, complex linkages between slavery and migration have been revealed, as forced and voluntary mobility often complemented or even reinforced one another for much of the 19th and 20th centuries (Harries 1981, 2014; Rockel 2006; Rossi 2014). Scholars have also increasingly explored the links between mobility, territory, and state formation in pre-colonial and colonial times (Kopytoff 1987; Herbst 1990; Nugent and Asiwaju 1996; Geschiere 2009; Vigneswaran and Quirk 2015).

All the while, social scientists' burgeoning output on post-colonial African migration has become fragmented into vast parallel scholarships on urbanization, refugees, and international migration, typically taking little heed of developments in both historical scholarship and adjacent fields that study African mobility.[7] An extensive literature on African urbanization and internal migration emerged from the 1960s onward, as newly available spatial statistics enabled geographers and demographers to quantify such processes, and to lay an empirical foundation to inform independent African states with data and theoretical insights to govern demographic shifts (Kuper 1965; Prothero 1965; Mabogunje 1968; Hance 1970; Oucho and Gould 1993; Adepoju 2003). Recent studies on contemporary international migration have focused on the effect of economic development on emigration rates and the role of migration and remittances on development (Gupta, Pattillo and Wagh 2009; Lucas 2015; Flahaux and De Haas 2016; Dinkelman and Mariotti 2016), as well as migrant identities and networks and policy responses (De Bruijn, Van Dijk, and Foeken 2001; Berriane and de Haas 2012; Kane and Leedy 2013; Moyo, Laine, and Nshimbi 2021). Scholars have

also begun to harness historical data to explore the determinants, extent, and consequences of urban growth in Africa (Fay and Opal 2000; Fox 2012; Potts 2012; Jedwab and Moradi 2016). In the meanwhile, studies of the refugee crises in post-independence Africa have focused mainly on developments in (inter)national refugee regimes, in laws and policies, or have taken a decidedly critical sociological approach, but most of this work is ahistorical (Gatrell 2013, 11; Williams 2020, 560–1).

Social scientists widely hold that African migration, especially out of the continent, has been intensifying as a result of people's growing aspirations and abilities to move in a context of limited economic growth and fast demographic expansion (Hatton and Williamson 2003; Lucas 2015; Carling and Schewel 2018; European Commission, Joint Research Centre 2018; Hein De Haas 2019; United Nations Development Programme 2019; Clemens 2020). However, this conclusion is typically drawn with little consideration of deeper historical migration shifts *within* Africa and the possible connections these may have with the growth of extra-continental migration today, an issue that we take up further in our epilogue to this volume.

This concise review of key strands in the African migration historiography reveals an increasingly rich understanding of migration and mobility across the African continent. Nevertheless, and perhaps *because of* the contextual focus of historians and the disciplinary compartmentalization and lack of temporal depth of social scientists, attempts to synthesize long-run patterns of intra-African migration remain wanting. The starkly dichotomous "traditional-modern" framing remains notably influential in descriptions of African historical migration (Aina and Baker 1995; Cohen 1995; De Bruijn and Van Dijk 2003, 287; Usman and Falola 2009; Cordell 2013, 180–8; Fernandez 2013, 135; De Haas, Castles, and Miller 2020), despite recurrent critiques (Amselle 1976; Gerold-Scheepers and Van Binsbergen 1978; Manchuelle 1997; De Bruijn, Van Dijk, and Foeken 2001; Bakewell and De Haas 2007). Our contribution is a new pluralistic analytical framework that highlights five macro-historical drivers that interacted with a great variety of contextual drivers to produce numerous unique migration systems as well as five overarching shifting patterns of African migration. We will now introduce the conceptual building blocks of this framework.

3 A conceptual framework for the study of African migration history

3.1 Who is a migrant?

Precise definition of who is a migrant has proven to be a problematic and often politicized exercise. Definitions revolving around the crossing of international borders or migrants' specific objectives and characteristics are of practical use for policy makers working in contexts where definitions have direct legal and administrative repercussions (UNHCR 2016; IOM 2019; Migrant Observatory 2019). However, they are too restrictive to form the basis of a study of historical migration. It does not serve our purposes to impose a strict classification by migrants' objectives or characteristics, as we are interested precisely in the many ways in which forced/free, internal/international, and "economic"/"political" migration were related and made up shifting patterns of migration. We also want to avoid making our discussion of migration contingent on a specific definition of borders and nations. Borders have certainly been a relevant factor in African mobility, creating "barriers, conduits, and opportunities" (Nugent and Asiwaju 1996). However, during much of the

age of intra-African migration, "international" borders with clearly defined implications for citizenship and sovereignty were mostly absent in Africa (Kopytoff 1987; Herbst 2000). Colonial and post-colonial borders often created artificial and arbitrary boundaries, but also changed the meaning of territoriality itself and interrupted wider circulatory flows of traders and pastoralists (Nugent and Asiwaju 1996; Mbembe 2000; Mathys 2021). Today, many African borders remain exceptionally porous (Lucas 2015: 1452–53).

To analyze the full breadth of migration manifestations in Africa over a two-century period, we adopt a migration typology proposed by world historian Patrick Manning. This typology takes the "community" with loosely defined cultural, linguistic, economic, and environmental characteristics as its starting point (Manning 2006; Lucassen and Lucassen 2017; Manning 2020). First, Manning distinguishes *home-community migration*, involving movement *within* a defined community. Prominent among home-community migrants have been women moving to their husbands' homesteads upon marriage. In Africa, as remarked by Cordell (2013, 187), "spanning the pre-colonial, colonial, and contemporary eras, these moves by women most certainly dwarfed male migration." However, because home-community migration is so distinct from other types of migration, it falls outside this volume's scope.[8]

Colonization is Manning's second migration type, involving the founding of a new community either by colonizing a previously uninhabited area or by expelling previous inhabitants. Colonization has long been viewed as the principal form of "traditional" African migration, described by Kopytoff (1987) as the "reproduction of African traditional societies" along "internal frontiers." However, while frontier migration certainly was a dominant pattern of African migration in the *longue durée*, several authors in this book show that the unclaimed and empty lands on which Kopytoff's analysis was predicated were no longer common in large parts of 19th-century Africa (Austin, Chapter 2). Notably, colonization was also not the most common type of migration associated with European settlement in Africa.[9] To be sure, European invaders (for this terminology, see below) in the Cape Colony did gradually dispel the Khoisan as they expanded the frontier of their farm and grazing lands. However, they (as well as most European farmers in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Algeria, and other places) required the nearby presence of an African workforce, and certainly after the abolition of slavery had few incentives to expel indigenous populations entirely (Fourie, Chapter 7). On a comparatively limited scale, colonization took place throughout the 20th century, in a context of colonial and post-colonial schemes, often coercive, aiming to mitigate localized population pressures, spur agricultural development, and resettle refugees and others in camps and newly created "villages" (Van Leeuwen 2001; Van Beusekom 2002; Machava 2019).

Whole-community migration, Manning's third type, involves the forced or voluntary displacement of an entire community. Forced whole-community migration has occurred especially in the pre-colonial and post-colonial eras in response to inter-community conflicts or excessive state violence. For example, entire communities were displaced in 19th-century Southern Africa, as a chain of white and black population movements resulting from African and colonial state formation reverberated deep into the continent (Fourie; Keeton and Schirmer, Chapters 6 and 7). In the post-colonial era, communities were displaced as a result of conflict and resultant famine, such as in the case of the Ethiopian refugee crisis in 1984–85 (Frankema, Chapter 15). During the colonial and, especially, post-colonial period, whole-community migration, often involuntary, also resulted from land reform, conservation, and development projects, most notably dam construction (De Wet 1994; Cernea 1997; Hoppe 2003; Schmidt-Soltau 2003). One could argue that nomadic pastoralist groups

such as the Fulani or Maasai engage in voluntary whole-community migration as well, but it should be noted that it is (increasingly) rare that pastoralists move into entirely uninhabited spaces and that pastoralist mobility has numerous cross-communal elements as well (De Bruijn and Van Dijk 2003; Håkansson, Chapter 5).

Finally, *cross-community migration* refers to the selective movement of individuals or subgroups between communities, either forced or voluntary. Our volume stresses the importance of this type of migration in 19th- and 20th-century Africa. There are four roles in which migrants cross between communities. *Sojourners* reside only temporarily in a receiving community, and their mobility often generates sustained patterns of "circulation" of people, ideas, and remittances between sending and receiving communities. The systems of voluntary rural-rural and rural-urban migration that emerged in East and West Africa over the 20th century involved large numbers of sojourners (De Haas and Travieso; Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk; Meier zu Selhausen, Chapters 11–13). In contrast, *settlers* stay permanently in a new host community. In the 19th century, enslaved people who were either traded or taken as war booty made up a large body of (involuntary) settlers in places like the Sokoto Caliphate (Lovejoy 2005). Indeed, as Cordell (2013, 180) notes, slavery was almost by definition linked to resettlement, as enslaved women and men derived much of their controllability and market value from being "removed from their homelands, societies, and families." There are many instances where sojourning evolves into resettlement (De Haas and Travieso; Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, Chapters 11 and 12) or where settlers are expelled and forced to return or move on (Frankema, Chapter 15). *Invaders* are those who move to a different community, usually as a group, to seize and dominate the local population. If we implement this terminology consistently, European "settlers" or "colonists" are to be classified as invaders, considering their efforts to exploit local labor resources (one might argue that missionaries are more appropriately viewed as settlers). Finally, *itinerants* move from community to community without a clearly defined home, which mainly applies to particular groups of traders and pastoralists.

3.2 Agency and migration

The social science migration literature has long centered around the rather mechanistic and impersonal "push-pull" framework which views migration as an outcome of some structural disequilibrium between sending and receiving regions, usually linked to income (Lee 1966; Harris and Todaro 1970). Scholarship has since moved on to a more migrant-centered, agency-based approach, conceptualizing mobility as a strategy of people to fulfill their *aspirations* in a context of *spatial opportunity disparities* or *gaps*, which may be economic (e.g., wage differentials) but also related to other factors, such as freedom from home-community obligations or state repression (De Haas 2010; Carling and Schewel 2018; Van Hear, Bakewell, and Long 2018). Agency, then, resides, in people's *ability* to use mobility to navigate spatial opportunity disparities in pursuit of their aspirations. Such ability can be framed, following Amartya Sen, in terms of migrants' *capabilities*: access to the resources, such as money, network, family support, and legal status, required to make migration decisions (Hein de Haas 2019). One can use capabilities to pursue voluntarily mobility, but also (and more commonly) to be voluntarily immobile. Those who aspire to move but are unable to do so because they lack the capabilities are "trapped." Those who are compelled to move even though they would prefer to stay are "displaced" (cf. Lubkemann 2008; Schewel 2020).

When is migration *voluntary*? Conceptual clarity on the terms "forced" and "voluntary" or "coerced" and "free" migration is desirable, but the distinction is negotiable and indeed remains subject to controversy (Eltis 2002; Brown and Van der Linden 2010; Erdal and Oeppen 2018). To facilitate analytical clarity and conceptual distinction in a book that spans the full spectrum from slave kidnapping to free labor migration, we adopt a specific and narrow definition of the term "forced" migration based on two defining characteristics, of which at least one has to be fulfilled. First, *forced migration* occurs when someone's decision to move, including the when and where, is taken by another person, or organization. This definition excludes underaged children who move with their parents (migration of children in Africa is not specifically addressed in this volume, but see Razy and Rodet 2016). Second, forced migration occurs when people experience an *overwhelming pressure* (force majeure) to move due to conditions beyond their control (e.g., warfare, disaster, persecution), paired to an *urgency* to leave much more behind than one ideally would if there was no such pressure. This definition separates war refugees, expellees, exiles, as well as kidnapped slaves from those who choose to move for reasons that may be related both to *constraints* to pursue human aspirations in the sending regions (e.g., family obligations, unemployment or environmental degradation) and to *opportunities* to pursue aspirations or enhance capabilities in the receiving regions.[10] Although less frequently discussed in the book, we also encounter situations where people are forced into immobility. Here, we reserve the term "forced" for those whose ability to move is physically constrained by another person or organization (an owner, employer, or the state), such as slaves or people subjected to other forms of bonded labor relations or stringent exit restrictions (for examples from the colonial era, see Okia; Ribeiro da Silva and Alexopoulou, Chapters 8 and 9).

3.3 Flows, systems, drivers, and patterns

We now face a task to develop a framework that allows us to synthesize long-run, historical changes in *patterns of migration* in a way that goes beyond the oversimplified paradigm of a transition from "traditional" to "modern" migration with the imposition of colonial rule and the purportedly sudden introduction of capitalism as a single critical juncture. The "shifting patterns" framework we propose builds on identifying spatially demarcated *migration flows* and *systems* which collectively make up temporally demarcated but continent-wide *migration patterns*. Further, we distinguish between *contextual drivers* of migration flows, which are specific to individual migration systems, and *macro-historical drivers* of migration patterns, which affect multiple systems at once, and typically operate in the long run.

The term *migration flow* refers to the movement of people between a place of origin and a place of destination. Sustained flows of migration emerge when information costs decline after the first pioneering migrants have successfully navigated uneven opportunity structures between the sending and receiving region. In the context of cross-community migration it is also important to appreciate the role of migration networks that facilitate migrants' movement and settlement (De Haas 2010). Within such networks, we can distinguish *recruiters* who either persuade (voluntary) or seize (involuntary) migrants; *dispatchers* who make arrangements for sending migrants on their way; *facilitators* who provide facilities (food, shelter, security, information) on the way and upon arrival; and *connectors* who provide new arrivals with an entry into the labor market and other aspects of society (Manning 2020). Recruiters and facilitators played a central role in the trans-Saharan slave trades (Saleh and

Wahby, Chapter 3), the East African caravan trades (Pallaver, Chapter 4), and the Southern African mining migration systems (Juif, Chapter 10). Connectors were vital in a context of voluntary migration, such as the rural-rural and rural-urban migration systems discussed in this book (De Haas and Travieso; Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk; Meier zu Selhausen, Chapters 11–13). Migrant flows, and counterflows in the case of circulating sojourners, always have some substance in numbers of migrants.[11] Flows are also characterized by certain compositional markers related to gender, age, ethnicity, race, class, skill, education, religion, or nationality and are spatially circumscribed in terms of the routes that migrants travel from sending to receiving areas. Flows can emerge and dry up in a matter of days or weeks, for instance, in the case of instant flight, but they can also be sustained for decades if not centuries, as in the case of the trans-Saharan slave trades.

Migration flows then constitute the backbone of a *migration system* which we define as *one or multiple flows of people that bridge distinct locations with uneven opportunity structures* (for more intricate definitions and discussion, see Mabogunje 1970; De Haas 2010; Bakewell 2014). A necessary condition for migration is the (perceived) existence of uneven opportunity structures. When uneven opportunity structures inform migration (affecting the decision-making of migrants directly, or through agents responsible for their mobility) we refer to them as "drivers." Such drivers include the prevalence of violence, political oppression and persecution, and opportunities for trade, work, and settlement, among many other factors. In many cases, drivers change over time, and can even result in a reversal of the direction of mobility. This was the case, for example, with the early colonial slave exodus in West Africa (Rossi 2014), and post-colonial expulsions (Frankema, Chapter 15). Past migration within the system often contributes to such reversals, for instance, when a swelling number of labor migrants drives down wages in the host region and raises wages in the sending region, thus erasing the opportunity disparities that had provoked migration in the first place (for theory, see De Haas 2010; for examples in African history, see De Haas 2019; De Haas and Travieso, Chapter 11). When similar migration systems emerge simultaneously, while remaining spatially disconnected, we refer to a *migration pattern*. A pattern arises from the deeper macro-historical forces that operate on a continental or even global scale.

4 Shifting patterns of intra-African migration

The age of intra-African migration was characterized by a rapid succession of overlapping shifts in migration patterns. What caused these shifts? We observe five categories of macro-historical drivers that embed the age of intra-African migration firmly within the global age of mass migration. That is to say, even though all of these macro-historical drivers were operating at a global scale, they produced distinctly "African" patterns of migration as they interacted with social, economic, and political orders that characterized (a large part of) the continent. These macro-historical drivers also interacted with more local, context-dependent dynamics to produce diverse but patterned migration outcomes across the continent.

The five categories of macro-historical drivers are (in random order): (1) accelerated *demographic growth*, which in 20th-century Africa has generated a fundamental shift away from labor scarcity to abundance, put increasing pressure on available land and water resources, and increased populations' share of young people (who are more prone to migrate);

(2) continent-wide processes of *state formation* induced by internal conflicts and forceful external intervention (colonial rule), intensifying the contestations over territory, resources, and citizenship; (3) uneven *market expansion* and integration into global capitalist systems, processes that were ongoing long before the onset of colonial rule but intensified markedly in the 20th century; (4) *technological change* which has dramatically altered the possibilities and costs of long-distance transportation and communication over land and water, human health and life expectancies, and the aspirations and capabilities of migrants, in Africa and elsewhere; (5) *changes in belief systems*, which have progressively undermined the perceived legitimacy of slavery, forced labor and colonial rule, and which have given rise to broadly shared notions of both human rights and exclusive citizenship of nation-states. The contextual drivers that have shaped individual migration systems are not discussed here, but surface in the individual chapters of this volume.

We have not singled out *environmental* change as a distinct macro-historical driver of shifting patterns of intra-African migration. This does not mean that we consider the environment irrelevant to migration shifts. Indeed, various chapters in this book reveal how human mobility in Africa has often been a response to spatially diverse ecological contexts and how specific environmental complementarities, shocks, and changes affected or even prompted migration (Håkansson, Chapter 5; De Haas and Travieso, Chapter 11). The environment was also an important driver in the southern migration of Fulbe herds into the humid savannas of West Africa in a context of climatic changes since the 1960s, which is covered elsewhere (De Bruijn and Van Dijk 2003; Bassett and Turner 2007). However, these environmental drivers were specific to regions, such as the Sahel, rather than spanning most of the continent. In other words, they shaped individual migration flows and systems, but not entire patterns. As such, we have chosen to view the environment as a contextual driver of migration.

However, the dividing line here is not sharp and the links between historical environmental change and shocks and migration remain to be studied in more depth, potentially revealing wider patterns. For example, prolonged droughts affected large parts of Africa in the early and late 19th century (Nicholson, Dezfuli, and Klotter 2012, 1227), plausibly affecting migration on a continental scale as well. Likewise, the Rinderpest that swept across sub-Saharan Africa between 1888 and 1897 and killed over 90% of African cattle (Sunseri 2018) likely shaped subsequent migration patterns. Certainly, prolonged droughts and the Rinderpest shock deeply affected patterns of mobility in 19th-century East Africa, as Håkansson (Chapter 5) shows. Today, in a context of global climate change, notions of "climate migrants" or "climate refugees" abound (Rigaud et al. 2018, vii). Still, the link between environmental change and migration remains contested, and it is far from evident that environmental pressures have a systematic – let alone uniform – impact on migration outcomes in Africa and beyond (Findley 1994; Mueller, Gray and Hopping 2020).

The remainder of this introduction distinguishes five shifting patterns of migration that characterized the era from the decline of the transoceanic slave trades to the resurgence of global migration of Africans. As a final preliminary, we note that while these shifts were important and likely unprecedented in terms of their volume and speed, they do not signify the beginning of a "dynamic modernization" in contrast to an earlier "static tradition." Several chapters in our volume show that frontier colonization and whole-community migration – often held up as key expressions of "traditional" migration – had already been subject to major transformation, diversification, and decline *at a much earlier date*, before the

onset of the era of intra-African migration. Engaging with Kopytoff (1987), Austin (Chapter 2) argues that by the 19th century, voluntary frontier colonization in West Africa was severely constrained by intense slave trading and violent state formation. In the West African interior, the formation of Jihadi states induced large-scale flight, invasion, and settlement, most notably of Fulbe pastoralists (Hanson 1996). In Southern Africa, expansionist states and trekking Boers generated violent processes of displacement, which overturned earlier patterns of cross-community migration – which in turn also does not fit the "traditional" label (Austin; Keeton and Schirmer; Fourie, Chapters 2, 6, and 7). In 19th-century East Africa, voluntary pastoral mobility was still pervasive but likewise had many cross-community elements (Håkansson, Chapter 5). Understanding this complexity, temporal depth and spatial diversity of "pre-colonial" migration is poorly served by a "traditional versus modern migration" dichotomy. The age of intra-Africa migration did not originate in a uniform or traditional setting, and did not set the wheels of African migration history in motion. Our volume thus leaves substantial scope for a systematic analysis of earlier shifting migration patterns, before the 19th century.

4.1 The inward turn: slavery and the commercial transition

Two reinforcing processes were key to the inauguration of the age of intra-African migration. First, the demise of the transoceanic slave trades which halted the "drain" of young men and women from sub-Saharan Africa. This not only enhanced possibilities of long-term demographic growth *within* Africa (Manning 2010; Frankema and Jerven 2014), but also affected the distribution of power between and within communities. Second, a steep rise in global demand for African agricultural commodities in combination with a major decline in overseas transportation costs, which made the production of a wide range of (tropical) agricultural commodities in Africa increasingly lucrative, and resulted in a "commercial transition" that gained momentum in the first half of the 19th century (Law 1995). Progressive abolition and increasing domestic production of cash crops (as well as artisanal goods and transport services) led to a notable intensification of slave mobilization across Africa, producing a relative shift of forcibly displaced Africans from extra-continental to intra-continental destinations, a shift that began long before the export trade subsided entirely toward the end of the century.

Recent estimates suggest that one in every five Africans may have been enslaved at the high point of internal enslavement in the third quarter of the 19th century, and in some places this may have been as much as one in two (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2021; Manning 2021). This intensification of slavery in Africa ties in with concurrent intensification of slave-based commodity production in Cuba, the US South, and Brazil in the 19th century, which has been referred to as the "second slavery" (Tomich 2004). Figure 1.3 illustrates the "inward" transition from slave exports to domestic commodity production in West Africa at large. Commodity exports surged from the 1760s onward and began to exceed the total value of Atlantic slave exports in the 1830s, while, after a temporary low between 1808 and 1820 as a result of British abolition, the value of slave exports recovered and stabilized until c. 1850.

Austin (Chapter 2) explores the migratory repercussions of the commercial transition and the intensification of internal slave mobilization in the context of land abundance

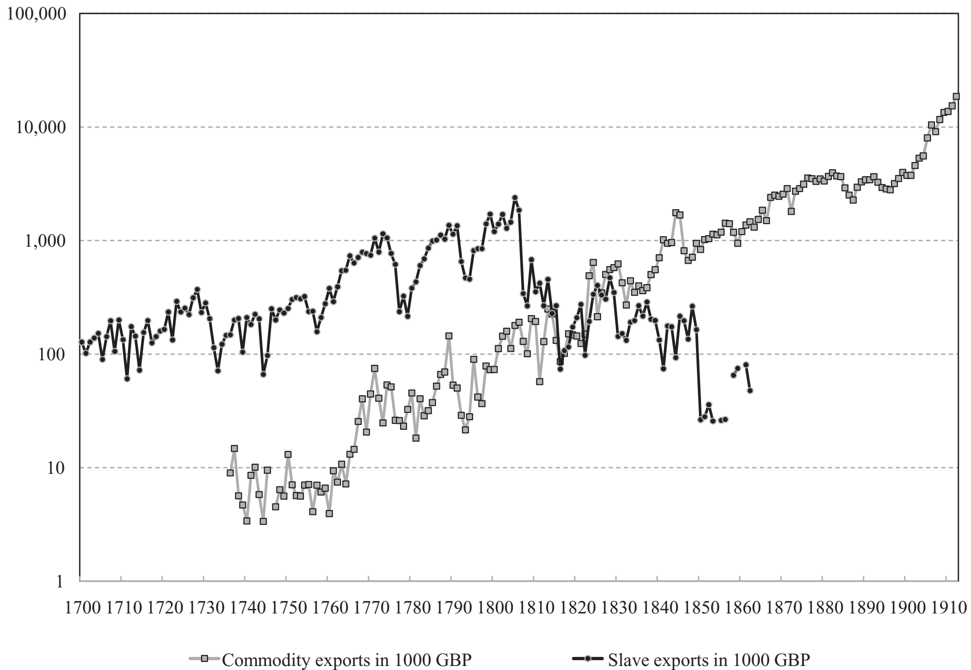

FIGURE 1.3 Value of slaves and commodities exported from West Africa, 1700–1910.
Source: Frankema, Williamson and Woltjer (2018, 234).

and labor scarcity in West Africa. In Eastern Africa, slave trading surged from the 1780s through to the 1870s, when Britain enforced prohibition of slave shipping to all overseas destinations, including Pemba and Zanzibar. Illicit trading continued into the early 1900s as French and Afro-Arab traders held on (Campbell 2004, 2005; Allen 2015). As Pallaver (Chapter 4) shows, the majority of slaves captured in the East and Central African interior during the 19th century were retained *within* Africa, at the Swahili coast, Zanzibar, and the Mascarenes, and thus co-constituted the 19th-century shift form extra-continental migration toward slave-based commodity production in the region. All the while, as Saleh and Wahby (Chapter 3) demonstrate, the long-standing trans-Saharan trade also received new impulses from rising labor demands in North Africa, and particularly from the Egyptian cotton plantations, which flourished due to the US civil war-induced cotton famine in the 1860s.

Certainly, trade of slaves between and ownership of (predominantly female) slaves by African societies long pre-dated the commercial transition and was at least partly a "by-product" of the transoceanic slave trades. What changed in the 19th century was that it became much more common to capture slaves for local production, or sell them to African final buyers (Lovejoy 2012). These practices were often coordinated by newly emerging or expanding polities, such as the powerful Sokoto Caliphate and other Jihadi states in the interior West African savanna (Austin, Chapter 2). In the Great Lakes region

the Kingdom of Buganda organized raids and offered local opportunities to put slaves to productive use (Pallaver, Chapter 4). Meanwhile, commercialization also stimulated various forms of non-slave mobility, to carry goods, engage in trade, or provide specialized artisanal skills.

As forced intercontinental migration of Africans was progressively suppressed over the 19th century and intra-African labor mobility intensified, Africa also moved toward becoming a net immigrant continent, a topic that is not explored in the chapters of this volume but deserves a mention as an important feature of the age of intra-African migration. Freed slaves and descendants of slave migrants came back to numerous regions in Africa. Most notably along the West African coast, these Afro-American settlers crucially shaped receiving communities (Harris 1993; Matory 1999; Akyeampong 2000). From the mid-19th century, the largest migratory inflows, however, came from Europe, the Middle East, and South Asia. New waves of invasion and settlement beyond a narrow set of coastal enclaves were enabled by the wider availability of quinine, the invention of the machine gun, and the diffusion of steam-powered transportation. Immigrants established themselves across the continent as free and indentured laborers, traders, farmers, industrial entrepreneurs, soldiers, missionaries, and colonial officials (Curtin 1997). Extra-continental immigrants have left deep imprints on the design of African states, their administrative systems, economic infrastructures, religious beliefs (e.g., spread of Christianity and new forms of Islam), cuisines, and sports (Akyeampong 2000). European invasion also provoked violent conflict, resistance, and flight. The territorial states imposed by colonial powers, moreover, reconfigured the political and legal framework migrants were confronted with during the colonial and post-colonial eras (Frankema, Chapter 15). Migrant flows into Africa largely receded with independence and even reversed in many cases, as expatriate settlers left the continent in waves of expulsion and voluntary departure. Recently, migrant flows into Africa have picked up again, most notably with the arrival of what one source estimates to be over a million Chinese migrants (French 2015), people who either are staying temporarily to work for a Chinese company, mostly in mining or construction, or have moved on personal title often with the aim to stay, marry, set up a business, or buy real estate.[12]

4.2 From forced to voluntary labor migration under colonial rule

The shift from export slavery to slave-produced commodities was followed by another shift, this time away from coerced labor toward the increasing use of voluntary labor in the expansion of export commodity production zones. In the long run, the transition from "forced" to "free" labor mobilization was unmistakable (Austin; Pallaver; Okia; De Haas and Travieso, Chapters 2, 4, 8 and 11). Until the final quarter of the 19th century, wage labor markets were rare in sub-Saharan Africa, but by the mid-20th century, these had become the dominant way in which the colonial state, expatriates, and African farmers contracted outside labor. However, the shift was neither smooth nor swift. In some cases, abolition triggered large-scale mobility, as previously displaced slaves returned home or moved on to different regions to seek work and new lives (Austin, Chapter 2; Rossi 2014). In other cases, colonial states failed to abolish slavery or emancipate slaves and often condoned the use of slave labor well into the 20th century (Lovejoy and Hogendorn 1993; Klein 1998; Deutsch 2006). In the context of northern Nigeria, the demise of slavery under colonial rule took almost 40 years, characterized as a "slow death" by Lovejoy and Hogendorn (1993).

In South Africa's Cape Colony slavery was already abolished in the 1830s, and this was one of the forces setting the north- and eastward trek by Cape settlers in motion (Fourie, Chapter 7). However, in South Africa as well as many other places, the transition to voluntary wage labor followed a winding path of alternative forms of labor coercion, many of which were backed up or even initiated by colonial governments (Okia, Chapter 8; also Allina 2012; Okia 2012; Harries 2014; Van Waijenburg 2018). Depending on where labor was demanded, forced recruitment could result in either forced mobility (e.g., to build a railroad or extract minerals) or forced immobility, as communities were pinned down in labor-scarce regions (typically to produce agricultural commodities). Labor was also mobilized by colonial states using more indirect forms of coercion, such as land alienation and restrictions on independent cultivation of valuable export crops by African farmers in sending regions, methods that were most widely applied in the context of European settler agriculture and mining industries in Southern, Central, and, to a lesser extent, Eastern Africa (Juif; Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, Chapters 10 and 12). In other cases colonial policies were designed explicitly to restrict Africans' mobility and tie laborers to local plantations or settler farms, and to criminalize migration or "flight" (Okia, Chapter 8). Direct forms of coerced labor mobilization were most visibly, unapologetically, and persistently pursued in Belgian and Portuguese Africa (Ribeiro da Silva and Alexopoulou, Chapter 9), but they were also widely present in British and French colonies (Van Waijenburg 2018; Okia; Killingray, Chapters 8 and 14). Especially after the 1920s, when the completion of rudimentary infrastructures began to reduce the need for forced labor mobilization, voluntary labor migration increased. At the same time, labor coercion became increasingly controversial in European metropoles, where scandals about the maltreatment of forced laborers tilted public opinion against the maintenance of forced labor schemes (Okia, Chapter 8).

In East and West Africa, however, much of the increasing labor mobility occurred on African initiative. It is important to note that such forms of voluntary labor migration existed in many African regions long before the imposition of European colonial rule. In some 19th-century instances, migrant laborers worked for wages, for example, the Nyamwezi porters in East Africa (Pallaver, Chapter 4) or the migrant farmers in the Senegambia (De Haas and Travieso, Chapter 11). In a pattern that had even deeper roots, sojourning migrants offered their labor outside their own communities, working to obtain some form of in-kind payment, such as a cow, before parting ways again. Such was the case, for example, with impoverished pastoralists in East and Southern Africa, seeking to rebuild their herds (Håkansson; Keeton and Schirmer, Chapters 5 and 6). Under colonial rule, rural labor migrants, many of whom were former slaves (Rossi 2014), swelled in numbers, and were increasingly working for wages or as sharecroppers. As most of Africa's commercialization occurred in relatively small areas with low population densities, migrants often covered large distances to participate in mining and cash-crop economies (Juif; De Haas and Travieso, Chapters 10 and 11). As Manchuelle (1997, 7) has noted, the "traditional-modern" dichotomy that has long shaped our understanding of Africa's migration history came with the assumption that African traditional economies "had to be disrupted in order for [voluntary] labor migration to take place." However, from the perspective of the rural migrants themselves, as well as their host communities, the rise of large-scale voluntary labor migration was certainly not that abrupt, and the logic behind their mobility not as novel. What stands out is the *scale*

of rural migration in the first half of the 20th century, driven by the growing opportunity gaps that emerged between rural hinterlands and enclaves of export commodity production.

While their mobility sustained colonial treasuries and spurred wealth accumulation by colonial or indigenous elites, voluntary migrants also pursued their own aspirations, and exerted a considerable degree of agency, thwarting colonial extraction strategies, crossing imperial borders, and supplying their labor in places where better wages and working conditions were on offer. In numerous cases, large-scale uncontrolled migration flows between empires emerged, especially from French, Belgian, and Portuguese to British territories. Modern infrastructures facilitated voluntary movement, but many labor migrants were willing to cross distances up to 1,000 kilometers on foot if traveling by rail or lorry was not an option. In East and West Africa, voluntary migrants moved and eventually settled in such large numbers in rural receiving communities that by the mid-20th century their presence contributed significantly to the closing of wage gaps between sending and host regions (De Haas and Travieso, Chapter 11). As such, voluntary labor migration crucially shaped the nature, extent, and spatial patterns of economic development in colonial Africa. In Southern Africa, circular migration patterns were sustained much longer, especially in South Africa where labor laws stipulated that migrant workers should leave their families at home and return after the expiration of their contract (Cordell 2013; Juif, Chapter 10).

4.3 Shifting destinations: from rural to urban

While urbanization has deep roots in many parts of Africa, until the 20th century only a small share of Africans lived in cities and towns, especially south of the Sahara (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2005; Freund 2007). Urban growth in the 19th century was largely a result of the same processes of commercialization and state consolidation that occasioned the intensification of slave mobilization and the flourishing of trading diasporas (discussed below). During the colonial era, urban agglomerations grew in number and size, and developed a range of functions, as sites of government, commerce, mining, and industry (Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, Chapter 12). Some of the largest cities in Africa today sprang up along newly built railroads, in areas that were previously economically marginal and barely inhabited (Jedwab and Moradi 2016). Until the mid-20th century, the majority of voluntary labor migrants was destined for rural areas, but by mid-century urban destinations quickly gained in relative and absolute importance (Juif; Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk; Meier zu Selhausen, Chapters 10, 12 and 13). Many growing cities, such as Abidjan, Accra, Dakar, Kampala, and Lagos, were located close to areas that had previously attracted numerous rural migrants. As such, urban migration further compounded momentous spatial demographic shifts, often from interior to coastal areas.

Several factors contributed to the shift toward urban migration destinations. Initially, colonial authorities had discouraged Africans' access to urban areas, often with legal restrictions to permanent urban settlement. As the colonial era progressed, however, policies that sought to sustain circular migration and control urban spaces were loosened, especially from the 1940s onward (Juif; Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk; Killingray, Chapters 10, 12, and 14) – in sharp contrast to the tightening of urban migration restrictions that occurred simultaneously in South Africa (Ogura 1996). Moreover, the deeper penetration of commercialization and capitalism into African economic life drove occupational diversification in both unskilled and skilled types of work, a process that was especially concentrated

in (and fostered the development of new) urban areas which attracted a growing number of migrants. Colonial and post-colonial governments also actively attempted to spur development by taxing rural areas, and investing in urban economies, which further attracted migrants toward urban agglomerations. Urban migration rates, while still high, have shifted beyond their peak in many African countries. Especially since the 1980s the pace of urban migration has slowed down. Urban growth is now primarily fueled by increasing life expectancies and the growing presence of women of child-bearing age in urban areas (Meier zu Selhausen, Chapter 13).

The gender composition of rural-urban migration flows changed substantially in the course of time. Initially, migration to newly emerging mining, industrial, and trading centers was heavily dominated by male migrants, who would work for several months to years to earn cash and then return home. In later phases, women increasingly joined their husbands in cities, or migrated to cities independently, stimulated by expanding opportunities of service sector employment, urban healthcare, and schooling (Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk; Meier zu Selhausen, Chapters 12 and 13). The timing of shifts in the gender balance of urban migration took place earlier in "older" West African cities, where women tended to be heavily involved in retail trading, than in the younger (colonial) cities in parts of East and Southern Africa, where male and female jobs tended to be more strictly separated and work outside the home remained a male prerogative for a much longer time (Meier zu Selhausen, Chapter 13). Here, the transition from a circular male migration system to one of family-oriented labor stabilization was strongly mediated by a set of colonial institutions that either discouraged or supported the settlement of labor migrants and families in cities (Juif; Frederick and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, Chapters 10 and 12).

4.4 The decline of specialized migrant diasporas: trade, religion and education

Migration systems always have some selective elements, for example, being biased toward men, educated, or high-status individuals, or specific ethnic or religious groups. Some migration systems, however, stand out for their narrower or more circumscribed markers of distinction. A key example of such specialized migration was the long-distance trading diasporas that flourished across Africa as a result of deepening integration with global markets during the 19th-century "commercial transition" (Austin; Pallaver, Chapters 2 and 4). Migrant trade networks fulfilled an important function in overcoming cultural and institutional barriers between numerous disparate and sometimes antagonistic communities (Curtin 1984; Lydon 2009). The diasporic Juula, Hausa, Nyamwezi, and Swahili who came to dominate long-distance trade networks formed moral communities, deriving their reputation and cohesion from specific characteristics such as ethnicity, faith, and literacy. Traders often resided in separate "stranger quarters" that underlined their status, and their ability to reap profits depended on their trusted status, their control over specific trade routes, and their ability to breach information asymmetries about supply, demand, quality, and price gaps. They operated across towns at important trading nodes and in turn fostered the growth of such towns (presaging much faster urbanization later on, see Section 4.3 above), as well as the spread of literacy and new religions. These cross-community trading networks also involved the mobility of large numbers of porters (carriers) who, in the case of the Nyamwezi, were free laborers, and became increasingly specialized itinerants, trading between the coast and interior of East Africa (Pallaver, Chapter 4).

Diasporas and caravans lost their central role in African long-distance trade relatively quickly after the onset of colonial rule, although they never disappeared entirely. Three factors contributed to this decline. First, new motorized transport technologies drastically lowered overland transportation costs and rerouted trade, while facilitating the mobility of workers and the inland diffusion of imported commodities (Gewald, Luning, and van Walraven 2009). The construction of long-distance railroads was particularly crucial in this respect. Second, circulating voluntary labor migrants took over the role of organized caravans of porters in carrying commodities from and to remote rural areas that were not, or marginally, integrated into motorized transportation networks (De Haas and Travieso, Chapter 11; Frederick 2020). This transition from porterage – free and enslaved – to labor migration was mostly gradual and often involved porters who started to spend more time at their destinations as laborers, or abandoning trade altogether in favor of labor migration (Michiel de Haas 2019, 391). By bringing back consumer goods upon their return, rural migrants continued to arbitrage prices for long and contributed to the integration of commodity as well as labor markets. Third, the role of trading diasporas in breaching cultural barriers was reduced by the progressive *internal integration* of colonial territories and post-colonial states (e.g., through the introduction of national languages, currencies, and trade taxes) – as well as their *mutual separation*. In turn, the decline of trading diasporas may have contributed to the weakening of cross-communal ties and a lower appreciation of "strangers," especially from beyond national boundaries (Frankema, Chapter 15). At the same time, the erection of new barriers has also generated opportunities for cross-border trade and smuggling of goods and people. In some regions, especially the Sahara, old as well as new long-distance networks continue to flourish until today (Scheele 2012; Walther 2015).

While this is a topic our volume's individual chapters do not address, it is important to note here that the arrival of missionaries in the late 19th and early 20th century, and the rising demand for modern education and specific occupations tied to colonial state formation, generated opportunities for new types of diaspora formation, which were often grafted onto preceding trade networks. Examples include the Baganda, who branched out in the Great Lakes region as Christian evangelists and colonial administrators (Roberts 1962), Yoruba kola traders in Asante who came to form the backbone of the colonial police force (Abaka 2009), and educated Dahomeyans who spread throughout Francophone West Africa as colonial intermediaries (Challenor 1979). Manchuelle's (1997) study of the Soninke provides an interesting case of how a diasporic network can transform and expand over decades or even centuries. Soninke elites dominated the most lucrative types of labor migration across West and Central Africa in the early 20th century and subsequently pioneered migration to France as well. In recent decades, diasporas have increasingly branched out of the African continent. Pentecostal Ghanaians, for example, have come to form a diasporic network stretching across the Americas, Europe, and Africa (Akyeampong 2000).

4.5 From absorption to expulsion: violence, state formation, and attitudes toward "strangers"

One of the most consequential long-term transitions in migration patterns is the shift from "absorption" to the "expulsion" of migrants, linked to changing attitudes of migrant-receiving communities and states in Africa toward the desirability of immigration and the integration of "strangers." The formation and transformation of polities in 19th- and 20th-century

Africa was often violent and disruptive, causing recurring waves of forced migration, including the mobilization of slaves for local armies, courts, or plantations, as well as flight and mass displacement (Austin; Keeton and Schirmer; Fourie, Chapters 2, 6, and 7). However, whereas slaves in pre-colonial times and forced labor migrants in the colonial era were taken toward centers of economic, social, military, and cultural activity, in the post-colonial era people were increasingly expelled, repatriated, or isolated (Frankema, Chapter 15). Where slaves had been captured to be, ultimately, integrated into their host societies, and colonial states had opened their borders to large flows of labor migrants, the post-colonial default was to get rid of people, if needed by force. Cohen has imaginatively labeled this distinction as one between "two forms of engagement with strangers – the anthropophagic, where outsiders are swallowed and digested, and the anthropoemic, where aliens are discarded, institutionalized, incarcerated or expelled" (Cohen 2019, 45; also see Frankema, Chapter 15).

The single most important long-term driver of this shift from "absorption" to "expulsion" was demographic growth. Whereas state institutions in the pre-colonial and colonial era were determined by local contexts of labor scarcity, seasonal or structural, the gradual but sustained transition in land-labor ratios turned unskilled labor into an abundant factor. Strangers were more often regarded as competitors for jobs, limited public provisions, and scarce natural resources. Another key factor was the changing role of territorial borders and associated notions of citizenship. Post-colonial African states adopted (much) stricter immigration acts than their colonial predecessors, and initiated numerous waves of expulsion of "illegal" (read non-national) residents, mostly labor migrants who had sometimes lived for decades in the receiving community, but without formal residence permits (Frankema, Chapter 15). These expulsions, which in some cases involved hundreds of thousands of people, often took place in the wake of economic contraction. The transition of colonial borders into national borders demarcating sovereign territories gave political leaders a clear mandate to expel people on the basis of their different national identity. Further, the ethnic dimension of land conflict between "sons of the soil" and immigrants in Africa is often stressed in the context of mounting population densities, but as pointed out by Boone (2017), post-colonial states also played a key role in (re)structuring access to land, and thus also shaped the nature and extent of land-related conflict and its repercussions for immigrant settlers.

The shift from absorption to expulsion can also be observed in the ways in which states amassed military power and exercised violence. During what Richard Reid (2012) has termed the violent "military revolution" of 19th-century Africa, pre-colonial states, such as expansionist Jihadist caliphates of the West African interior, amassed large armies, often made up of enslaved recruits (Laband 2017), a practice that survived into the First World War (Killingray, Chapter 14). In the colonial era, large numbers of soldiers were recruited into colonial armies, and were of crucial importance in the conquest and "pacification" of African – and sometimes Asian – colonies.[13] Soldiers and other workers were also mobilized in large numbers to serve during both world wars, on the continent as well as European and Asian theaters (Killingray, Chapter 14).[14] In contrast, decolonization and post-colonial conflicts more often involved large-scale displacement of unwanted residents. Close to a million French settlers and tens of thousands of Algerian soldiers who had served in the French army were pushed out of Algeria in the early 1960s (Eldridge, 2016). Between the early 1960s and mid-1990s violent conflict in the Great Lakes region, the Horn of Africa, and former Portuguese Africa (to mention the largest hotbeds) led to millions of forcibly displaced who sought refuge in neighboring countries (Frankema, Chapter 15).

As noted, flight from violent conflict and state repression had been prevalent in precolonial and colonial Africa too. However, while in the colonial era flight was often an unintended, or even undesired, consequence of repressive taxation and labor recruitment policies (Okia; Ribeiro da Silva and Alexopoulou, Chapters 8 and 9), in post-colonial Africa it resulted from deliberate attempts by states to push people out of the community and territory. In this regard, the great surge in refugees in the wake of wars of decolonization and contentious nation-state formation was unprecedented. National identity and sovereignty became key in the granting of formal refugee status to migrants who had left their homes in fear of violence, persecution, or because of war-induced famine and crossed a national border. As laid down in the *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (UNHCR) charter of 1951, member countries were obliged to protect international refugees. National identity also became a key political tool in creating legal divisions between insiders and outsiders.

To be sure, the shift from absorption to expulsion was not absolute, and cannot be demarcated in time and space with precision, nor tied consistently to a singular explanatory framework. The systematic extermination of the Herero and Nama in German South West Africa (Namibia) by German invaders took place during the first decade of the 20th century, and was primarily rooted in colonial ideologies rather than competition over land and resources (Gewald 2003). British policies toward the Boers (Fourie, Chapter 7) are another early example of expulsion. In the post-colonial era, (non-state) militias have continued to pursue a strategy of absorption in their recruitment of (child) soldiers on a large scale (Laband 2017). Yet, despite these counter-examples, the long-run shift from absorption to expulsion, underpinned by processes of state formation and demographic growth, is clearly visible as a fundamental and consequential transition in the nature and perception of mobility in Africa.

5 A new global diaspora

It is important to emphasize that intra-African migration remains of huge significance today. By 2019, the great majority of African international migrants born south of the Sahara resided in Africa rather than outside the continent: about 19.7 million vs 8.7 million (Manning, Chapter 16). Nevertheless, the steady increase of African migration out of the continent in past decades signifies the end to an era in which the share of cross-border migrants from sub-Saharan Africa finding destinations within the continent exceeded those moving out of the continent by several orders of magnitude. As Table 1.1 shows, in 1960 a mere 0.13% of individuals born in Africa south of the Sahara had migrated out of the continent, against 2.60% within the region. By 2019, these shares were 0.81% and 1.85%, respectively. This means that the ratio of people from sub-Saharan Africa residing in a foreign country *within* the continent to those residing *outside* the continent reduced from 20:1 in 1960 to only 2.3:1 in 2019, a momentous shift. If we include North Africa, where migration was large and overwhelmingly extra-continental, the trend is much less extreme, but still visible, with a ratio declining from 2.6:1 to 1.1:1 in the same period. The gradual shift of migratory movements out of the continent from the 1960s onward cannot be missed: migrants out of Africa increased not only as a share of all African migrants, but also in absolute numbers, and in proportion to the total African population. Moreover, Table 1.1 only documents those who succeeded in realizing their migration aspirations, while

TABLE 1.1 Intra- and extra-continental migration from sub-Saharan Africa and Africa, including North Africa, 1960–2019 (emigrant stocks, numbers per 10,000 residents in Africa)

	From sub-Saharan Africa				*From Africa, including North Africa*			
	Intra-continental		*Extra-continental*		*Intra-continental*		*Extra-continental*	
	WB	*UN*	*WB*	*UN*	*WB*	*UN*	*WB*	*UN*
1960	260		13		207		80	
1970	235		23		186		110	
1980	201		40		160		126	
1990	160	262	44	54	128	213	129	117
2000	153	187	53	57	125	157	118	115
2010		163		74		139		141
2019		185		81		162		145

Sources: Migration data from World Bank *Global Bilateral Migration Database,* indicated as WB (Özden et al. 2011) and United Nations, indicated as UN, based on data provided in Patrick Manning's chapter. Population data from United Nations (2019).

Note: The data presented here are migrant stocks, not annual flows, and exclude refugees.

research has shown that there are millions of people across Africa – in some countries, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Nigeria, over 30% of the population – whose aspirations to settle abroad have remained unfulfilled, as of yet (Carling and Schewel 2018).

In the concluding epilogue of this volume, we further reflect on the drivers of increasing extra-continental migration of Africans by placing them in a long-run perspective, pointing at the role of fading opportunity gaps in Africa, the heightened restrictions on cross-country migration, and the growing accessibility of extra-continental destinations despite the erection of new barriers, as migration capabilities expand and diaspora networks strengthen (De Haas and Frankema, Chapter 17). Here, it suffices to conclude that while the resurging global diaspora of Africans signifies an end to the age of intra-African migration, this shift is only one in a series of *overlapping* but *distinct* patterns which have characterized African mobility since the early 19th century. Jointly, the chapters in this volume identify these shifting patterns and place them firmly in the view of those with both a historical and a contemporary interest in African migration.

Acknowledgment

We thank all contributors to this volume for their individual chapters and for discussion during author workshops in Wageningen (December 2018) and Barcelona (October 2019), which have crucially contributed to the ideas generated in this introduction. We thank Patrick Manning for his extensive comments on an earlier draft. Ewout Frankema gratefully acknowledges financial support from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research for the project "South-South Divergence: Comparative Histories of Regional Integration in Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa since 1850" (NWO VICI Grant no. VI.C.201.062).

Notes

1 All references to chapters refer to chapters in "this volume," so we drop this addition from here on.
2 The intercontinental slave trades themselves produced substantial intra-continental mobility, related to raiding, flight, trading, and the overland transportation of enslaved people.
3 Numerous Africans went on pilgrimage to Mecca (Al-Naqar 1972) or served on the frontlines in Europe and Asia during the world wars (Killingray, Chapter 14). Several thousand obtained an education in colonial metropoles, especially since the 1950s. For the case of Africans in Britain, see Killingray (1994).
4 Even today approximately half of all African international migrants remain within their region, in contrast with Latin American and Caribbean international migrants, among whom only 15% stay within their respective regions (Lucas 2015, 1448).
5 In comparison, the shifting population shares of migrant-sending China and India and migrant-receiving Southeast Asia (excluding Japanese colonies, Thailand, and French Indochina) between 1820 and 1940 correspond with a net shift of 75 million people, or 7.4% of the region's total population (our calculations, based on data in Maddison, 2010), which resulted from both differences in natural increase and population mobility. This estimate does not address substantial population shifts *within* Southeast Asia.
6 Our discussion is necessarily condensed. A more comprehensive literature review can be pieced together from historiographical essays, including Swindell (1979), Sunseri (1996), Bilger and Kraler (2005), Bakewell and De Haas (2007), Cordell (2013), Guthrie (2016), Rossi (2018), and Pérez Niño (2019).
7 For example, according to Marfleet (2007, 137–8, also see Elie 2014, 23; Gatrell 2017), the field of refugee studies has even been averse to history, while policy circles "rarely show an interest in migrations of the past."
8 But note that we treat migration to urban areas as *cross-community migration*, because cities were distinct from rural areas with respect to several relevant markers (culture, economy, environment) of what makes up a community.
9 Much less so than in the Americas and Australasia, where indigenous populations were to a much larger extent displaced or exterminated through disease and violence.
10 It should be kept in mind that aspects of a migratory decision can be voluntary (such as the decision to migrate), while others are forced (such as the way the journey is undertaken or the choice of destination).
11 Migration systems typically also involve other important counterflows of information and remittances.
12 The UN bilateral migration data provide a strikingly smaller number (68,329 Chinese residents in Africa in 2019), but these are likely substantially underestimated as they are extrapolated from outdated census data (from before the expansion of Chinese presence in Africa), and because Chinese workers living in compounds may not have been accurately counted in censuses. Such discrepancies warrant caution with the UN data and highlight the need for further refinement of African migration statistics (also see Manning, Chapter 16, this volume).
13 For instance, recruits from Angola and Mozambique were stationed in Portuguese Timor, Gao, and Macau and the Dutch-recruited soldiers from the Gold Coast and Asante to fight in Java (Coelho 2002; Yarak 1997).
14 Colonial soldiers were a distinct type of migrants, but as Killingray (Chapter 14) notes, their enlistment was often motivated by similar incentives that drove voluntary rural and urban migrants.

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