I TOOK UP THE CASE OF THE STRANGER

(Job 29:16)

Towards a Theology of Human Mobility in Africa



FABIO BAGGIO - MESMIN-PROSPER MASSENGO - SAMUEL DE JESUS PAQUETE'
EDITORS

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SYMPOSIUM OF EPISCOPAL CONFERENCES OF AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR (SECAM)
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Introduction

Fabio Baggio

Human mobility is an enduring and growing phenomenon in Africa's history. Today it remains an important component of all aspects of the region's affairs. In recent years, the number of labour migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, victims of human trafficking and internally displaced persons (IDPs) has notably increased in many African countries due to persisting ethnic, religious and political conflicts, activities of terrorist groups, land degradation and harsh climatic conditions, and worsening socio-economic conditions in origin countries. However, due to lack of resources and the appropriate political will, most receiving countries are unable to offer an adequate response to the challenges posed by all these different forms of human mobility in order to provide a welcoming and secure environment and protection to the hundreds of thousands of people fleeing their tormented homes.

Today human mobility in Africa poses serious challenges to the Catholic Church, whose doors are often those knocked daily by migrants and refugees, seeking material and spiritual answers to their plight. The Church is called to promote a different perspective, where asylum, displacement and migration become a component of dialogue among cultures and societies, and where people on the move are viewed as fellow human beings. Moreover, the Church is expected to question a model of development, which ignores inequalities and disparities that result in displacing people from their home, environment and heritage. Finally, the Church is demanded to build a Christian community capable of appreciating differences while celebrating the unity of the faith.

To respond to these challenges, a sound and shared theological reflection on

the phenomenon of human mobility in Africa is deeply needed. Theologians from sending and receiving Christian communities in Africa are, therefore, called upon to initiate a fruitful partnership and debate to propose a "sage" reflection about contemporary human mobility on the continent, in order to enlighten the programs and actions and pastoral ministry of the local Church towards people on the move that constitute the suffering face of Jesus in contemporary society. In Africa, where human mobility represents one of the most relevant continental trends, such theological reflection would be one of the building blocks of cooperation between the Church in the country of origin and the Church in the country of arrival.

To such extent, the *Association des Conférences Episcopales de la Région Afrique Centrale* (ACERAC), in cooperation with the Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM) and the Scalabrini International Migration Institute (SIMI) organized and held an international conference on the theology of human mobility in Brazzaville (Republic of Congo) on 21-23 January 2016. This initiative can be rightly included in the series of international conferences on migration theology promoted by the Catholic Church in the Third Millennium. The first conference, titled "Migration and Religious Experience in the Context of Globalization," took place in Tijuana (Mexico) in 2002. It was a joint venture of the Scalabrinian Missionaries and the Transborder Institute of the University of San Diego. The second conference, organized by the Institute of Missiology e. V., was held in Aachen (Germany) with the representative title "Migration and Interculturality. Theological and Philosophical Challenges." The following year the Centre for Latino Spirituality and Culture of the University of Notre Dame (Indiana), the Scalabrinian Missionaries, the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, and Catholic Relief Services cosponsored a second US-based conference with the theme "Migration and Theology." In 2006 a consortium of Scalabrinian organizations, in partnership with the *Instituto Teológico São Paulo* (ITESP), organized the conference titled "Migrations: A New Theological Place?" in São Paulo (Brazil). In the same year the conference "Faith on the Move" was held in Quezon City (Philippines). It was a joint initiative of the Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People (CBCP-ECMI), the Maryhill School of Theology, and the Scalabrini Migration Centre. In 2012 the Centre for Intercultural Theology and Interreligious Studies of the *Universität Salzburg* organized the international conference "Migration as a Sign of the Times." The event was held in Salzburg (Austria). In the same period many others symposia, expert meetings and seminars focusing on the theology of migration were organized in different parts

of the world, reaffirming the deep concern of the Catholic Church towards the phenomenon of human mobility.

The 2016 international conference in Brazzaville, titled "I Took Up the Case of the Stranger (Job 29:16)," aimed at initiating a substantial theological reflection on the phenomenon of human mobility from the African perspective and promoting pastoral cooperation between local Churches in the sending, transit and receiving countries. Several African scholars and pastoral coordinators were invited to share views, reflections and experiences on two main topics: a) migration and development, and b) conflicts and forced migration. This book presents the proceedings of the conference.

The first part of this publication, resembling the thematic partition of the conference, collects the contributions on the migration and development nexus in Africa.

The first contribution "The Migration-Development Nexus: A Theoretical Framework" is authored by Fabio Baggio, who assesses the impact of migration on the development of the countries involved and shows how benefits and costs are, in many cases, unevenly shouldered by sending and receiving countries. The instrumentalist understanding of the link between migration and development, which is often inspiring migration and development policies and programs, should be substituted with an ethical comprehension of the nexus, grounded on few universally accepted principles.

Delali Margaret Badasu is the author of the second chapter titled, "The Migration-Development Nexus in Ghana: Evidences and Reality from the Human and Social Sciences Approach." She starts from the on-going global debate on the migration-development nexus, adding some evidences from the field. She then presents the case of Ghana, where the remittance inflow appears to be one of the positive effects of migration on development, as well as other non-monetary contributions of migrants to the economy. Badasu ends suggesting the adoption of Hermele's "triple win" argument to assess whether a migration-development nexus is positive or not.

Destin Mouene Ndzorombe, in his contribution titled "Common Good, Migration and Development: Theological and Pastoral Reflections from an African Perspective," begins providing a theological definition of the "common good," a concept that is deemed necessary to understand contemporary migration in

Africa. He then questions the role of migration as a development drive for the African continent and concludes outlining few theological and pastoral reflections on the African migration reality.

"Migration, Development And Human Promotion Theological-Political Implications in the African Reality" is the title of the fourth chapter authored by Yvon Christian Elenga. He starts with a point dedicated to the hermeneutics of migration, aiming at connecting the concepts of migrant, identity and otherness. Then he suggests some theological reflections on the phenomenon of migration, sourcing from the experience of the People of Israel in the Old Testament and highlighting some paradigmatic icons of the Gospels. He concludes stating that the encounter with the foreigner is an event of salvation.

Jonas Koudissa authored the contribution titled, "Migration, Development and Mission in Africa: Contemporary Challenges to Evangelisation." He starts discussing few conceptual elements of the migration-development nexus in Africa and adds some empirical observations, aiming at identifying specific benchmarks towards the development of a theological-pastoral reflection on the phenomenon of migration in Africa. He concludes stating that migration is the normal condition for human beings and it represents an opportunity for the Catholic Church to develop a ministry of hospitality, with the inclusion of the concept of restorative justice.

Anne Béatrice Faye, in his chapter "Migrants' Faces amid Borders, Privation and Paradox: An Opportunity for a Culture of Welcoming, Hospitality and Solidarity," introduces two migration experiences in which migrants are transformed from "object" to "subject." The first is the experience of the Man of Barbes, a character invented by the Senegalese novelist Fatou Diome, which the relationship between migration, privation and paradox. The second is a synthesis of thousands of migrant stories in in Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Senegal and Mauritania, which are urging the Catholic Church to reinvent a pastoral care grounded on the encounter, hospitality and solidarity.

"Small Christian Communities (SCC): A Possible Solution to the Issue of Migration and Development?" is the title of the contribution of Melchior-Edouard Mombili. He starts introducing some relevant insights on the nexus between migration and development at the global level, evidencing the antagonistic confrontation of the two. Then he presents a theological-pastoral reflection on the Small Christian Communities (SCC), which are used to educate their mem-

bers to work together in synergy and in a spirit of mutual respect, reciprocity, availability and confidence. The author concludes that SCC can be a very useful pastoral structure to solve the problems related with migration.

Georges Njila Jibikilayi J. authored the last chapter of the first section titled, "The Migration and Development Nexus in Light of the Experience of Joseph, Son of Jacob, in Egypt. Philosophical-Theological Reflections and Socio-Political Perspectives." He suggests adopting the biblical icon of Joseph, son of Jacob, as interpretative key for the complex human mobility phenomenon in Democratic Republic of Congo, focusing particularity on the migration-development nexus. I will start by briefly describing my understanding of the concept and reality of migration. He poses a philosophical question related to the "other" and answers theologically through Joseph's experience in Egypt.

The second part introduces seven chapters on the link between conflicts and forced migration in Africa, from different scientific perspectives.

Sergio Carciotto, in his contribution titled "The Asylum Regime in Africa," starts denouncing few misconceptions about refugees and asylum seekers in Sub-Saharan Africa. Then he presents a general overview of the international and regional legal frameworks regulating their admission and assistance. Whereas the moral obligations resulting from such frameworks are generally honoured by the receiving countries, Carciotto highlights that the same countries find difficult to reconcile such obligations with national sovereignty concerns. African countries are becoming more and more hostile for asylum seekers and refugees.

Jean-Baptiste Sourou authored the chapter titled, "Forced Migration and Asylum in Africa: Social and Political Challenges." Through a brief excursus on the history of the African continent, from its independence to present day, he shows how conflicts, political instability, social injustice and self-serving management of resources have often represent the root causes of forced migration in Africa. Since asylum seekers, refuges and IDPs in the African continent pose serious challenges at the social and political levels, Sourou concludes that there is an urgent need for a multimensional response, which is able to tackle the real root causes of forced migration.

"Forced Migrations and Conflicts in Africa: A Contemporary 'Locus Theologicus'" is the title of the contribution of Jean-Jarrhel Bernadin Ndoulou. The author starts presenting briefly the global scenario of forced migration in Africa and

its main challenges, dealing with assistance, security and legal frameworks. He argues that the phenomenon of forced migration today represents a "place" for theological reflection (*locus theologicus*). Ndoulou concludes suggesting a theological reflection on migration as s "sign of the time," where Jesus Christ himself is the poor, oppressed, marginalised, small, exiled and displaced.

André Kabasele Mukenge is the author of the contribution "Conflict Management and Responsible Migration: The Example of Abraham (Gen 13). What Lessons for Today?" He presents a reflection on the prevention and management of conflicts starting from the paradigm of Abraham in the chapter 13 of Genesis. In the biblical literature the Father of Faith is depicted as a perpetual migrant, since his departure from Ur of the Chaldees (Genesis 12: 1). The narrative approach of the stories in the book of Genesis shows that the main sources of human conflicts are greed and refusal to accept a limit to the desire to possess. However, the word plays an important role in the settlement of disputes.

Mesmin-Prosper Massengo authored the chapter titled "African Migration: A Call for the Church." He starts introducing the main trends of African migration, focusing on forced migration. He identifies three main categories of root causes for human mobility in the African continent: political unrest, economic insecurity and armed conflicts. Then, referring directly to selected magisterial documents, Massengo describes the pastoral responsibility of the local Churches vis-à-vis African migration, highlighting the different roles of the Churches of origin, transit and arrival. He concludes stating the urgent need for a dialogue among the three main stakeholders: the Catholic Church, states and international organizations.

"Migration Intervention Practices from the Grassroots in the Ethiopian Catholic Church" is the title of the contribution authored by Bekele Moges Kidane. He begins providing a quick overview of the migration inflows and outflows in Ethiopia, focusing on the latest facts and figures. He then assesses the impact of outmigration on national development, evidencing several hindrances, particularly in the case of forced migrants. Kidane concludes presenting the pastoral initiatives enacted by the Ethiopian Catholic Church in the last years, aiming at assisting asylum seekers and refugees in cooperation with international organizations and national institutions.

Beatrice Gikonyo, in her contribution titled "Jesuit Refugee Service Eastern Africa. Programmes and Experiences in the Field of Forced Migration," presents

the mission and concrete actions of the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) in Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia. After describing briefly the humanitarian challenges posed by forced migration in this region, Gikongo explains the three main fields of JRS' work: basic assistance, holistic accompaniment and advocacy, adding relevant examples of existing activities in the different countries. She concludes commending the initiatives of other Catholic organization and suggesting a more fruitful collaboration among them.

PART I: Migration and Development

The Migration-Development Nexus: A Theoretical Framework

Fabio Baggio[1]

In the current discussions of the migration-development nexus, it is possible to identify three main different positions. The first is called "developmentalist optimism" and it entails substantial confidence in the positive effects of international migration on local development. The second position is labelled "structuralist and neo-Marxist pessimism and scepticism," which underlines the negative side of the nexus - it is of the view that migration results from the lack of development and the former is unlikely to promote the latter. Recently, a third position appeared which has been influenced by recent studies on migration and transnationalism. Aiming at a more balanced assessment of the nexus, this position affirms the ambivalence of the migration-development nexus (De Haas, 2008).

In the last five years the discussion on migration and development became global and gained special consideration in the political agenda of many sending and receiving countries. Different factors contributed to such interest. By the end of 2003, United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan decided to establish the Global Commission for International Migration (GCIM), whose task was to elaborate a consistent, comprehensive and global response to the problem of international migration (GCIM, 2003). In October 2005, the GCIM presented its final report. Among the different recommendations, the com-

1 This article is an updated portion of the "Introduction" of the volume Fabio Baggio (ed.), 2010, *Brick by Brick: Building Cooperation between the Philippines and Overseas Filipinos in Italy and Spain*, Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center.

mission affirmed that «International migration should become an integral part of national, regional and global strategies for economic growth, in both the developing and developed world» (GCIM, 2005:4).

In September 2006, the UN High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development focused on the migration-development nexus, particularly highlighting the economic benefits effects of international migration in developing countries. As a result of the UN dialogue, a small group of concerned countries (which identified themselves as "Friends of the Forum") proposed the creation of an independent forum to continue the discussion on the migration-development nexus. The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) was established and six editions of the forum were planned, from 2007 to 2012. They were held respectively in Belgium, Philippines, Greece, Mexico, Switzerland and Mauritius. In 2013 another UN High Level Dialogue was dedicated to discuss the migration and development nexus and the General Assembly adopted a declaration by which the member states «Reaffirm [their] commitment to address the opportunities and the challenges that international migration presents to countries of origin, transit and destination» (UN General Assembly, 2013:4). To such extent another two editions of the GFMD were held, one in Sweden (2014) and one in Turkey (2015). Despite their "not binding" nature, the different editions of the GFMD succeeded in involving governments and civil society groups in a global discussion on migration and development.

During the first decade of the 21st century, the World Bank (WB) started publishing reports on the huge bulk of remittances that migrants sent annually to their home countries. The flow of billions of dollars from the receiving countries to the sending countries captured the attention of governments, international organizations and financial institutions.

The discussion on migrants' remittances and their impact on local development sometimes bordered on enthusiastic considerations, generating dangerous misinterpretations. One of them is the "mythicisation" of remittances, i.e., the idea that remittances are the panacea for all the development problems of the sending countries (García Zamora, 2009). This simplistic consideration led many developing countries to adopt or reinforce their labour export as a development strategy. Another misinterpretation of the migration-development nexus is the relegation of development responsibilities to migrants and diaspora groups.

If one looks at remittances only, the numbers are indeed impressive. In 2015,

the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD) calculated more than 247 million international migrants worldwide, corresponding to 3.4 percent of the world population. In the same year KNOMAD estimated that international migrants sent USD 601 billion in remittances though formal channels. USD 441 billion were sent to developing countries. The main recipients of the money flow were India, China, Mexico, Philippines and France. In many sending countries, remittances constituted a great portion of their GDP. In Tajikistan, Kyrgyz Republic, Nepal, Tonga and Moldova remittances accounted for between 26 percent and 42 percent of the GDP. In 2015 worldwide remittances were three times larger than the amount of development assistance (KNOMAD, 2016).

Individual remittances comprise only one of the channels of migrants' contributions to the development of their home countries. There are also "collective remittances" that are constituted by the philanthropic donations in money and in kind sent by migrants to their communities of origin. Moreover, one should consider the economic investment initiated by overseas workers, immigrants and returnees, both individually and collectively, which is not registered under remittances. Another channel of migrants' cooperation to development is knowledge exchange by which skills, technologies and professional expertise acquired abroad are transferred to the home countries. Finally, there are also examples of international cooperation aid undertaken through diaspora groups, as in the case of co-development practices promoted by some receiving countries.

In terms of development, all these migrants' contributions constitute a huge potential whose underestimation by policy makers would be a big mistake. Nevertheless, according to different recent studies, the development impact of international migration in many sending countries seems ambivalent (Asis and Baggio 2008a, Castles, 2007, De Haas, 2008, Delgado Wise and Guarnizo, 2007, and García Zamora, 2009). The unleashing of the development potential is not automatic and benefits may be overshadowed by costs. Moreover, gains and losses of international migrations are to be considered not only in the economic sphere. Benefits and costs are obtained and paid also in the social and political realms.

There are evident positive transformations brought about by international migration at the economic level. In receiving countries foreign workers and immigrants constitute an effective response to the economic challenges of their demographic winter. Migrants increase the active population and substantially contribute to sustain the social welfare. They fill labour vacancies, both

in the low-skilled and highly-skilled sectors, and they are often instrumental in decreasing labour costs. Because of their creativity, industry and enthusiasm, migrants are likely to increase local and international competitiveness. Through their transnational networks, foreign workers and immigrants are sometimes helpful in expanding the markets for exports. Particularly in the big cities, migrant communities boost the economic growth of some local sectors like housing, restaurants, travel agencies and communications.

Some positive transformations at the economic front are also evident in sending countries. Labour export has contributed to reducing unemployment and underemployment rates. Migrants' remittances help their home countries fight inflation and pay foreign debts. The huge inflow of overseas-earned money induces beneficial effects. Remittances contribute to increase the GDP and in some cases they exert positive results on the poverty index (Adams and Page, 2005). Remittances benefit migrants' household enhancing their purchasing power particularly for basic needs. In some cases remittances and savings are used for income- generating investments. In some local communities there are beneficial multiplier effects. Philanthropic donations and other infusion of capital coming from the diaspora, either spontaneously or through organized channels, promote the development of communities of origin (Levitt, 2001, Orozco, 2007 and Asis and Baggio, 2008b).

As mentioned earlier, receiving countries benefit from international migration because, among others, it helps address demographic challenges, such as the aging of their population. The presence of migrant communities could also enrich the cultural makeup of receiving societies. From a wider perspective, the co-existence of different cultures, languages and traditions constitute a unique opportunity for cultural exchange (GCIM, 2005). Where opportunities are granted, migrants can experience social mobility. The employment of foreign workers overqualified for their job generally improves the quality of services. In many receiving societies, migrants fill labour shortages gaps, which enable receiving societies to effectively respond to the needs of the care of children, the elderly and the sick.

Sending countries also have social gains from international migration. Thanks to the deployment of many workers, social pressures due to unemployment are diminished. Migrants' acquisition of new skills and the quality education provided to the children left behind are likely to increase the human capital of the population in the origin country. Due to their increased purchasing

power, migrants' families are less likely to use state-run social assistance services, thereby easing the demand for such services. Increasing levels of female migration worldwide initiated new gender dynamics, promoting the renegotiation of traditional roles (Smits, 2003, Kadioglu, 1994 and Peleah, 2008). Transnational families found ways to cope with separation, generating new practices of being family (ECMI/AOS-Manila, SMC and OWWA, 2004).

International migration also produces positive political changes in receiving countries. The manifestations of xenophobia and racism, which are on the rise in many receiving societies, represent a worrisome resurrection of ancient fears. Nonetheless, they are leading to the reconsideration and reaffirmation of democratic ideals beyond citizenship. The design and implementation of programs of integration and social inclusion for immigrants used to favour the local population. The increasing presence of migrants' children in schools compels local authorities to review and rethink traditional educational programs with the incorporation of enriching intercultural elements (Adams and Kirova, 2006). The arrival of significant numbers of migrant workers represents an opportunity for traditional trade unions to revitalize and "globalize" their mediation work (Taran and Demaret, 2006). The human and gender rights' questions raised by the presence of foreign workers and immigrants have become the main advocacy of many local NGOs offering new avenues in the dialogue between civil society groups and governments.

Sending countries also appear to benefit politically from international migration. Thanks to their diaspora, they often become valuable interlocutors in the receiving countries, increasing their international prestige. Absentee voting represents a new form of political participation in many sending countries. Realizing the political significance of their diaspora, countries of origin have developed new outreach programs for their nationals abroad. The political participation of migrants is fostered by modern technology - thousands of web sites, chats and blogs collect opinions, views and suggestions of citizens residing abroad. In some cases migrants and returnees become politicians back in their countries of origin and even founders of new political parties (Pandita, n.d.).

International migration, however, also entails significant costs in the three spheres, particularly for sending countries. As regards the economic dimension, several scholars argue that remittances produce ambivalent impact on migrants' households. In some cases, remittances do not seem to constitute a real "net income" and they are not able to drive migrant' families out of pov-

erty (Canales, 2008 Carling, 2006 and García Zamora, 2009). In some sending countries, such as the Philippines – remittances seem to have contributed in increasing household inequality. The hoped-for multiplier effects are not that evident. The inflow of overseas-earned money has benefited only the communities of origin of migrants, enhancing the disparity among regions/provinces in the same country (Baggio, 2009). The adoption of labour export policies has increased the dependence of sending countries' national economies on remittances and foreign economies. At the micro level, migrants' households have become more and more dependent on overseas-earned money and in some cases such dependence expands to extended families. The establishment of a very lucrative migration industry (recruitment agencies, brokers, migration consultants and travel agencies) increased the economic costs of migration. Aspiring migrants are often compelled to resort to loans in order to fulfil their dreams and a great portion of their remittances goes to repaying debts. For many of them circular migration becomes just one round of a vicious circle.

In the social front, an overall assessment of the costs of international migration for the sending societies is still due. Some initial studies focusing on temporary migration underlined the vulnerability of transnational families (Scotland, 2006, Uhn, 2005 and Weiss, 2009). The above-mentioned renegotiation of traditional gendered roles is indeed a positive phenomenon, but in some cases perceptions about the negative effects on the care of children persist (Carandang, Sison, and Carandang, 2007). The long-term negative effects of parents' absence on children left behind are difficult to assess, particularly in the emotional sphere. In the future, the dynamics of the migration chains will also raise the problem of the elderly left behind, whose care in many sending countries is traditionally entrusted to younger relatives. The conviction that the global market is the only chance for personal and professional success pushes many people to migrate (Asis, 2006). This culture of migration is likely to produce negative effects on national development.

International migration also poses political costs. The adoption of labour export as a development strategy may prevent governments to design and implement local sustainable development policies. Several states involved in massive labour export cannot adequately protect and assist their many nationals working overseas. The increased number of countries involved in the massive deployment of workers has also generated stiff competition in the "marketing" of their nationals, which can jeopardize f civil and labour rights (Baggio, 2007). In some sending countries, recent policies aiming at enhanc-

ing the deployment of skilled migrants result in the worrisome exodus of professionals, resulting to brain drain. In some cases, the educational policies (or by default, the educational practices) of countries of origin are shaped more by the needs of the global labour markets rather than the local needs. In my view, the perception that their home country is "pushing them out" has tragic consequences in migrants' trust towards their institutions and their interest to cooperate to national development.

On the basis of the considerations listed above, it appears that international migration has an ambivalent impact on the development of the countries involved. It also seems that the benefits of the migration-development nexus are generally shared between countries of origin and destination, while the costs are shouldered mainly by sending countries. Policies and programs aiming at enhancing the benefits and reducing the costs may help to overcome such hindrances, but they should not be governed by an instrumentalist understanding of the link between migration and development.

In many cases immigration and emigration policies seem to respond more to economic - and unilateral - concerns rather than to ethic and humanistic principles. Benefits resulting from the abuses, exploitation and discrimination of migrants are questionable. Moreover, the interests of the receiving countries and sending countries generally do not coincide and this lack of correspondence has negative implications on the effectiveness and consistency of migration policies and regional dialogues. As far as international migration is concerned, due to the asymmetry of the right to migrate, receiving countries have the power to dictate the rules of the game.

From an ethical perspective, there is an evident inconsistency between the principle of no-discrimination among human beings, which has been ratified by 178 countries (GCIM, 2005), and the actual migration policies and practices of many of the same countries. Such policies and practices are often inconsistent with other principles upheld by signed and ratified international conventions, national constitutions and legislations and labour codes (Baggio, 2007).

According to the author, the discussion on the migration-development nexus should include the principle of co-responsibility in the development of the whole human community. Grounded on the universal destination of the earth's goods, this principle calls on countries to go beyond the concept of national sovereignty, acknowledging everybody's right to have access to resources where they are.

Moreover, the same principle dispels the myth of the 'generosity' entailed in the international cooperation promoted by the more industrialized countries, recalling the duty of sharing to those who have more resources.

Another ethical principle that should be considered in the discussion on the migration-development nexus is the principle of subsidiarity. Grounded on the respect of the autonomy of local communities and institutions, this principle should be considered in the initiatives for international cooperation undertaken by receiving countries – in other words, the promoting sustainable development should be respectful of local history and culture ("incultured" development).

The inclusion of the principle of democracy in the discussion on migration-development nexus is also crucial. According to this principle, the discussion leading to the elaboration of migration policies and programs should include all the stakeholders through duly recognized representatives.

Finally, no political exercise can neglect the centrality of the human being understood in his/her individual and collective dimensions. The clear identification of the main beneficiaries of migration policies and programs reaffirms the inviolability of human rights beside visas and passports. The defence and promotion of human dignity cannot be jeopardized by economic or security concerns.

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The Migration-Development Nexus in Ghana: Evidences and Reality from the Human and Social Sciences Approach

Delali Margaret Badasu

The subject of migration, particularly international migration, is perhaps the most complex issue and yet seemingly promises to contribute to development in the 21st century. Therefore, it has been receiving increasing public attention across the globe. The attention of development planners and practitioners in the public sector and international bodies especially, has been focused on the need to consider migration in development planning as its impact can derail development plans that seek to improve the wellbeing of people (Badasu and Michel, 2016). Moreover, migration has been shaping economic, social and political processes in many countries. Economic, social, religious, political and technological processes that are intricately linked to security and other social and economic conditions also determine the flows of movements and shape migration.

Furthermore, many countries are increasingly influenced by migration as they have been or become countries of origin, destination and transit for international migrants. The volume of international migrants continues to grow even though it has been around 3 percent of the world's population ever since international migration statistics have been available. It reached 244 million in 2015 for the world as a whole. This is an increase of 71 million, or 41 per cent from the 2000 figure of 175 million (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015: 1). In African countries such as Ghana today, migration has been seen as a means of escaping harsh economic conditions and of seeking greener pastures elsewhere within the African region or beyond.

However, in many African countries, including Ghana, migration is not a new demographic process but has long been a livelihood strategy by which individuals, families and even entire communities escape adverse living conditions or achieve better opportunities. In this regard, Adepoju (2005: 161) noted that:

> Migration is historically a way of life in West Africa. Over the generations, people have migrated in response to demographic, economic, political and related factors: population pressure, environmental disasters, poor economic conditions, conflicts and the effects of macro-economic adjustment programmes.

The outcomes of migration are *expected* to be positive, as migrants (even those fleeing in any direction from persecution or dangers of all kinds) seek better or safer living conditions or standards. This is implicit in most theories and conceptualisations on migration and is also evident in research findings on migration from the humanities and social sciences. However, the impact of migration on development, or the relationship between the two, may be positive, negative or both, depending on the contexts (economic, social, political, among others) within which the processes of migration take place. Moreover, a country's response to and management of migration determine its potential benefits and consequences (Barjaba and Barjaba, 2015; IOM, 2009; Russell, 2003). Positive development impacts of migration have not been, and are not expected to be, automatic for any population that has migration as a major characteristic of its processes. The benefits from diaspora and those who have returned home are achievable through the development and implementation of policies that link migration and development (Barjaba and Barjaba, 2015).

Despite migration's contribution of to economic, demographic and other processes and vice versa as well as its impact on individuals, families and origin and destination communities of migrants, it has been neglected in development planning in many countries, even some countries that experience migration. At the international level, migration was not incorporated into the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were developed at the 2000 United Nations Millennium Summit. Consequently, migration was excluded from the MDGs when they served as the development framework for the global community from 2000 to 2015 (UNDP, 2000). Now, migration is included in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that have been adopted for the post-MDGs era, following an increasing recognition of the role of migration in development planning and practice. The trend to consider migration as part of development planning is expected to be sustained as international organisations and gov-

ernments begin to accept that the two subjects are not separable. It must be noted, however, that public opinion and apprehension with regards to the security issues of migration emerging in recent years, continue to influence the attitudes of some governments and societies.

Migration and refugee movements have also been matters of international politics, engaging the attention of ministries of defence, internal security, and external relation (Stivachtis, 2008; Weiner, 1993). Recent flows of migration, especially refugee movements in the Middle East and Africa, indicate that migration has become a complex phenomenon that demands greater attention, not only from governments, regional blocs and individual countries, but also from many actors/stakeholders (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015). Rudolph (2003) aptly observes that migration and state response rests on geopolitical interests, material production and internal security.

Today, despite the security issues complicating migration, the interconnection between migration and development has become prominent on the international development agenda. Countries struggling to rise from poverty or achieve economic progress have considered migration and migrants as agents of growth (Russell, 2003). In the developing world, it has become clear to many governments that large sums of remittances from migrants now 'dwarf Overseas Development Assistance' and have even been resilient in times of financial crisis. Moreover, remittances constitute up to a third of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in some migrant sending countries today (Hermele, 2015: 3). The proliferation of migration literature and the evidence therein suggest that the relationship between the migration and development cannot be neglected or marginalised in development thought and practice any more.

This paper examines the evidences and reality of the relationship between migration and development in Ghana from a human and social sciences approach. It is presented in four sections. The introduction is the first and is followed by a review of relevant theoretical and conceptual aspects of the migration-development nexus. The third section provides an examination of the migration-development nexus in Ghana and is followed by a concluding section.

The Migration-Development Nexus: The Debate and Evidence

Despite the increasing interest of both academia and policy makers in migration and the proliferation of studies and literature on the subject, development of theories on migration and conceptualisation of the phenomenon remains lacking. This observation is noted by King (2012) who pointed out that theorisation of migration has been less common compared to the expanding literature on the subject. In his explanation of this situation, he observes that the diversification of migration types hinders comprehensive theorisation of the subject. King further emphasises that the future challenges of migration theorisation lie in the need to embed the explanation of migration within global processes of social and political transformation, as well as migrants' experiences which he terms 'biographies of migrants' lifecourses.' In addition, he argues that the reasons people do not migrate should also feed into the theorisation process and understandings of the subject.

In the absence of theories that are rigorously developed and capable of explaining the diverse movements of today, researchers in the humanities and social sciences have not ceased to debate existing and new migration theories. For example, academics, policy makers and practitioners have debated the migration-development nexus over the last several decades. Describing the debate, De Haas (2007: 3), noted:

> The scholarly debate on migration and development has tended to swing back and forth like a pendulum, from developmentalist optimism in the 1950s and 1960s, to structuralist and neo-Marxist pessimism and scepticism over the 1970s and 1980s, to more nuanced views influenced by the new economics of labour migration, "livelihood" approaches and the transnational turn in migration studies as of the 1990s.

De Hass explains the migration-development nexus debate as part of the more general paradigm shifts in social and development theory. With these shifts have emerged pessimistic and optimistic views about the relationship between migration and development. In his contribution to the debate, de Haas integrates some theories from other disciplines into the migration-development framework, namely: the new economics of labour migration, livelihood perspectives in development studies and transnational perspectives in migration studies. As he rightly points out, these theories share some conceptual parallels even though these parallels are not yet recognised. What

is obvious from de Haas' contribution to the debate is the need for a multi-disciplinary approach to understanding the connection between migration and development. Migration is a multi-faceted phenomenon and, as such, must be explained from the perspectives of multiple disciplines. The transnational perspective is, to a large extent, a social expression of the interaction of migrants with the economic, social and political spaces that tie them to their origin and destination areas. However, the workings of livelihood strategies that depend on migrants' networks are within these spaces. There is a major point in the new economics of labour migration that supports the remittance flow from destinations to origin areas, namely: the contribution of households to the migration decision and financial support to the migrants. The migration-development nexus debate becomes clearer and more convincing with the recognition of the multiple perspectives that can be embedded in the migration framework. Smith's (2007) study on the contribution of Ghanaians in the Netherlands lays no small emphasis on the role of networks and their transnational influences. De Haas (2007) also rightly points out that the labelling of migrants' contributions to development as self-help development "from below" ignores the vital role of states in shaping the conditions necessary for realising the positive impacts of migration. He regards this perspective as ideologically driven and blind to the structural constraints that affect governments' impact on migration.

Hermele (2015: 1) has also pointed out that 'we are only in the beginning of fully understanding the potential of migration, migrants and diaspora groups.' He explained the crucial contribution of migration to global development, noting that the perception that migrants drain resources of destination countries may not conform to such a viewpoint. Hermele (2015: 3) further explained that migrants 'give' more than they 'get,' to the extent that migration may contribute to the process of unequal exchange that is capable of entrenching the wide gaps between the Global North and South. These gaps include discrepancies in social conditions, wealth, power and general development that are responsible for migration from the Global South to the Global North. It must, however, be noted here that since most migrants from the developing world move within the same region (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015; Adepoju, 2010), the discussion on the unequal exchange and gaps between the origin and destination areas has to be examined beyond the broad regions of the Global North and Global South. For example, within the sub-Saharan African region to which Ghana belongs, there is a dearth of research on immigration and its associated economic and development impacts.

Moreover, remittance transfer, the major means by which migrants contribute to development in their origin countries, likely contributes to the process of unequal exchange between receiving and sending countries indirectly through the cost of transfers. Presently, some developing countries' receipt of remittances exceeds direct overseas development assistance, as is the case in Ghana. Projections provided by the World Bank (2015) show that remittance flow to developing countries will increase by 4 percent in 2016 and 2017. But the high cost (though some downward trends in the cost have been observed) of remittance transfer reduces the benefits that may accrue from it. The costs of transfer vary by region, and within region by corridor. In the second quarter of 2015, the average cost of sending $200 was 7.7 percent; this is 2 percent less than the cost of transfer in the first quarter of 2009 (World Bank, 2015). Such evidence suggests that the migrants and their countries of origin do not derive maximum benefit from remittances. Transfer costs may be considered to be one of the structural factors of migration that impact on development.

Hermele's (2015) 'triple win' concept introduces another dimension to the examination of the migration-development nexus, though its meaning is not new. He examines the 'triple win' of migration as the contribution to: 1) the migrants themselves, 2) the countries of destination, and 3) the families, societies and countries of origin (Hermele, 2015). The implication here is that migration must be examined with respect to all three in order to determine where the net balance is realised. Should it be in favour of the migrant alone or the destination country, the loss to the country of origin cannot be discounted in the migration-development nexus. Migrant sending countries already lose the skills of the human resources (migrants) who move to seek better opportunities in destination areas. Therefore, not benefiting from them is a loss.

The origin and destination of migrants were formerly considered as separate spatial entities within which migration takes place. Therefore, migrants were supposedly resident in their destination areas and not connected to their origin after the migration occured. The transnational concept and social networks, though not entirely new, have been introduced into the debate on development impacts of migration and have addressed the flaw in this perspective. Transnational migrants/families have ties with both origin and destination area(s). Transnational migrants have social networks that help them engage in the economic, social, cultural and political processes in transnational spaces (Badasu, 2012). Transnational migration enables migrants to have '[...] multiple ties and interactions [...] across the boarders of nation-states' (Vertovec, 1999: 447).

Globalisation, increasing cooperation and ties between states and economies and new, advanced technologies of transportation and communication, enable faster and easier cross-border contact that allows individuals maintain multiple ties between destination and origin countries. An example is parenting from a distance. These are the contexts within which migration is taking place and that, therefore, must be incorporated into the migration-development nexus debate. This must be done with respect to the costs and benefits of the migration process for the individual migrants and their families, especially.

In this regard, Mazzucato (2011) further explains how the social networks of migrants reduce the cost of migration. She introduces the 'reverse remittance' concept to explain the interaction between migrants and their networks within their places of origin. Mazzuccato argues (and her research findings from a multi-sited study on Ghanaian transnational families in Holland support) that social networks are sources of information about destinations and provide financial support for travel and adjustment to destination areas. The social networks of the migrants at the origin also support the migrant with care for children left behind, supervision of their businesses, development of their estates and acquisition of documents at the origin for the migrant to regularise his/her status, among others.

Generally, the need to overcome the limited understandings of the migration-development nexus accounts for the increasing attention being given to other perspectives. Piper (2008) advocates a human rights perspective. She argues that a rights-based approach is necessary for the advancement of the policy agenda required to effect changes that would benefit migrants in areas such as poverty, working conditions and social exclusion. What Piper envisages is rights advocacy or a conceptualisation of migration that goes beyond the legal domain and informs state policies or those of the global community. Indeed, policies are indispensable for addressing any social issue.

The expansion of the migration-development nexus debate may not cease anytime soon as the process of migration itself continues to become more and more complex and new arguments arise. Heterogeneity of perspectives may, after all, demonstrate a broader understanding of the nexus. Our understanding can be enhanced if different perspectives add to what exists.

The evidence of the positive impacts of migration on development in destination and origin areas of migrants cannot be denied. The increasing atten-

tion being given to international migration indicates that some benefits can be realised from migration. Indeed, some aspects of the national and international policies and frameworks also seek to address the negative impacts of international migration on the economy of the sending and destination areas. The evidence and reality of the migration-development nexus in Ghana is examined in the next section.

The Migration-Development Nexus in Ghana

A number of phases characterise emigration from Ghana: pre-independence, early post-independence, 1970s to early 1980s, late 1980s to early 2000s and the period beginning from the early 2000s to date. The destinations of the majority of Ghanaian emigrants have been within the African region, and mostly within the West African sub-region. Such intra-regional migration has been the pattern in many other parts of the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015; IOM, 2009; Twum-Baah, 2005). Ghanaian emigrants are found on every continent of the world today. Some countries in Europe (United Kingdom, Germany, Holland, Italy, Greece and Spain), the United States of America and Canada have been major destinations. About two decades ago, Asian countries such as Saudi Arabia became attractive to Ghanaian emigrants. China is also becoming a major destination of Ghanaian migrants seeking greener pastures (IOM, 2009; Twum-Baah, 2005). In total, Ghanaian emigrants are found in over 33 countries worldwide, according to 2008 estimates by the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (now Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration) cited by IOM (2009).

The estimated number of Ghanaian emigrants varies between one million and three million. Anecdotal information indicates that there are a large number of undocumented Ghanaian emigrants abroad. According to the results of the 2010 Ghana Population and Housing Census, there were 250,624 former household members aged 15 years and older who were residents abroad. The vast majority (78.5 percent) of the emigrants were aged 20-49 years. This indicates that the vast majority of Ghanaian emigrants are in economically active ages at their destination countries.

Ghanaian emigrants' experiences are characteristic of transnational migration (IOM, 2009). Keeping their ties with their networks in Ghana, they send them remittances and/or establish businesses for them to own. Return migration resulting in investment has also been observed (Kyei, 2013).

Generally, monetary transfers have been the primary indicators of economic contribution of migration to the economy of Ghana. Migrants also transfer non-monetary remittances such as skills and services to Ghana. Several sources have indicated that remittances have contributed to the flow of cash into the economy of Ghana. Addison's (2004) work compared remittances to external sources of financial support for development. He indicated that private remittance transfers were much bigger and more stable than Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) over the period 1990-2003. He further noted that, compared to GDP and exports earnings, remittances have been increasing more than proportionately. Referring to the underestimation of remittances, he pointed out that:

Based on our estimates the reported figures could represent only about half the actual total. At least as much is transmitted through informal and unrecorded channels which make it impossible to measure the precise amount (Addison, 2004: 6).

Banks and non-bank financial institutions offer money transfer services and while some of their activities may be captured, others may not. Consequently, the fact that remittances are transmitted through different channels makes it difficult to capture the full amount in the balance of payments statistics of the recipient country, which tends to underestimate the actual flow of remittances. The problem makes it difficult to arrive at strong conclusions on the role remittances play in the economy.

The earliest statistics on remittances are presented in Table 1. The amount of remittances, on average, grew between 1990 and 2003. The fluctuations may be explained by a number of factors, including use of informal channels for money transfer.

Table 1. Private, Official and Total Unrequited Transfers (US$, Million)

Year	Official	Private	Total
1990	208.6	201.9	410.5
1991	202.4	219.5	421.9
1992	215.3	254.9	470.2
1993	256.2	261.2	517.4
1994	200.8	271.0	471.8
1995	260.0	263.2	523.2
1996	215.6	283.2	497.9
1997	169.7	406.8	576.5
1998	290.5	460.5	751.0
1999	158.0	479.0	637.9
2000	143.1	506.2	649.3
2001	216.1	717.3	978.5
2002	232.4	680.0	912.4
2003	391.2	1,017.2	1,408.4*

* Provisional

Source: Bank of Ghana BOP office

Recent statistics also show that the level of remittances increased from approximately US$2 billion in 2008 to US$4.9 billion in 2015, an almost two-and-half fold increase.

Table 2: Remittance flows to Ghana, 2008-2015 (US$, Million)

Year	Amount
2008	1,970.4
2009	1,788.4
2010	2,122.7
2011	2,368.8
2012	2,155.5
2013	1,864.0
2014	2,007.8
2015	4,982.4

Source: Bank of Ghana, 2016

Ghana depends largely on imports of consumer and non-consumer goods. Traders' access to foreign exchange is supported by the inflow of foreign remittances. Therefore, monetary transfers provide foreign exchange and also keep traders and employees in business. Other multiplier effects of remittances include the investment of the remittances in business and development of estates, among other expenditures.

At the household level, remittances are spent mostly on education and health budgets. These two areas are human development indicators. Investment in them indirectly contributes to economic development over time.

Through revisits, transnational migrants spend money in the economy as they stay in the country for vacation, funerals and other social programmes (Asiedu, 2005). Transnational revisits then result in cash flows into the Ghanaian economy.

Non-Monetary Contribution of Migrants to Development

Migrants contribute to development in Ghana in other ways. The evidence of their contribution is observed mostly in the health, sanitation and educational sectors. The contribution of migrants in these sectors takes various forms and consists of material resources and services. They invest in infrastructure and donation of equipment to hospitals and educational materials to schools.

Non-monetary remittance transfers, including skills, knowledge, technology and cultural practices and behaviours, such as punctuality, are transferred during revisits and associational (ethnic and professional) activities (Asiedu, 2005). The Cardiology Centre at the Korle Teaching Hospital, Ghana's leading tertiary hospital, resulted from the efforts of a return migrant.

Facilities, materials and equipment donated are so labelled and become visible to the communities and other bodies that benefit from them.

Some Ghanaian emigrants engage in trading of Ghanaian commodities at their destination areas. The Ghana Export Promotion Council has the opportunity to promote the export of commodities from Ghana through collaboration with the Ghanaian diaspora who serve as agents for trade between their host countries and Ghana.

Investment in Ghana while resident abroad or upon return is closely linked with trading between Ghana and the host countries. Return migrants build health facilities and restaurants in large towns. They offer opportunities for employment for Ghanaians resident at home. When the migrants return and re-integrate in the country, they bring along skills acquired abroad to serve the country. The "brain circulation" then becomes a benefit to Ghana in the long-term.

Several areas are cited as having negative impacts of migration even though cost-benefit analysis has not been carried out on them. The health and educational sectors have suffered the most from the loss of skilled labour in Ghana's migration history. Health workers migrated in droves during the 1990s and early 2000s to Europe and United States of America. Hospitals such as the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital suffered from inadequate staff to run the health facility. The findings of a study by Quartey and Kwakye (2009) indicate that the migration of nurses has positive net private benefit. However, social costs such as mortality at the health facilities are not easily assessed since they do not lend themselves to valuation in monetary terms. Moreover, the reverse remittances sent to the migrants should also be factored into the cost-benefit analysis. Hermele's (2015) argument that migration benefits should accrue to the migrants, family at origin and destination, is appropriate for such a cost-benefit analysis.

Government responded to the Ghanaian health sector crisis with some improvement in working conditions and remuneration. A graduate facility was built for physicians and surgeons to mitigate graduate training abroad, which also contributed to the permanent stay abroad upon completion of the programme. Even though these efforts have yielded positive results, migration of healthcare workers has not ceased completely.

Government has adopted other policies to attract the Ghanaian diaspora to invest in Ghana, contribute in other ways to development in the country and possibly return in response to the brain drain that the country has suffered.

Human rights issues have been part of the efforts by the various governments to reach out to Ghanaians abroad and thereby increase the opportunities to invest in Ghana. The adoption of the Ghana National Migration Policy in April 2016 is the accumulation of several efforts aimed at managing migration in the country.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

The migration-development nexus has been debated for several decades. Recent debates on the subject indicate improvement in the examination of relationship, with clearer understanding. De Haas' approach of integrating other theories into the migration-development nexus debate is a step in the right direction. Further and clearer understanding may be achieved, however it is clear that evidence abounds on the impacts of migration on development.

In Ghana, remittance flow into the country has been one of the positive impacts of migration on development. Non-monetary contributions of migrants to the economy have been recorded. However, cost-benefit analysis will be required in order to ascertain the actual impact of migration on development in the country. It is likely that Hermele's (2015) "triple win" argument is better than other approaches for indicating if a migration-development nexus is positive or not.

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Common Good, Migration and Development: Theological and Pastoral Reflections from an African Perspective

Destin Mouene Ndzorombe

Migration is one of the phenomena marking the world today. In fact, every day thousands of people leave their home countries to settle elsewhere in search of a better share of the common good. It is in this sense that African migration takes place. This phenomenon raises several questions: What is the common good? What is the relationship between the common good and migration in Africa? Can African migration be a development drive for the continent? What theological and pastoral reflections can be outlined from the African migration reality? In this contribution I aim to respond to each of these questions.

The Common Good

The common good is a concept that has undergone significant historical development, from Greek antiquity through modern times to today. According to Thomas D'Aquin, the common good is the good of each and all. It is superior to individuals and private property. It is the end of every political community. It is a common wealth in which all members of a given society can find everything they need not only to live but also to live well (Thomas D'Aquin, *Sententiae*, III, d. 35 q. 1 a. 3).

In line with this definition, the common good is '[...] the sum of those conditions of social life which allow social groups and their individual members rela-

tively thorough and ready access to their own fulfilment' (Vatican Council II, 1965: 26). In this context, the common good relates to an individual's external assets, the social and institutional relations and organisations able to assure human development and dignified life to all citizens. The common good refers necessarily to the principle of the universal destination of earthly goods. This implies that the distribution of the common good must comply with the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity.

There are some elements of African social life that should be considered when the common good is at stake: health, education, employment, access to water, access to electricity and security.

The health system in Africa in general – and in sub-Saharan African countries in particular – reflects a context of general underdevelopment in terms of equipment and information. In many countries, the health system remains very limited and exclusive as far as state medical devices and operational laboratory equipment (Coulange, 2014). As a consequence, most African medical systems are unable to meet the needs of patients. Moreover, Africa has the highest infant mortality rate in the world and it is the continent most affected by HIV and AIDS – with 65 percent of world cases – and the Ebola haemorrhagic fever (Mundy et al., 2000).

Similar to health, education is one of the main "headaches" for African governments. In fact African education systems suffer from several ailments including dilapidated educational facilities, a plethora of students, a lack of teachers particularly in rural areas and insignificant budgets allocated to the education sector. Hence it is difficult to achieve even the most basic objective of the program called "Education for All," which was outlined by the international community in 2000 and advocates for universal access to primary education (Jeddou, 2011). These inadequate educational systems contribute to unemployment, particularly of the 38 million youth in the continent. According to recent estimates, 60 percent of the jobless people in Africa are youth (EurActiv, 2015).

In addition to this crisis in education, living standards in many areas are compromised as a result of inadequate access to services. For instance, as to the access to safe drinking water, coverage remains low, especially in poor rural areas of Africa and in informal settlements on the peripheries of big cities. According to recent estimates, 400 million Africans lack access to safe drinking water (Agence France-Presse Abidjan, 2014). Similarly, while electricity is one of the conditions

necessary for sustainable development, access to electricity remains very scarce in Africa. In 2014 it was estimated that over 70 percent of the total African population – 700 million people – had no access to electricity (Muller, 2014).

Peace is the last of the elements of African social life listed above that should be considered in relation to the common good. In this regard, in the last five years, of the 14 conflicts that have broken out in the world, 8 were located in Africa (Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and Burundi).

As such, from all points of view, one can fairly say that in Africa access to the common good is really a privilege of the few. It is this situation that drives mass migration.

Migrations in Africa

In 2013, according to UN estimates, 30 million of the 232 million international migrants were in Africa (Ban Ki-moon, 2013). In 2011, South Saharan Africa accounted for 21,8 million migrants, 2.5 percent of its total population (World Bank, 2011a). In recent years, internal migration has engaged millions of people in Africa, particularly in terms of rural populations' movement to urban areas, also termed rural exodus. As such, the African continent holds the world's largest concentration of internally displaced persons (IDPs). In 2014, there were 11.4 million IDPs in Africa: 4.5 million were newly displaced and 3.7 million were refugees, marking a 17 percent increase from the previous year (UNHCR, 2014).

On the basis of the above discussion, it is evident that most African migrations are a consequence of the lack of access to the common good in terms of health, education, employment, basic needs and security. But does migration produce any positive impact on access to the common good?

The Migration and Development Nexus

There is an on-going debate on the nexus between migration and development, with very different positions held on either side. I believe that migration has a positive impact on the development of the countries of origin in three different ways: overseas remittances, migrants' return to their home countries and diaspora networks.

Remittances sent back home by migrants are a clear example of the link between migration and development. Remittances' inflows to Africa have quadrupled in 20 years, from 1990 to 2010, reaching USD 40 billion (2.6 percent of total African GDP). In 2010, migrants' money transfers represented the continent's most important source of foreign income after foreign direct investment (World Bank, 2011b). Even if the effects of these transfers vary from country to country, there is evidence that they can contribute towards relieving the poverty of migrants' households, as in the case of Ghana (World Bank, 2011a). In addition to the direct effect on their recipients, remittances are a contribution to local communities. The money is generally spent on goods and services and, in turn, is then used for other purchases, resulting in a chain of multiplying effects (Adams, 2006).

The return of migrants to their countries of origin promotes local development. Indeed, migrants, who return home in the prime of life, contribute to the economic development of their countries by sharing knowledge and generating financial gains. A growing number of studies show that young returnees generally take initiatives and create new enterprises, exploiting the skills and financial resources they acquired abroad and engaging local workers (Gubert, 2005). Their contributions are also different forms of social and human capital.

Migrants can contribute to the economy of their country even without returning. To this extent, the diaspora networks are extraordinarily powerful development tools. They often contribute directly to the economic development of their home countries, fostering trade with host countries and serving as information carriers. Diaspora networks reproduce the social and economic life of local communities across borders, linking migrants to their relatives back home. Diaspora members proceeding from the same place often gather into associations (hometown associations), the objectives of which are, among others, investments in the countries of origin and integration assistance (Enchautegui, 1993).

Theological Implications in the African Reality

Although several biblical, ecclesiological, moral and pastoral reflections on themes related to human mobility have been produced, a "theology of migration" has not yet been fully developed. However, contemporary theological reflection gives migration the status of "locus theologicus." This means that human mobility is a social and ecclesial place in which one has to do theology. Moreover, insofar as every contextual and historical human experience is

"locus" for divine revelation, God is also revealing himself in the phenomenon of migration and migrants (Campese, 2008). Human mobility is also a "sign of the times," because, in its historical-pastoral significance, it is one of the main events and phenomea of our times, which can rightly be called the "age of migration" (Castle and Miller, 2009).

The theology of human mobility is still a "teenager," who is developing in its methodology and content. Based on the methodology outlined by Ignacio Ellacuría (1992) and Jon Sobrino (1994), the theology of migration is the theological reflection that encompasses the dimensions of analysis, ethical responsibility, praxis and contemplation. For these authors, doing theology means to face reality and comprehend what God is saying and requesting through it. The main reality to be faced and comprehended theologically is, according to Ellacuría (1992), the crucified people who constitute the historical continuity of the crucifixion of Jesus. Today, migrants are indubitably to be counted among the crucified people.

The role of the social sciences is essential to better understand the reality of migration. In fact, it is a human, global and complex phenomenon, which deeply transforms societies. Migration is a human phenomenon firstly because the actors are human beings, who, for various reasons and causes, move from one place to another to ensure a better life. Secondly, migration mainly concerns the life and dignity of human beings. Migration is one of the most obvious evidences of globalisation. There is no nation today, either country of origin, transit or destination, that is not facing this phenomenon, which affects both the most remote villages and the big cities.

As such, migration is a complex phenomenon that affects various aspects of human experience (social, cultural, political, economic, historical, religious and psychological) at different levels (personal, family, community, national and international). It is transforming societies and the changes produced often cause suspicion and fear. In many cases, local people believe that migrants steal their jobs, threaten their cultural identities and religious integrity, and are criminals. However, migrants are also a resource because they bring new blood to the receiving society, contributing to local economic development.

Because of this complexity, migration experts argue that the phenomenon of human mobility cannot be explained with a single theory. Too many factors are jointly driving the different migration flows. Laura Zanfrini (2007) states that there are several theories that can respond to the question of why migra-

tion continues. All of these theories agree on the fact that migration has a "self-propelling" nature and continues even if the root causes change. Moreover, according to the networks theory and the theory of cumulative causation, the same transformations that are produced in the receiving and sending countries perpetuate migration.

The theological reflection on human mobility has also engaged in the ethical assessment of migration policies. To this extent, migration theology has entered the political arena as it is contributing to the construction of God's Kingdom, addressing not only the members of the Catholic Church and the academy, but also all men and women of good will (Tracy, 1990).

According to Graziano Battistella (2007: 188), 'migration policies are a series of measures that states provide to manage the entry [...] of migrants.' It should be added that migration policies also deal with the permanence and eventual expulsion of migrants in a given country. In basic terms, there are two kinds of migration policies: policies of exclusion and policies based on human rights (Amnesty International, 2007).

Migration theology is also showing the importance of practice in theology. The latter should be understood as a practice that generates a bright and pondered action aiming at building God's Kingdom. As Gustavo Gutierrez (2007) states, based on the preferential option for the poor, theology can serve as practical teaching in relation to migration as there is also a nexus between poverty and migration. The option for the poor urges Catholics to reach out to them. It means to work, stay and be in solidarity with those who are suffering material privation. Moreover, true solidarity with the poor should include the commitment to understand and reverse the root causes of their poverty, otherwise the Good News would never reach and save the poor. The option for the poor is revealed as a "God-centred" option, meaning the option for God as it is revealed in the Old Testament. The proclamation of the Gospel must include the fight for social justice, because '[...] commitment to social justice is an essential part of evangelization' (Gutierrez, 2007: 76).

As such, the option for the poor is not only a social and pastoral commitment, but it is also a way of doing theology. Theology identifies poverty with death, meaning a physical death that is premature and unfair because of the lack of the necessary conditions for living. Poverty also results in oppression and death because of cultural, racial and gender divides (Gutierrez, 1998). This

type of "death" is what migrants usually go through. Thus, given that the option for the poor is a really "God-centred" option, 'Christians are called to be witnesses of the resurrection, of Jesus' victory over death' (Gutierrez, 2007: 77). This requires that Christians fully embody and comprehend the meaning of the resurrection. The preferential option for the poor effectively implies a way of doing theology that has two key moments: the biblical exegesis and the interpretation of migrants' experiences (Gutierrez, 2007). To look to the poor and to work in solidarity with them is not just a way of doing theology from their reality. It is the specific reason or foundation of Christ's discipleship (*sequela Christi*). In other words, the preferential option for the poor is an essential aspect of the *sequela Christi* (Gutierrez, 1999).

The option for the poor also means accepting that they belong to specific genres and cultures. To this extent, the parable of the Good Samaritan (cf. Lk 10: 25-37) should be read in the context of the main commandment: 'You shall love the Lord God with all your heart, all your soul, all your strength, with all your mind and your neighbour as yourself' (Lk 10, 27). When a scribe asked Jesus who was his neighbour, Jesus told the parable of the Good Samaritan. The neighbour, according to the Master, is not the person one encounters on his/her way, but the one who helps a person in need. In other words, the act of approaching the injured person transforms the Samaritan into the neighbour (Gutierrez, 2007). Being close to the poor and needy results in specific actions and gestures. Hence, the poor are not the closest, but are rather the most distant who become closer through the commitment of those who take care of them. Similarly, migrants are the most distant, mainly because of cultural divides. Therefore, if proximity always means a relationship, entering the world of the poor requires a commitment to become their neighbour.

Migration theology intends to reveal the mysterious presence of God and his grace in the phenomenon of human mobility, a human experience that is often interpreted only negatively. To this end, it would be useful to see a relationship between migration and the Eucharist, making the Eucharist hermeneutics of migration and migration hermeneutics of the Eucharist (Groody, 2007). Although initially this relationship is not obvious, through a deeper reflection one can find several critical correlations between the Eucharistic celebration and the migration experience. Firstly, the Eucharist is rooted in the ritual of the Passover, by which the Israelites remembered their bondage in Egypt, their release and their journey through the desert towards the Promised Land. As such, the narrative of the Jewish Easter is the prototype of a migration from

oppression to liberation, from the land of slavery to the land of freedom. The early Church Fathers raised the image of Exodus to another level, stating that Christian life is a migration from death to life.

Many migrants can see their own histories in the history of the biblical Exodus. They often experienced economic slavery in their home countries and they claimed for liberation, hoping for a Promised Land where they would be able to live in freedom and dignity. This is the case of many Africans who dare to cross the Sahara desert and the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe.

In the institution of the Eucharist, Jesus followed the rites of Israel. The four verbs that structure the rite of the Jewish Easter (to take, to thank, to break and to give) constitute the Eucharistic liturgy (cf. Lk 22, 14-20). These four verbs offer a hermeneutical key for migration. Migrants take the decision to leave their own country. They thank God even in moments of darkness. They break spiritually and physically to feed those left behind. And they work hard in order to give to others (Groody, 2007).

Pastoral implications in the African Reality

In different parts of the world, the Church established specific pastoral structures to suitably cater to all people on the move: personal and national parishes; *missio cum cura animarum* (missions catering to specific ethnic and linguistic groups); ethnic, language and national chaplaincies; pastoral centres for specific ethnic groups; institutes for the study of human mobility; episcopal commissions for the pastoral care of people on the move; apostleship of the sea; diocesan offices for the migrant ministry; shelters for migrants and refugees and many others. In Africa a common and thorough reflection should be initiated to determine which of these structures would best cater to the reality of human mobility on the continent.

Conclusion

The lack of access to the common good is one of the main causes of African migration. Nonetheless, human mobility in Africa should not be seen only as a negative reality. Migration is also contributing to development in many African countries. The theological and pastoral reflection on migration in the African context reveals the presence of God in the people on the move and contributes to a rediscovery of the virtue of hospitality, one of the trademarks of Africa.

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Migration, Development And Human Promotion
Theological-Political Implications in the African Reality

Yvon Christian Elenga

Migration is part of regular flows in the history of humankind. For various reasons, individuals, social groups and large populations have often migrated, both voluntarily and by necessity.

The Bible offers a multitude of stories of migration, the causes and consequences of which vary from one book to another. For instance, the patriarch Abraham departed from the country of Ur of the Chaldeans to Canaan in response to a call (Gen 11: 31; 12: 6). But due to famine, he had to go to Egypt as a refugee and lived for decades in the land of Midian. Ruth, who is one of the ancestors of both David and Jesus (Mt 1: 5), is a migrant who accompanied her mother in-law to Israel. In the New Testament, the story of John the Baptist talks of his wandering between the Judean desert and the Jordan (Lk 1, 39, 80; 3: 3). It is because of an order of the Roman authority that the baby Jesus was born not in Nazareth but in Bethlehem (Lk 2: 1-7); he had to flee to Egypt. Although one must take into account the complexity of the migration issue, it is important to highlight current reconsiderations of migration that take into account its various causes, the histories of the countries involved and renewed policies that understand and act in favour of migrants. Economic, political, social, religious, cultural and environmental (natural disasters) reasons result in the tragedies of migration.

It is on these different scales that migration challenges us. In its "World Migration Report 2010," the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2010) stressed that the number of people living outside of their countries of origin rose from 150 million in 2000 to over 214 million in 2010. Additionally, recent statistics indicate that there are over 740 million internal migrants globally (IOM - UNDESA, 2012). The reflection that is expressed here attempts to show how the "subjectivity in motion," as a reconstruction process, is transformative and opening in terms of religious realities, cultural identities and subjectivities (Bedford, 2009).

Within such dynamism, the theological discourse cannot be exempt from a specific understanding of salvation. In other words, regardless of his/her identity, the migrant as a subject warrants reflection on the experience of departure with its tacit transhumance: the "emigrant," who leaves his country of origin, the "immigrant," who arrives in another country, and the "migrant," who must negotiate her identity in relation to national and international laws. Therefore, at the heart of the migration issue, one must see the human being created by God, called to salvation in Jesus Christ. The theology of human mobility can then be defined as a critical reflection on the lives of people involved in the migration process in light of this experience in order to reinterpret the Word of God.

The Hermeneutics of Migration

The inherent dynamism of the migratory phenomenon leaves no room for an idealisation of the situation of "people on the move." While some see the positive impacts of the phenomenon in general, migration is more challenging and problematic than reassuring. This is the knot of its ambivalence. Recent events in Africa – as well as elsewhere – cruelly catch us up on these challenges. Without much ado, it is imperative to emphasise the variety of these problems: discrimination, violation of human rights, vulnerable conditions of women and children, stigma, etc. (O'Neill and Spohn, 1998). These problems accompany the dynamics of identity shifts and create new relational frameworks.

When people decide to leave their home countries, they meet a variety of situations. Many are forced to do so in order to preserve this precious gift, which is human life. The movement that occurs is a real rite of identity transformation that is being negotiated in spite of oneself. We know the flourishing paradigmatic designations of the migrant, the stranger, the clandestine, the refugee, the undocumented, etc.. This registered trance can be reduced to the dialectic triad of the emigrant, the immigrant and the migrant. It is to simplify the question of

staying with the designation, which clearly highlights the question of identity in each of the stages of the migratory journey. The borders to cross over are countless; they are economic, social, cultural, religious, geographic and memorial.

The identity metaphor of the stranger or the migrant obeys a certain power of appointment, which circumscribes the principle of belonging to a state, a country or the right of sovereignty of another state. Modern states have built their institutional permanence on the credo of "the One and the Many." However, this can show its limits when it becomes a question of defining the nature of the intrinsic links between peoples, nations and cultures. In fact, the path to follow is never linear and it is always dangerous to keep the "travellers" inside the borders.

Historians know that migration myths of autochthony or rights of citizenship have been and are still the nourishing source of all stigma towards another. Sometimes reinforced by formalising geographic origins, they contribute to self-representation without the other. Therefore, those who hold many affiliations, originating from the fruits of a genealogical or sociological wandering, are being marked with the sign of identity inconsistency.

One gives credit to Amin Maalouf (1998), who has praised the cultural "principle of reciprocity" before recognising that the only identity of real value is linked to membership in humanity. According to him, in rebelling against the need and/or the contemporary habit of categorising everything, one may let go of the desire to secure identities in a classification that sometimes leads to conflict. Thus, identity is not given once and for all but, rather, is built and transformed throughout one's existence.

Applied to the condition of the migrant, this short path leads us to a consideration of migration as bound to concepts of one's own and others' identities, which in this context are always difficult to negotiate because of the precarious conditions of migration. More prosaically, the frame of a policy speech on migrant's security lists at least four implications of migration on identity: a positive representation of oneself, a negative representation of the other, the criminalisation of migrants and refugees and the presentation of migrants and refugees as a threat to national identity (Kanali, 2014).

This characterisation remains critical, in general, in the treatment of migration policy issues at the state level. In this regard, African migration policies are no exception. The legendary African hospitality has declined and is now caught

up by a huge fold instinct of self by the population even as the shock wave of migration that crosses through the continent leaves few consciences without question. What can be done, since the nebulous Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is emerging as a threat? In the central African periphery, coming from Nigeria into Chad and Niger, Boko Haram has found a fertile ground. Are we really safe in Congo and Burundi? This is a classic case of the complexity of the causes of migration. If the international community is touched by this situation, it is because it threatens peace. Not to mention the precarious conditions it creates for the population.

Theological Perspectives on the Phenomenon of Migration

Along with the widow and the orphan, the figure of the "stranger" is among those that call for more attention. The experience of the people of Israel, as well as that of the early Christians, show how the negotiation of self-identity was put in place, by overcoming the differentiation between peoples (*genos/ethnos*: race/nation) and registering the relationship between political power and religion as hallmarks of the emerging identity. Ethnicity was understood as a civil membership and/or political group, which is rooted in the distinction between Judaism and early Christianity.

Although instituted late in the grander history of migration, the idea of border control and international documentation corollary has been of significant importance in the development of human mobility policies. The obligations of the United Nations and the rights and duties of individuals form the basis of a balanced view on migration. Yet in overstating the obligations of some, there is a risk of overestimating the rights and duties of the others. In a counterweight against a functionalist approach to the economy and a xenophobic vision of the migrant, the Christian tradition shows the limits of utilitarian policies.

Since the patriarchal period, the perspective on the stranger has been educational framework inspired by YHWH himself. When Abraham moved to the entrance of his tent, while the seasonal heat overwhelmed him, he noticed the presence of three foreigners to whom he offered hospitality and stood before them as one who served (Gen 18: 1-16). Lot, too, had the same provisions when it came to the meeting of two strangers at the entrance of the city of Sodom (Gen 19: 1-8): 'My lords, he said, enter the house of your humble servant. You can wash your feet and spend the night here. Tomorrow, you will continue your journey in the morning.'

In addition to instructive stories offered by the Old Testament, it was the law to treat strangers generously. The stranger is mentioned in the same category as the widow and the orphan (Dt 10: 18; 14: 29; 16: 11-14; 24: 17, 19-21; 26: 12-13; Jr 7: 6; 22: 3; Ez 22: 7). Yet the most emblematic feature of this tradition of hospitality is the privilege of participation in the liturgical assembly. The Book of Deuteronomy gives an enlightening illustration: 'Do not reject an Edomite, for he is your brother. Do not reject an Egyptian, because you lived as a foreigner in his country. The third generation of their descendants can take part in the liturgical assembly' (Dt 23: 7-8). During the celebration of the Feast of Weeks, the People of the Covenant are invited to rejoice before the Lord with their sons, daughters, servants, widows and orphans. Foreigners are also registered in this list (Dt 23: 7-8). The reason is simple: 'Remember that you were in bondage in Egypt' (Dt 16: 11-12).[1]

The New Testament reveals the concept of the stranger in relation to the missionary and apostolic mobility, a dimension that establishes the ministry of Jesus as a pilgrimage. Two specific cases, among others, will show how Jesus rejects the notions of national, ethnic or racial origins. One is the story about the Syro-Phoenician woman, whose daughter was inhabited by an evil spirit (Mt 15: 21-28; Mk 7: 24-37). The words found in Mark, her racial (Syrophoenician) and socio-political profile (a gentile and a pagan), are not trivial. Mark and Matthew specify that she is not Jewish, and indeed she is not. She is the figure of the stranger, the other. The attitude of Jesus' disciples, who ask her to go away, is in line with Jesus' scathing reply to the plead of the woman: 'I was sent only to the lost sheep of Israel' (Mt 15: 24).

The paradigm of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10: 25-37) is a woven metaphor for the place of the other. It is also an episode full of teachings. The oxymoron that refers to this charitable man recalls that, generally, the Samaritan was not really known for his goodness. This labelling is in opposition to the line of Luke's narrative about a man who felt pity (Lk 10: 33).

The biblical presentations listed above provide a theological reflection on identity, faith and the reality of migration as should be analysed today. Certainly, a

1 Other examples illustrate this aspect of biblical wisdom in the Old Testament. Three cases can be cited: Ittai, the Gittite (1 Sam 15, 21); Ruth the Moabite (Ruth 16-17); and Solomon's foreign women (1 Kings 11).

framework must be found to approach the ethical and theological challenge of migration. In the Instruction *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi*, the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People (2004) provides useful guidance for on-going action. One of the guidelines for migration policies in African countries centres on the idea of sovereignty, even though it is a very flexible concept and reveals states' actual inability to solve conflicts and provide humane treatment towards migrants. Essential places exist where the migration phenomenon has questioned the responsibility of states with regards to producing work for the weakest, poorest and most vulnerable. This is why 'regulating immigration according to criteria of equity and balance is one of the indispensable conditions for ensuring that immigrants are integrated into society with the guarantees required by recognition of their human dignity' (Pontifical Council Justice And Peace, 2005: 298). This requirement responds to the current inability of the ruling classes to offer hope to the vulnerable.

Christ challenges the cosmic evil, bringing salvation to all. This drives a change in the perception of the other, for in God there is no boundary. The social teaching of the Church has also shown how the essential themes of justice and charity relate to the principles of the universal destination of goods, the right to freedom of movement, the call for the regulation of international mobility, welcoming the stranger, etc... These remain relevant elements for the deepening and renewal of a theology of migration.

The theology of human mobility cannot be developed without an awareness of an increasingly complex human reality. Although it cannot ignore state policies that establish boundaries, it can acknowledge that God knows no border; it can reconfigure the allocation of status terms, but it cannot change human nature. Such thinking is based on intercultural models and will open doors to an approach beyond the stereotypes of intolerance.

To make societies more hospitable, we must admit that meeting the stranger is an event of salvation (Ela, 2003). All the memories of Christianity, rooted in the history of the people of Israel, give the stranger and the exiled the privilege of God's action, which establishes fidelity to the covenant and the fulfilment of promises. In his calling to share in the stranger's destiny, Jesus invites us, to break the boundaries of indifference and exclusion. Such an appeal leads to the personal incorporation of the true destination of humankind (Chan, 2014).

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Migration, Development and Mission in Africa: Contemporary Challenges to Evangelisation

Jonas Koudissa

Concerning the conceptual aspects of the migration and development nexus in Africa, in my contribution I will discuss only a few elements so as to focus on a number of empirical observations that I made and which could serve as benchmarks in the development of theological and pastoral tracks likely to advance the issue of migration in Africa.

Some Methodological Precautions about the Migration & Development Nexus in Africa

In theories on cross-border and international migration, the sociological, demographic, economic or political obedience, and the question of the correlation between migration and development, remain controversial. Nonetheless, nowadays no one questions the idea that there may be a causal relationship between these two parameters. However, this link, which sometimes can be established with evidence, is never linear, rigid or mathematical. Also, it is difficult or impossible to state as a general theory. It can be demonstrated a posteriori, that is to say, from concrete evidence and in particular cases.

A second difficulty should be noted, which is methodological. If one circumscribes the object within the African continent – and therefore limits it to migration flows between African states – it would be worth noting that the ma-

terial object, to date, has not yet resulted in baseline studies dealing with the relationship between migration and development in the African context. As such, there is a risk in transposing data collected as part of international migration on our debate reserved for intra-African migration, that is to say, human mobility between states within the same continent. It should be taken into account that such states are all characterised by underdevelopment. Apart from the special case of the USA and Mexico, in fact, most of the comparative examples relate to international migration. Addressing the issue of migration in the exclusive development angle in a generalised underdevelopment context may, therefore, appear as a challenge or as an incongruity. Therefore, I will propose hypotheses on the issue, waiting for further research, which would make available its outputs in essential monographs with closer relations to the African reality. It is the task of researchers to bear the evidentiary, to confirm or refute the hypotheses that I am going to present.

The Migration & Development Nexus: Some Cases in the Context of International Migration

An example often cited to support the possible link between migration and development is the case of the Republic of Korea. Indeed, this is a rare case where it is commonly accepted that migration has played a decisive role in the economic development of this country. Through targeted emigration policy and attractive re-immigration to place senior officials trained abroad, coupled with state economic development policy based on the Japanese economic model, on one hand, and a Master in population growth on the other hand, South Korea has risen in the space of three decades (1960-1990) to an industrialised nation. Today, this country, which has not lost its economic dynamism, is forced to import labour to meet its labour market (Salzmann, 2006).

However, during the same period, observed in most Arab and Muslim countries, was an escape of senior staff, forced to seek happiness in the West because of major structural deficits in the areas of education, media, scientific research and infrastructure, coupled with uncontrolled population expansion. Today, dozens of academics and doctors leave the Arab world because they believe that living conditions are incompatible with their education or the standard of living to which they feel entitled.

There are some reasons to think that it is this model of Arab and Muslim countries that also prevails in Africa with regard to international migration between Africa

and the West. Indeed, as in Arab countries, the impact of international migration on development of the continent is almost zero; African migration is more beneficial to European host countries than to countries of origin in Africa (Koudissa, 2014). According to a report by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2005), Africans contribute more through their taxes to the economies of host countries than they benefit themselves. While the volume of money transfers and property of African migrants to their countries of origin is considerable, exceeding today the official development assistance of northern countries to Africa, there are virtually no spill-over effects of these remittances for the economies of Africa. In the absence of macroeconomic effects, it is almost exclusively the informal economy and the level of income of poor households that score the biggest positive effects of migration. Without these transfers, in fact, the situation of insecurity and poverty of many would be even more dramatic.

This data on African international migration commonly shared by the scientific community is, unfortunately, limited in relation to the problem of this current meeting. Let us remember we were assigned as our main task, the identification of major challenges facing African churches in the sending and receiving countries, to the formulation of appropriate pastoral and theological answers.

From a theoretical point of view, however, the same type of migration is found within the African continent as outside of the continent: there is, on the one side, those who go more or less "voluntarily" and, on the other side, those who are "forced" to leave. However, in practice it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between those who obey the known "pull" factors and those who obey the known "push" factors (Haug and Sauer, 2006). While the former are generally motivated by the search for an economic perspective, the latter are forced to leave because of armed conflict, natural disasters or persecution of all kinds.

In light of these theoretical data, and relying on empirical observation but subjective in the experiential sense, I make the following hypothesis as a reading grid. The presence in a country of voluntary migrants is more likely to allow these immigrants to contribute positively to the development of either the host country or the country of departure. Indeed, those who come are generally those with a certain economic know-how and determination to succeed in life in an environment where they can only rely on themselves. Those who agree to leave their natural environment to move to another, are often described as '[...] courageous, people, capable of improvisation and adaptation' (Schlögel, 2006: 112), or even able to learn several languages.

But the contribution of newcomers to the economy of the host country also depends on a second factor that is no less important. I would call it the "integration factor." Hence, the following hypothesis: When migrants arrive in another African country with no prospect of returning to their countries of origin and strive to integrate into the host country, their presence in the country will tend to favour the development of this country. When, however, they come without a real desire of integration into the national community that welcomes them, they will tend to repatriate a good share of their profits to their countries of origin, promoting de facto the economies of these countries to the detriment of the host country. This theorem can be verified in the Republic of Congo.

Migration and Development in Intra-African Context: The Case of Congo

In Congo Brazzaville, one could mention in the first place the migrant workers from the DRC who, for decades, have enabled the Congolese national economy to cope with the acute shortage of workers in small trades, the informal economy and crafts. In a country where the colonial government was content to form auxiliary administrative managers, the vocation of the Congo, because of its geographical position, was to enable the delivery of goods to the metropolis from the territories of French Equatorial Africa or Middle Congo. We even found that the presence of migration-DRC has had a spin-off effect on the Congolese economy; indigenous people are being put in the schools of migrants to learn many trades from them that have long been occupations reserved for foreigners. They have learned so much that following the "Operation Mbata ya Bakolo," which saw the departure of nearly 180,000 DRC Congolese nationals between 2013 and 2014, Congo has not experienced the shock wave that was feared when a shortage of labour in the fields of construction, mechanics, small trades and services was noticed.

This could not be said of migrants from West African origin called *Ouestafs*, who are well established in the trading sector. If an identical operation as that which affected migrants from the DRC were to affect *Ouestafs*, it would have had disastrous consequences for the Congolese economy because such a measure would seriously jeopardise the supply system of the basic Congolese necessities. Indeed, *Ouestafs* have become indispensable to the Congolese economy, while at the same time the wealth they generate tends to serve the economies of their home countries; given the amount of remittances that they contribute to the benefit their communities of origin and their ingenuity to escape tax and customs duties. But there is a much more serious issue: There is a chilling effect

on the economic activity of the *Ouestafs* on the nationals as Congolese in the fields of small and medium business are unable to do as well as "foreigners."

Let us now present what is considered to be forced migration in Congo, which is steadily increasing after the rather quiet wave of the so-called political refugees from South Africa, Namibia and Angola in the '70s, '80s and '90s. Migration was, from colonial times, generally linked to the regime of forced labour in a repressive colonial apparatus. During this time, migration of South African, Namibian or Angolan origins remained broadly under the control of the state and the arrivals of migrants in Congo had been moderate. However, it has been from the mid-90s that Congo has regularly known mass arrivals on its territory, especially after: the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the march on Kinshasa's Congo Liberation Movement of Kabila and fall of the Mobutu regime in 1997, the arrival of many refugees in the DRC Department of Likouala in 2009 and, finally, the wave of CAR refugees in the northern part of the country and Brazzaville following the successive political and military crisis that shook the Central African Republic over the past two decades. According to UNHCR (2014) estimates, in 2013 the Congo had more than 70,000 refugees, including 260 Angolans, 8,000 Rwandans, 11,000 Central Africans and more than 50,000 Congolese from the DRC.

Lambert Colemann (2014: 73-74), who studied the case of the arrival of refugees from the DRC in 2009 in the department of Likouala, shows that the sudden arrival of unwanted refugees is often accompanied by disturbances and conflicts as arriving migrants tend to threaten the existential heritage of the indigenous people in environments where a precarious economy prevails. Colemann notes that the increase in demand over supply and the pressure it had on the fauna and flora, resulted in the scarcity of bush meat and fish in this department and, consequently, an increase of prices on local products.

Priests working in the sub-division of Igne in the northern part of Brazzaville also observed this phenomenon between the indigenous and Rwandan refugees, the latter of whom were accused of causing deforestation. However, in his memoire in view of obtaining a Masters in pastoral theology on human mobility, Godfrey Loko (2013: 18) points out the positive impact of the arrival of these very enterprising people on the local economy in general, and on agriculture and trade in particular.

We now turn to the last aspect of the sub-question, the one concerning the development impact of forced migration in countries of origin. This impact

can be considered laudable, where refugees receive during their exiles some training in the prospect of a return. This was the case of Namibians and Angolans who had stayed in the Congo during the wars of liberation. Upon return to their countries, thanks to their accession to independence, they were soon able to take an active part in the reconstruction of their countries.

Apart from that, a return perspective in a reasonable time, the prolonged absence of nationals from their countries of origin will tend to deprive these countries of their lifeblood in the medium to long term. This deprivation proves detrimental to the economic and political development of the countries of origin. Indeed, often affecting the most dynamic population or youth, forced migration deprives countries of origin of the players likely to start businesses or facilitate social organisations that would be essential for the formation and consolidation of democracy.

Challenges and Emergency of the Pastoral Care and the Theology of Migration in Contemporary African Churches

What are the answers that the churches in the host countries of migrants can give to the question of migrants in all categories arriving in the territory under their pastoral care? What challenges do they face but also what are the evangelistic opportunities offered by the phenomenon of human mobility in contemporary Africa?

To address this last point of my contribution, I would like to refer to a paper I have recently submitted to the ACERAC Secretariat. Therefore, I will only underline here some pastoral elements that migrants should not ignore and that a contemporary theology of human mobility should integrate in its reflections.

Let us first recall that the fundamental response that the Church is called to give migrants, in Africa as elsewhere, is to manifest God's care to populations often marked by precariousness and vulnerability. Migrants are, indeed, people who lack everything: country, land, home and sufficient resources to meet their most basic needs. To those people whose dignity is harmed by their status as a wanderer, the Church must proclaim the Gospel of compassion of a God who definitely loves the human being (Rom 8: 31), and solidarity to the human race (cf. Lk 10: 25-37). He must be put in first line for that protection, support, and material, moral and spiritual aid being granted to those who were made vulnerable in the name of a God who revealed himself in the history of salvation as a

fierce defender of the weak in society, namely the 'stranger, the orphan and the widow' (Deut 10: 17 to 19: 24-17). The Church will do a courageous preaching in favour of tolerance and hospitality towards foreigners recalling, for example, that all men are pilgrims on Earth and that their true home is with God (Phil 3: 20). Also, if the arrival of migrants is perceived to pose a threat to the people, we must not forget that their presence can be an opportunity for the society and the Church to host (Tomasi, 2008). A warm policy and pastoral reception and integration can greatly help reduce risks and maximise the positive aspects of migration for those who welcome. Added to this, the Church will act out of solidarity, even where material means are modest. As an advocate of the principle of subsidiarity, it will optimise its action by involving other actors in society that have proven expertise on migration issues, such as the High Commissioner for Refugees and other associations of help and support to migrants, not to mention the state as first contact for the issue of migrants.

Therefore, the pastoral response of the Church to migrants can replace that of the government, whose primary responsibility is to manage the arrival and stay of foreigners in compliance with international conventions and human rights. The Church will, therefore, also have the duty to remind the state of its obligations and to involve all those who have the power to act to make a difference, especially with regards to remedying the causes of forced migration. No pastoral aid can compensate for the human suffering of those forced to flee their homes, regions and countries because of wars, conflicts, arms trafficking, terrorism and other factors.

Indeed, it is important to recall that migrants are not intruders or wanderers in search of support or solidarity, but most often the victims of situations for which they are not themselves responsible. He who comes to seek refuge is firstly a human being whose rights have been violated. Therefore, he needs not only compassion; he has rights to assert, he expects to see justice done. A real pastoral care of migrants is not limited actions of a specific and urgent solidarity, but must also be committed to upholding the human rights of people in distress.

Finally, where there is no prospect of return, the Church will seek to integrate migrants into the local communities of believers. Where newcomers are many, we can consider giving them a special pastoral care, for example by encouraging the creation of original communities, such as the English language Christian community in Brazzaville that is dominated by Nigerian Christians. However, we fight the risks of this that include the growth of ghettos of for-

eigners living their faith in isolation and running the risk of stigmatisation and/or ghettoisation. In any case, the integration and pastoral insertion constitute the royal road, allowing a meeting where both sides win.

Conclusion

From what I presented above, it should be recognised that African migration has never been a challenge, crisis or destabilising factor, when it takes place in reasonable proportions and terms, except when politics get involved, as seen in the '60s or during "operation Mbata ya Bakolo" between the two Congos. It should be established that transhumance and migration is the normal mode of existence of man and that it is the modern settlement which is the exception in the history of mankind (Pries, 2007: 39). This is especially true in Africa, where mobility is still the natural mode of coexistence between people who have been separated by arbitrary borders inherited from colonization. Thus, as a child, I saw every Sunday how many Congolese DRC crossed the border to go to Sunday Mass in Mbanza Nganga and returned after buying in the market, while the RC Congolese went to Mangembo to the hospital in Bas-Congo for treatment.

The Church will put a point of honour to develop a ministry of hospitality that is tailored to the needs of migrants who often live in heart-breaking situations. However, it will put in equal care to remind the government of their immediate or distant responsibilities in the causes of migration: to end arms smuggling and influence, strengthen democratic structures in African countries, work towards the establishment of a just economic and political world order, etc... Finally, the Church will ease, within the limits of its means, the plight of migrants while involving those who have the power to act more directly to end the causes of involuntary migration. Hence, there is urgency to develop a theology of mobility, which incorporates the concept of restorative justice or compensation (Koudissa, 2014). Grants to the disenfranchised become a moral and legal obligation payable before courts.

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Migrants' Faces amid Borders, Privation and Paradox:
An Opportunity for a Culture of Welcoming, Hospitality and Solidarity

Anne Béatrice Faye

The movement of migrants from Africa to Europe, the dramas of which are regularly and extensively reported by the media, undoubtedly generates emotion and revolt. One sees deportation scenes almost everywhere within the African continent. Beyond these shared feelings, these situations invite us to explore new paths and change our views and approaches towards migration.

Indeed, the issue of migration is often discussed as an "object" that may be studied with the purpose of finding ways to stop it. In this approach, the face of the migrant, alien or victim of poverty is similarly "objectified" as its identity is reduced to its privation, fragility, insecurity and suffering. One can hardly be defined when one is not accepted anywhere. There is no place to settle when going is equivalent to return.

I would like to mention two experiences aiming at transforming this migrant as "object" into migrant as "subject." The first experience brings me back to the island of Niodior, the birthplace of Senegalese author Fatou Diome who wrote the book entitled "The Belly of the Atlantic" (Diome, 2008). The Atlantic crossing between Africa and Europe is at the same time a passage and a barrier, both a resource for the islanders and their tomb. Fatou Diome, belongs to the generation of authors of the "migritude," alongside Bessora, Calixthe Beyala,

Marguerite Abouet, Jean Baptiste Sourou and Ken Bugul. They are all intellectual expatriates, who pose a distanced view of their country, beyond the anti-colonialist vision, and propose new perspectives (Chevrier, 2008).

The second experience is the one thousands of Africans face crossing borders within the continent, often at the cost of their lives. They are in Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Senegal and Mauritania, and are often hunted by the police or other security guards. Their life stories are heart breaking. However these stories also enable us to make shifts in our pastoral practices with regards to the care of migrants.

It is in this experiential context that the first axis of my contribution takes place. I will first try to reconcile the three fault lines that all migrants face wherever they are. These fault lines are the border, privation and paradox. In Africa in particular, human mobility is not a provisional phenomenon. It has become permanent and structural due to several political, economic, ideological and cultural factors, both internal and external to the continent. In this scenario, the encounter with the migrant's face, in other words a practice of "subjectifying" instead of "objectifying" the migrant, may be an opportunity to foster human development and growth. My second axis of my contribution intends to explore how to reinvent the ministry of hospitality, the encounter with the "other," the taste of the "other" and the sense of solidarity through a service of human and spiritual accompaniment.

Migration among Border, Privation and Paradox: The Experience of the Man of Barbes

Through Barbes, a character in her book, Diome expresses the urgent need to give voice to migrants as migration policies too often turn against them. The word of migrants raises real commitments and reversals; it shows strength and suffering that can touch the most hardened hearts and upset their worldviews. This upheaval, shared with others, leads to a path of engagement with issues of human rights where personal transformation and collective transformation come together in a project to eradicate poverty. Through the experience of being parts of a vital network and not solitary nomads, people can discover their personal identities and develop their communication skills, dignity, sense of judgment and creativity. In the novel, Barbes serves as an image of all those men and women who are displaced inside or outside the continent, and through the character's encounters, Diome highlights three fault lines in the migration experience.

The first fracture is the border, the notion of which today seems questionable. We live in a changing world and everyone should "move." The invention of efficient transport and communications, coupled with market globalization and the imbalance in living standards between developed and emerging countries, make human mobility both easier and more urgent. Movement seems to be our cultural norm, starting with property. We all know that commerce, industry, banks and technology are everywhere and that their free trade knows no borders. Nonetheless, for humans there are strict boundaries. We accept the free movement of money, goods and information, but most of us are reluctant to recognise the free movement of people. Many migrants try to cross borders seeking a better life, but visas or border barriers stop them. As such, the crisis of the 21st century is, in many ways, a migration crisis. Migrants and displaced persons are often considered a burden and are regarded with suspicion as they are seen as a danger or threat. This misconception often provokes reactions of intolerance, xenophobia and racism in hosting societies.

On the one hand, the issue of migration has become very sensitive, to the point of influencing the relations between sending and receiving countries. On the other hand, because of the current global economic crisis, the very legitimacy of international migration has become brittle and been challenged. Migration policies seem to be out of step with the realities of the current displacements. How can we promote free international trade and stop migrants or compel them to go back home? Restrictive migration policies fail to seriously take into account of the impact of human mobility in both sending and receiving countries.

This is the first line of fracture that refers to the faces of women, men, children and youth, who seek a secure and peaceful home. The growing number of those who risk their lives to leave Africa reflects the depth of the malaise of the continent, which is still struggling to provide its sons and daughters with favourable conditions for human development. Migrant youth seek better education and more freedom. Their confidence and hope drive them despite the risks and perils of the migration journey. Every crumb of their lives is put towards regaining their dignity. Migrants are fleeing persecution and ethnic and religious conflicts, to secure their futures and protect their families. They carry in their hearts the desire for a better future not only for themselves but also for their families and people they love. Migrants are our brothers and sisters who seek a better life away from poverty, hunger, exploitation and unfair distribution of global resources. If we abandon these migrants to themselves, how can they be given hope? (Francis, 2013a).

This first fracture reveals a new phenomenon equally striking: the feminisation of the border. The situation of women is another concern. A mother and daughter are prevented from boarding a truck after using their savings to buy tickets that became useless. This is a vivid image of the female presence within the phenomenon of migration. Boundaries are becoming more feminine. Although women have never been totally absent, in the past it was mainly men who emigrated. Women normally accompanyied their husbands or fathers or later joined them in the receiving countries. Today, female migrants have become more and more autonomous. Women cross the borders of their countries, electrified barbed wires, deserts and sea looking for work abroad. Often they are or become the principal breadwinners for their families.

In this context where opportunities to improve one's living conditions, or even to survive, are limited, the trafficking of human beings – especially women – flourishes. It becomes easy for traffickers to offer their "services" to victims, who are often unaware of what awaits them. In some cases, female victims are exploited in the workplace or sex industry as slaves.

The second line of fracture, privation, refers to the fact that each migrant is a face, a story about tragedies, wars and conflicts. The dimensions of this fracture reveal the extent of diverse hidden poverties, which often result from failures in public management. Each of these faces carries a human and religious richness, a richness to welcome and not fear.

This fault line profoundly affects young people. An ever-growing number of youth are leaving their home countries for different reasons, the main one being the desire for autonomy. Many do not feel "expelled" from their country as they often go back later on. There is a need for migrant-assisting programmes to exceed the emergency stage and develop methods to address the root causes of migration, to produce changes that would print new faces to companies and people and encourage the perspective that migrants are assets in both economic terms and at the broader political and cultural levels. If migrants are treated as human beings, they can aid in the development of all countries involved. In this sense, human mobility may be a key factor in development.

The third line of fracture refers to a paradox, or rather, a few paradoxes. First, there is a paradox that is imposed on us: globalisation excludes the South while migration fits them there. The world seems divided between affluent and poor migrants. The "nomadic elite" travel freely without visas while the

poor are disenfranchised and led to travel by extreme necessity. In other words, some (called expatriates) aim at upward mobility, aspiring to climb the ladder of wealth and success. Others (called migrants or the displaced) must always be on the go for their own and their families' daily subsistence.

The other paradox concerns the migration of skilled people. In an exclusive interview with the newspaper La Croix, the president of Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade, requested that the French government shift from "selective immigration" to "concerted migration" (D'Ersu, 2008). However, France is still accepting the graduates in line with a Senegalese "brain drain" that cannot be accepted anymore. Senegal devotes 40% of its national budget to education and the best students then go to Europe for tertiary education and work. President Wade went so far as to send an invoice to France requesting the repayment the study grants awarded to Senegal's best students. It is necessary to promote an international dialogue aimed at creating mechanisms of compensation and cooperation in the interest of all parties.

Another paradox concerns the implementation of projects by migrants in their localities that are void of economic activities. This can serve as an alternative to the current rural exodus to cities, providing opportunities for the rural population to stay in their home areas. Many migrants are gathering in groups and associations with an enormous potential for cooperation in various fields. For example, they are involved in the construction of schools, purchase of health equipment and building of other infrastructure. In addition to the obvious social and economic benefits of these projects, they also provide other contributions to the human and spiritual development process that are less visible and less quantifiable. I will discuss these benefits in the following section.

Reinventing the Pastoral Care of Meeting, Hospitality and Solidarity

By gathering together people of different nationalities, ethnicities and religions, migration contributes to making visible the true face of the Church. The latter can help to "cure" the current split between fractures and privation by building bridges. The Church could be a presence and support for all, promoting the culture of welcoming, encounter and solidarity with the "other."

Human beings are to grow in freedom and actively participate in the construction of a world according to God's heart. That is being in relationship with themselves, family members and relatives, societies, institutions, nature and God.

Human beings can only grow if they remain in relationship with others in all aspects of their lives. They must be able to live and develop in confidence with others, being respected and respecting others, regardless of their strengths and weaknesses. Helping migrants, who leave their countries in search of better lives, is an expression of this fundamental positive attitude. Hence we need to promote cultural understanding and exchange with migrants.

The human being is a bridge, an open door, a meeting place and even a transition between various thoughts and productions: between what the individual was and what they can be when they are in contact with others, that is to say more human. To be men and women of borders and to build a culture of encounter multiplies our capacity to love. The encounter with the "other" enlarges the heart. It helps one to re-discover, develop and implement a new attitude that will not only accept the "other," but creatively promote intercultural integration.

A prophetic sign of announcement of a new world is to create a culture of welcoming and hospitality as an antidote to any system of exclusion of the "other." There is a need to strengthen and encourage the creation of cross-cultural structures in the Christian community, at the parish and diocesan levels, by highlighting the importance of hospitality to migrants in the Christian tradition. The "other's" values, beyond personal difficulties, should be appreciated. As Pope Francis stated in 2013, 'these people need special pastoral care that respects their traditions and accompanies them to harmonious integration into the ecclesial situations in which they find themselves. May our Christian communities really be places of hospitality, listening and communion!' (Francis, 2013b).

For Christians, welcoming migrants is a sign of the importance of fraternity. In the Church there is no stranger. The common baptism gives us, wherever we are, the Christian "citizenship" and the Gospel calls us to live out a universal brotherhood. This is what Pope Francis reminds us of: each one of us is responsible for his neighbour. We are the caregivers of our brothers and sisters, wherever they live. Maintaining good and personal contacts and knowledge, as well as overcoming prejudices and fears, are essential ingredients to the growth of the culture of welcoming, where one is willing not only to give but also to receive the "other." In the Holy Scriptures, hospitality is connected to the encounter with God: welcoming the foreigner is welcoming God in person. Fraternity shows us that migrants are a treasure, a gift for all. In this sense, it is necessary to promote the service of accompaniment to migrants.

This is a call for a pastoral care specialised in fostering the integration and support of migrants. Welcoming is not enough. The right to live and work, to be a full person, to be integrated, to be an active part of the host society, are fundamental rights. Christians are called to side with the weak, to make the choice to journey in and with a cross-cultural Church, respecting the human heritage and spiritual and cultural development of each member. Francis (2013b) reminds us that:

> As a Church, we must remember that by healing the wounds of refugees, displaced persons and victims of trafficking, by identifying with outsiders, with those who suffer, with the innocent victims of violence and exploitation, we put into practice the commandment of love that Jesus left us.

The care of migrants cannot be lived individually. It is rooted in the Church's discernment and in the particularity of local communities, however it is an urgent appeal for every single baptised Christian.

Conclusion

Migration is a phenomenon that has marked humankind since immemorial times. It has contributed to the birth and development of kingdoms, empires and states. Under the impact of globalisation, demographic change, persistent economic disparities, conflicts and natural disasters, human migration has undoubtedly come to the forefront of the concerns of African states. Migration appears as one of the defining traits of economic, social and political life of a world constantly characterised by human mobility.

Migrants and refugees defy traditional lifestyles and sometimes upset the cultural and social horizons in receiving societies. This tension destroys people. However, we are one human family, which, in its multiplicity of differences, walks towards unity, valuing the solidarity and dialogue between peoples. The Church is mother and maternal care is manifested with tenderness and special closeness. We should not be afraid of differences. Christian compassion - "suffering with" - is expressed above all in the commitment to know the events that led one to leave their homeland by force and, when necessary, to be the voice of the pained and oppressed when others fail to hear their cries.

From this perspective, it is important to consider migrants not on the basis of the regularity or irregularity of their status, but as people who, once their dignity is

ensured, can contribute to the welfare and progress of all. This is especially true when migrants are led to take responsibility for their duties towards the host communities, to be grateful and respectful of the material and spiritual heritage of locals, to obey the receiving country's laws and to contribute to its development. Distant and recent history teaches that migrants, even in the most dramatic situations of displacement, have always made a positive contribution to their host countries. More importantly, these migrants are women and men who, by virtue of their humanity, have the universal right to life and dignity.

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Small Christian Communities (SCC): A Possible Solution to the Issue of Migration and Development?

Melchior-Edouard Mombili

For nearly five years, the global phenomenon of migration has been the major subject of pastoral concerns for the Churches of Africa and its adjacent islands grouped in the Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM). Indeed, throughout the eight regions of SECAM, there is the promotion of a ministry that seeks to dedicate in a special way the solicitude of the Church for the category of "people on the move." In the host environments migrants find themselves, because of the nature of their movement, under different and contrasting social conditions. Their presence increasingly provokes negative reactions by local communities that the Church, in his motherly solicitude, is trying to mitigate through appropriate initiatives. Nonetheless, such initiatives can be questioned from the perspective of the nexus between migration and development, an issue that is highly debated at present. The complex effects of the phenomenon of globalisation, are felt on both regional as well as intercontinental levels. The nexus between migration and development is amply fed by the fact that social inequality is variously understood from the socio-anthropological, legal, political, economic and religious perspectives.

From the outset, it should be noted that the reflection presented here focuses on the pastoral care option of communion and inculturalisation of the Church in Africa. In doing so, the purpose of this text is based on two components: a) the presentation of the migration phenomenon in its relation to development, and b) the development of a theological-pastoral reflection that intends to of-

fer a possible solution to the slight discomfort generated by the antagonistic confrontation of migration and development.

Migration: A Phenomenon with Complex Contours

According to a UN report, a migrant is a person who leaves his country for a period of at least one year, with the intention to settle abroad on a long-term basis. Globally, migrants, that is to say individuals not living in the country of their birth for more than a year, are estimated to number more than 200 million. More than half of them are women. However, this category of people on the move contains an infinite number of social cases. The situations of migrants in foreign lands are subject to many interpretations and prejudices that generate debate both on the public level and within closed political circles. Migrants instead are, as noted by Gustave Massiah (1998), active subjects of the international scene, upholders of cooperation and solidarity. These include, as an indication, scientists, students, trainees, researchers, corporate bodies and refugees from different levels (political exiles, war survivors and economic exiles) among others.

Today, the migration phenomenon is linked to the notion of economic development. This design often involves considerations that arouse suspicion and mistrust. Moreover, scrutiny of the migration phenomenon contradicts this conception judged by more than one analyst as simplistic or even pernicious. In fact, it appears that the current migration phenomenon is not really new, although it is characterised by this era marked by economic crisis and the casualisation of employment that is difficult to control. Contrary to popular belief, development historically appears as a creative and non-reducing element of migration. Therefore, in the context of globalisation, international migration is likely to increase rather than decrease. Similarly, a less publicised observation reveals that the migration phenomenon lies partly in the explosion in the number of refugees, and also in the development of the South-South flows through which operates a dynamic win-win. Conflicts, the global economic crisis and emerging countries' need of labour upset the destination and origin communities of the migrants worldwide.

Regarded as a movement of people who move from South to North, international migration is understood differently. In the North there is a general desire for control and reduction of migration, as well as decline of official development assistance. While in the South the scenario is marked by the implementation of structural adjustment plans, economic crisis, political instability

and poverty. For developing countries, international migration is considered an export of services or labour, taking into consideration the sending funds of emigrants. It is estimated that these formal or non-official shipments are roughly equivalent to, or even higher than, official development assistance. Whereas in the past, that is to say in the 50s and 60s, migration to Europe and North America from Southern poor countries was encouraged as a means by which to increase the workforce and pursue growth. Migration was then considered beneficial and necessary for the development of countries of destination, but also to the origin countries of migrants. However, this win-win process unexpectedly perpetuated the inequalities between rich and poor countries. Specific adverse effects of South to North migration include the brain drain of South migration, the sending of remittances of emigrants who favour the import of foreign products to the detriment of local production and the acquisition in the North of unnecessary and unusable skills in the South.

On the other hand, development is seen as a contributor to emigration rather than its halt. Indeed, by creating employment opportunities, especially in urban areas, development processes force out traditional sectors of a large part of the workforce that are working for very low wages and promotes both internal and international migration. From this, it follows that the phenomenon of migration cannot be reduced to its economic dimension and, similarly, the restrictive policies that hinder the mobility of migrants, despite having been effective in many cases, do not seem to decrease migration. The need to detect the so-called "fake tourists" or "potential illegal immigrants" among millions of people who cross borders every day, or who seek to cross for reasons that have nothing to do with migration, is an endeavour that is doomed to fail.

The Call of the Church in Africa: The Small Christian Communities

Drawing on the experience of the early church, whose members devoted themselves to the Apostles' teaching in communion and fraternity, where the faithful had everything in common so as to meet the needs of each of the Church's members (cf. Acts 2: 42-47), the African bishops at the beginning of the 60s, exercised the option to create Christian Communities (CEV, CEB, CSC, CCB) in order to anchor evangelisation more deeply in the African environment. Indeed, the desire of Bishops for Africa was to promote and Christianise the traditional cultural elements that were likely to boost the faithful's awareness of development that targeted the well-being of not only the present community members, but also people outside of it. This ecclesiological vision was

particularly appealing to the values of traditional African cultures that have been their natural dispositions, including hospitality, solidarity and sharing. They are obvious elements that fundamentally characterise these cultures.[1]

By Christianising the traditional cultures through the institution of the SCC, the African Church taught its members to assume all the realities of everyday life as a Christian, that is to say, it attached them to the very life of Christ who assumed and recapitulated all in him (Eph. 1). Thus, based on the concept of the Church, Family of God Church as Church-Communion, the SCC is the image of the traditional African family, a place of learning, charity and Christian sharing exerted outside discrimination. Where the love of Christ who came to share the destiny of men inspired the actions of the members of the community[2]. According to this view, the members of the SCC are called to overcome exclusionary sociocultural barriers and fraternally welcome men and women of all social conditions. Therefore, the criterion of action against the phenomenon of migration is no longer based on sociocultural considerations, but on the single factor of our common humanity, because we are all members of the family of God (cf. Eph 2: 4). It is in this context that the National Executive Board of Conférence Episcopale Nationale du Congo (CENCO, 2013: art. 2, §2) speaks of the nature of the SCC, stating:

> The SCC's objective is to have to find this fraternal warmth, this wonderful dynamism of the early Christian communities. They will be more places of listening of the Word of God, prayer, solidarity and sharing, apostolate to the sick, and management of the living environment.

It goes without saying that migrants who find themselves in a foreign environment cut off from their families are often deprived of this human warmth that

1 In this regard, it should be pointed out that the initiative of Bishops for Africa has consistently received the support of the universal Magisterium of the Church whose writings, from the Second Vatican Council, have continued to encourage the pastoral VEC to be genuine places of charity and evangelical faith. According to their vocation, the CEV are intended to be places where listening to the Word of God and the sacraments awaken charity and justice towards all, especially towards the poor (cf. Benedict XVI, 2005: 25; 2010: 103).

2 This ecclesiological understanding defined the identity and commitment of the Churches of Africa through the two Synods of African bishops held in Rome in 1994 and 2009. The recommendations were contained in the Post-Synodal Pontifical Exhortations with a very evocative title: Ecclesia in Africa (Church in Africa) and Africae Munus (The Committment of Africa).

gives the joy of living and stimulates one's commitment to face the stresses of life. Migrants in this case should be considered as fragile and vulnerable people who need attention from the members of the SCC who can free them from the evil of isolation living abroad. The mission of the Church through the action of the SCC is to demonstrate solidarity with those who suffer. In performing this mission she discovers its vocation of '[...] mother heart open without borders on the world' (Francis 2014).

In addition, one of the fundamental objectives of the SCC is to promote justice in the everyday living environment. The SCC's support of foreigners in difficult situations advocates for the putting in place of a just establishment in order to control a policy for the purpose of managing migration which prevents unnecessary frustration and humiliation of people. To this end, we must distinguish between the freedom of movement, which falls within the rights of individuals, and the freedom of establishment in a country that is a right of states.

Similarly, expressing their concern for foreigners, the SCC challenge the world of employment to treat immigrants with more justice in the light of the contribution of their skills in developing countries that host them. The right to fair remuneration claimed by workers requires that we take into account the issue of status of immigrant workers. Immigrants claim the status of development actors as well as the host country workers. Here it is a question of human dignity and pride because the worker feels useful to society. This is an advocacy for migrants to be promoted by the SCC in view of their vocation and constitutes an instance of facilitation in the process of justice, peace and reconciliation in the community.

Moreover, relying on the principle of respect for the transcendent dignity of the human person as taught in the SCC can be considered a healthy political succession of the working masses in society. Statistics show that in locations where the workforce is reduced due to aging and other factors, external migration is inevitable. Indeed, already here and there, politicians increasingly criticise early retirement and degradation of the level of pensions that do not augur a better tomorrow under closed-border immigration policies. It is by valuing and not despising the contribution of people on the move in favour of the community – however small – that the host society will discover the importance of each foreign member in their midst.

Certainly, migrants help their home countries. However, while the development aid policy in the North-South cooperation framework is today appreci-

ated differently according to geographical areas, the main challenge remains the reduction of poverty with little access to health, education, minimum income, etc. In addition, the poor from the South are not the only party responsible for the failure found in many places. Some responsibility also goes to the rich countries that have not fulfilled their commitment to devote 0.7% of their gross domestic product to development aid.

In this regard, it was verified that for the least developed countries, the export of unskilled labour, like that of unemployed executives, is a safety valve to potential social unrest. The money sent to the country contributes towards a foreign market for a number of local products. Thus, it can be concluded that Southern countries have an interest in promoting legal or illegal emigration of their nationals to the extent that this operation provides economic profit. Therefore, without being exclusive, we must promote local development and decentralisation of local authorities through the intervention of associations of migrants to their villages and regions, as well as partnership practices of international solidarity associations and local authorities. To this extent, Massiah (1998) suggested that priority be given to the development of migrants' regions of origin. Although this would not reduce the flows in the short-term, it has two advantages: a) it relies on cooperation based on a common history and thereby materialises it, and b) it may rely on the essential contribution of migrants.

Similarly, facing new factors that continue to transform modern societies – such as mass arrivals on the labour markets of the South, travel facilities and the performance of the media – migration cities cannot be evaded. A policy should now be put in place that constitutes a political lever to deal with such issues and reconcile the interests of the North and the South, whose concerns beyond discourse on human rights still appear irreconcilable. Indeed, quite often the start of migration of the individual fleeing poverty is linked to the desire to contribute to the future of the village or urban community. Therefore, migration cannot be understood only at the individual and family level and must be analysed as a collective response to specific situations. In the same vein, one can rethink the role of associations of migrants as international solidarity associations in and of themselves. Hence, we must encourage partnerships between associations and communities in regions of origin with migrant associations and other associations of international solidarity in order to define the framework agreements at regional levels while accounting for specific situations and identifying common interests. According to the report of Sami Naïr, quoted by G. Massiah (1998), the best approach is to establish enhanced

mobility linked to co-development projects, with no obligation for migrants to return, even if the objective is to reduce migration flows.

Looking more closely at the above reflection, this way of understanding the participation of migrants in the development process of host countries is a global the concern of the SCC. The SCC attempts to keep the different energies that are made up of their members within their community, in order to channel them into a dynamic that contributes to the welfare of all. To this extent, Pope Francis (2015) invites the faithful to keep a watchful eye on migrants. He rightly urges the faithful to deepen and strengthen the values necessary to ensure the harmonious coexistence between different people and cultures.

Can this policy of cooperation help the development and promotion of democracy? The answer to this question is not obvious, it is subject to so many parameters, including the international context. A co-development policy based on decentralised cooperation, that is to say on the direct participation of community members, supports the associations of migrants to keep pressure on a society-to-society cooperation. This system actually allows the actors to intervene directly and prepares the next generation for the benefit of the community, through which cooperation policy gives real priority to local development. Ultimately, the co-development policy related to migratory flows can have meaning only if it is part of an immigration policy based on respect for individual and collective equal rights. In this sense, rather than being regarded as a phenomenon embodying permanent threat, migration can be seen positively as a transfer of knowledge, experiences, cultural contributions and development in all countries where it is present. This view also applies to the complex collaboration of forces that make up society: the Church, the national community, the international community made up of NGOs and other platforms to support people in need.

Conclusion

In conclusion, let us evoke the recommendation of the Apostolic Exhortation *Africae Munus* that reflects the mission of the African Church of the Good News by engaging in the service of the poor and poorest through the SCC:

> The Church is eager to see the globalization of solidarity progress to the point where it inscribes 'in commercial relationships the principle of gratuitousness and the logic of gift as an expression of fraternity,' while avoiding the temptation to re-

> gard globalization as the only lens through which to view life, culture, politics and the economy, and fostering an ongoing ethical respect for the variety of human situations in the interests of effective solidarity (Benedict XVI, 2011: 87).

The exhortation perfectly articulates the concern of the SCC to educate their members to work together in synergy and in a spirit of mutual respect, reciprocity, availability and confidence. In this sense, as an instrument of pastoral exercise of charity and Christian solidarity, the SCC without being exclusive, can be a solution to fight the migration phenomenon that has become a real human tragedy that leaves no one indifferent. As recalled by the exhortation of Pope Francis (2015: 10) in the Bull of Indiction of the Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy: '[...] it is time to return to the basics and to bear the weaknesses and struggles of our brothers and sisters.'

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The Migration and Development Nexus in Light of the Experience of Joseph, Son of Jacob, in Egypt
Philosophical-Theological Reflections and Socio-Political Perspectives

Georges Njila Jibikilayi J.

I was requested to provide a theological reflection on the experience of migration in the context of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Therefore, this contribution from a theology perspective, deals mainly with Congolese migration and migration within the DRC, a reality of human mobility that is very complex. The biblical figure of Joseph, son of Jacob, will serve as a paradigm to articulate the nexus between migration and development.

I will start by briefly describing my understanding of the concept and reality of migration. Then, I will try to give a theological response to address a philosophical question. On this basis, I will finally highlight some socio-political consequences. This tripartite structure of my contribution is justified by the fact that the philosophical question is related to the "other," the theological answer is a reflection on Joseph's experience in Egypt and the socio-political conclusions constitute an ethical path I would like to suggest.

Paradoxical as it may seem, it appears increasingly convincing and obvious that migration has always been deeply associated with human beings as an essential part of their nature. One might even say that migration is one of the main features of biblical anthropology. The human being in the Bible is in constant movement.

After the experience of sin, God obliged Adam and Eve to leave Eden. After the fratricidal act of Cain, he was condemned to wander all life long. Abraham was invited to leave his homecountry to go to the place that God would show him.

Two considerations seem important. The first concerns the diversity of the causes of migration. For example, the reason of the movement of Abraham to Palestine is totally different from that of Joseph or Jacob to Egypt. The second refers to the problems and difficulties related to migration and the complexities of coexistence with the other (cfr. Gen 3: 23-24).

As for human mobility in the DRC – and I think the situation in other African countries is similar – it is necessary to distinguish between different categories and periods of the migration experience. Different migrations occurred in the various historical phases: the "discovery" of Africa, colonisation, evangelisation, decolonisation and diplomatic cooperation. In all of these circumstances, Western and African foreigners were allowed to freely enter the DRC. At the same time, Congolese people migrated for different reasons including religious drives (to minister) and education and socio-political motivations (cooperation, social and political instability, etc...). Today, migrant inflows and outflows in the DRC continue.

Freedom of movement is a fundamental right of every human being and nobody is entitled to prevent people from moving. Thus, it is essential to give sense, a meaning, an orientation to migration. The main question refers to the living conditions of migrants – before, during and after migration – and this calls into play the nexus between migration and development. At the basis of this pair, which describes life in the dynamics of meetings and separations, there is an unavoidable philosophical question: who is the other for me? What does his/her presence mean to me?

Philosophical Questions: Migration and Otherness

It does not seem logical to consider migration and development in the perspective of a whole life, a coexistence, a "being-with" and "working-with." The logic depends on the answer to a basic philosophical and theological question. The philosophical angle through which I would like to discuss the migration and development nexus is the fundamental question regarding "otherness," meaning the face or presence of the other in my home and/or for me.

For the purpose of this contribution, development is understood as the result of a joint action, an "action-with" the other. It is in the heart of the problem of

otherness that we place the nexus between migration and development. In other words, the link between migration and development constitutes a different way of thinking about relationship with others.

The notion of otherness, which is at the crossroads of several disciplines (philosophy, anthropology, sociology and theology), mainly refers to the situation of the "self" vis-a-vis the other and vice versa. It is about the identity of the other: what he/she is or may be for me and what I am and can be for him/her. This also refers to everything that is external to "me," namely God, nature, individuals, groups, society, things, places, etc... This is ultimately about the acceptance or the non-acceptance of the other. This notion has known a great philosophical development. Several authors have devoted long studies to this subject, like Emmanuel Levinas and Paul Ricoeur, just to mention two. In his writings, Levinas considers otherness a research path in the relationship with the others. The latter is the human experience that helps one overcome the loneliness, which Levinas describes as hopelessness or isolation in a traumatic anxiety. He suggests giving attention to knowledge and sociality, emphasising sociality as a way out of solitude (Levinas, 1995). In his thesis entitled *Ethics and Infinity*, Levinas (1982) considers the type of relationship that sociability could offer with otherness. In this publication, the other – or otherness in the sense of acceptance of others – is presented in a social context: the other is perceived as a face to welcome imperatively. The meeting with the other creates a genuine experience, which entails mutual commitment and mutual accountability (Levinas, 1982).

According to Paul Ricoeur, it is impossible to construct a unilateral dialectic of the "same" and the "other." He took the inspiration from both Edmond Husserl, who tries to derive the *alter ego* from *ego*, and Levinas, who argues that the "other" assigns the "me" to its responsibility. Convinced of the disappearance or inoperativeneness of Descartes and Kant's ego idealism, French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (1990) wants to rebuild the *ego* – or the "self" – in a permanent relationship with the "other." So it is not possible to think of "self" outside of the "other:" '[The] other is not only the consideration of the same, but belongs to the very constitution of its meaning' (Ricoeur, 1990: 380). According to Ricoeur, a third method of designing otherness is 'being directed as the structure of selfhood,' as it can be reconciled with self-esteem and certify in reciprocity that there is nothing more asymmetric. Hence there is a need for a new path: to depart from the solitary basis of the *cogito* and promote the recognition of a plurality of otherness, demanding an ethical approach. According to the Ricoeur (1969), "self" does not mean "I."

If the other is so tied to the "self," in view of the movement of the other, who comes or walks away, the philosophical questions about the meaning of the other would be formulated as follows: is the other – both the one who comes or who hosts – an opportunity or a threat? If the other contributes or participates in my wellbeing (development), logically he/she is an opportunity. Therefore, the question is how to make the encounter an opportunity for both the one who welcomes and the one who comes. This is the question I would like to answer from a theological perspective, reflecting on the experience of Joseph in Egypt.

Theological Reflection on the Experience of Joseph in Egypt (Gen 37-47)

Many elements of this theological reflection come from an interview I had with the Congolese community in Paris six years ago. I was invited to attend a conference on the presence of Congolese migrants in France. In my lecture, I proposed the image of Joseph as a model of migration being an opportunity for the host country and their families, who let them go without selling them (like the brothers of Joseph did), but perhaps by selling all their possessions.

Joseph was one of the twelve sons of Jacob. His brothers, who hated him viscerally, wanted to kill him, but eventually decided to sell him the Ishmaelites. The latter then sold him to a top Egyptian servant. Joseph ended up as a slave in the house of Potiphar, a Pharaoh's Officer and Head of his guards. Excelling in his service, Joseph was appointed by Potiphar as master of the house and head of all his affairs. Abruptly, because of a plot organised by the wife of his master, he was jailed. In prison, Joseph became famous for his gift of interpreting dreams and obtained the favour of Pharaoh, who promoted him to the highest political rank. Joseph saved Egypt from the tragic effects of a famine and brought his family to Egypt.

The story of Joseph can contribute to a positive interpretation of the phenomenon of migration today as an approach to the aspiration of all people to wellness (development). The figure of Joseph highlights that migration can be a drive for development. I would like to focus on those that move, leaving their countries or regions, in search of better living conditions. My reflection is addressed particularly to them and to those who welcome them, drawing on John Paul II's reinterpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan in the African context:

> For many Synod Fathers, contemporary Africa can be compared to the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho; he fell among robbers who stripped him, beat him and departed, leaving him half dead (cf. Lk 10:30-37). Africa is a continent

> where countless human beings – men and women, children and young people – are lying, as it were, on the edge of the road, sick, injured, disabled, marginalized and abandoned. They are in dire need of Good Samaritans who will come to their aid (John Paul, 1995: 41).

The migratory nature of humankind is an historical evidence. Human beings have been migrating since time immemorial. Human mobility is as old as humanity. And this trend is even more visible in the history of salvation. The book of Genesis emphasizes that the ancestors of the Jews were nomadic or wandering: 'Pharaoh asked him [Jacob], "How old are you?" And Jacob said to Pharaoh, "The years of my pilgrimage are a hundred and thirty. My years have been few and difficult and they do not equal the years of the pilgrimage of my fathers' (Gen 47: 8-9). Such conscience of Jews' nomadic heritage is recalled in the book of Deuteronomy:

> And there in the Presence of God, your God, you will recite: "A wandering Aramean was my father, he went down to Egypt and sojourned there, he and just a handful of his brothers at first, but soon they became a great nation, mighty and many. The Egyptians abused and battered us, in a cruel and savage slavery" (Deut 26: 4-6).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights positivises the migratory nature of human beings (United Nations, 1948). However, human mobility has different causes and aims. In the case of Joseph and his family, there are three main reasons for their migration: the wickedness of his brothers, the famine in Israel and the invitation of Joseph. Migration was seen as a way to avoid a degrading situation: fratricide in the case of Joseph and hunger in the case of his family. From the side of the host, the situation evolves in three phases: a) domination on the slave (Joseph) and strangers (his brothers); b) confidence in the hero (Joseph as prime minister and host to his family); c) fear of the other as an opponent or as a troublesome presence (the attitude of Pharaoh towards Joseph (cf. Exodus 1: 8-10)); and d) organisation of a policy/action either to self-protect from the foreigners or to promote their integration.

On the other side, the Egyptian authorities, which were after Joseph, were part of an organisation of drudgery and slavery that victimised the Israelites (cf. Exodus 1: 11-16). This action deeply differs from the attitude of the Good Samaritan, who offered the unfortunate the opportunity to live in dignity.

The call to be a chance for the other or to host the other is an opportunity that requires two preconditions. The first is the recognition of the other's skills.

Potiphar, the companions of Joseph in prison, Pharaoh and the foremen had to acknowledge the merits of Joseph and the sons of Israel. Beyond the fragility characterising the figure of Joseph (a slave), the Egyptians were able to detect the best he could offer for their development. The second precondition responds to the principle of fertility, which is essential to trigger the nexus between migration and development. Although materially and externally stripped, Joseph was immaterially and spiritually wealthy, due to his sense of responsible work and his gift of interpreting dreams. He put his richness at the service of the welfare of Pharaoh, his dignitaries and all of the Egyptians. In other words, no one is so poor as not to be able to contribute in some way to the other's development. All migrants, beyond their socio-economic fragility, must be convinced that they have something to give for the welfare of others. Similarly, all countries, beyond their richness, must be convinced that they have something to receive from those who come and offer them hospitality. This requires a great creativity in the recognition and activation of the available gifts and talents. This is the socio-political dimension of the theology of the invention elaborated on by Léonard Santedi (2003).

The ability to manage the phase of disharmony between migrants (Jews) and the hosting community (Egyptians) is marked by two important elements: the growth of Israel and the fear of Egypt. In the biblical narrative, the resurgence of conflict between hosts and guests led to the abuse of migrants and the exodus. Among the reasons of this conflict, it is worth mentioning the historical and qualitative distance between the time of Joseph and the period of Moses (cf. Exodus 1: 8).

From the experience of Joseph in Egypt one learns that the relationship between the migrant and the host can show at least three different historical faces: a) disrepute, where the migrant is a slave, a person worth only the service he/she must render; b) successful collaboration, where the migrant and host mutually contribute to the other's fulfillment; and c) mutual distrust or self-protection.

Referring to the experience of Joseph in Egypt, the answer to the philosophical question of who is or represents the other (the migrant) may be triptych: a slave (worthless person), a collaborator and therefore an opportunity (to host and provide) or a potential enemy in front of which one must be cautious. However, the story of Joseph invites us to pay attention to the second sense: the other as a chance to give and/or receive. Therefore, development becomes a house to build together, where everyone not only has a living space, but also takes responsibility towards a happy joint future, sharing the gifts of God.

How do you organise a society in which migrants constitute a chance for locals while the latter constitute an opportunity for migrants' complete fulfillment? In the following section, I suggest some socio-political perspectives.

Socio-Political Perspective: Living with the Other, Grace and Responsibility

I will continue reflecting on the experience of Joseph with the assistance of some magisterial documents. The Encyclical Letter *Rerum Novarum* of Pope Leo XIII, the Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio* of Paul VI, the Encyclical Letters *Sollicitudo rei socialis* and *Laborem exercens* of John Paul II and the Encyclical Letter *Caritas in Veritate* of Benedict XVI offer a few socio-political and pastoral perspectives that highlight the ways in which migration represents an opportunity for development.

The first perspective is the reconceptualisation of the idea of migration. There is a need to disseminate a positive understanding of the phenomenon of migration, to be considered normal and legitimate, especially when it is driven by humanitarian reasons. This understanding constitutes a justification for welcoming and assisting migrants in all their needs. The Church pays special attention to all vulnerable people, who only seek to live with dignity. This is what Paul VI (1967: 1) recalled in his Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio*:

> The progressive development of peoples is an object of deep interest and concern to the Church. This is particularly true in the case of those peoples who are trying to escape the ravages of hunger, poverty, endemic disease and ignorance; of those who are seeking a larger share in the benefits of civilization and a more active improvement of their human qualities; of those who are consciously striving for fuller growth. With an even clearer awareness, since the Second Vatican Council, of the demands imposed by Christ's Gospel in this area, the Church judges it her duty to help all men explore this serious problem in all its dimensions, and to impress upon them the need for concerted action at this critical juncture.

This conversion leads Christians to welcome the other as a grace that the Lord, the Master of time and history, grants.

The second perspective is the essentiality of God. It is the Lord who gives Joseph all those human, spiritual and intellectual skills that contribute to the development of Israel. In this, true human value can be discovered, since any understanding of the human being separated from God is a real impoverish-

ment. Benedict XVI (2009: 78-79) is well aware of this and in his Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* recalls it strongly:

> Without God man neither knows which way to go, nor even understands who he is. In the face of the enormous problems surrounding the development of peoples, which almost make us yield to discouragement, we find solace in the sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, who teaches us: "Apart from me you can do nothing" (Jn 15:5) [...]. Openness to God makes us open towards our brothers and sisters and towards an understanding of life as a joyful task to be accomplished in a spirit of solidarity. On the other hand, ideological rejection of God and an atheism of indifference, oblivious to the Creator and at risk of becoming equally oblivious to human values, constitute some of the chief obstacles to development today. A humanism which excludes God is an inhuman humanism. Only a humanism open to the Absolute can guide us in the promotion and building of forms of social and civic life [...] without exposing us to the risk of becoming ensnared by the fashions of the moment [...]. Development needs Christians with their arms raised towards God in prayer, Christians moved by the knowledge that truth-filled love, caritas in veritate, from which authentic development proceeds, is not produced by us, but given to us. For this reason, even in the most difficult and complex times, besides recognizing what is happening, we must above all else turn to God's love. Development requires attention to the spiritual life, a serious consideration of the experiences of trust in God, spiritual fellowship in Christ, reliance upon God's providence and mercy, love and forgiveness, self-denial, acceptance of others, justice and peace. All this is essential if "hearts of stone" are to be transformed into "hearts of flesh" (Ezek 36:26).

From this perspective, it is important to raise the issue of interreligious dialogue and mutual respect. The true God speaks to Pharaoh (assumingly a pagan) and Joseph only interprets the message addressed to the Egyptian king. Different religions can collaborate effectively in the harmonisation between migration and development.[1]

The third perspective is the assurance of a decent life for everyone. Paul VI advocates living together in solidarity and with universal charity, banishing all exclusive nationalism and racism and valuing the 'dignified work for all' as a way to welcome and integrate the other in the construction of the *res publica*:

1 I have discussed this point thoroughly in an article I published in 2007 (Njila Jibikilayi, 2007: 33-34).

'[...] the same welcome is due to the emigrant workers living in often inhuman conditions, saving on wages to relieve some families remained in poverty on their native soil' (Paul VI, 1967: 69). This perspective calls for the establishment of just societies, characterised by sound and effective policies addressing the reception and integration of migrants. There is a need to fight against all the 'structures of sin,' of which John Paul II (1987) speaks, and promote a fair distribution of wealth, eradicating any kind of exploitation of the poor, as it was evoked by Leo XIII (1891) in the 19th century.

The fourth perspective is the importance of education and family values. I am convinced that Joseph's family education must have contributed greatly to his success. To predict or direct the behaviour of future adults, particularly in the context of migration (from both the perspectives of the host and guest), one must begin by properly educating today's children on fundamental values, namely the importance of work, sense of life, otherness, solidarity, gratuity, forgiveness, reconciliation, etc...

The fifth perspective is the comprehension of "living with the other" as a responsibility. This means considering that the happiness of the other (migrant or host) depends on one's responsible acts. In Egypt, the future of a whole people hung on the actions of Joseph.

The sixth perspective is the principle of enriching exchange. Migration may contribute to development through the exchange mechanism. Everybody always has something to give and to receive. This is not referring necessarily to material wealth, but also to cultural, spiritual and human richness.

Conclusion

The figure of Joseph is a response to the question on the meaning of the other (opportunity or threat): the other can truly be a chance for the development of the host/guest. While it is difficult – or even impossible – to stop migration, it is indeed possible to transform it into an effective development factor. To this aim, a negative political or religious idea of migration constitutes the greatest threat. Nobody should be afraid to welcome the other. Opening the extraordinary Jubilee, Pope Francis (2015: 15) listed welcoming the stranger among the works of mercy:

> It is my burning desire that, during this Jubilee, the Christian people may reflect on the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. It will be a way to reawaken our con-

> science, too often grown dull in the face of poverty. And let us enter more deeply into the heart of the Gospel where the poor have a special experience of God's mercy. Jesus introduces us to these works of mercy in his preaching so that we can know whether or not we are living as his disciples. Let us rediscover these corporal works of mercy: to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, welcome the stranger, heal the sick, visit the imprisoned, and bury the dead. And let us not forget the spiritual works of mercy: to counsel the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, admonish sinners, comfort the afflicted, forgive offences, bear patiently those who do us ill, and pray for the living and the dead.

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PART II: Migration and Conflicts

The Asylum Regime in Africa

Sergio Carciotto

In order to discuss forced migration and asylum in Africa, I will consider refugees and asylum seekers. These two categories of migrants include individuals who flee their homes because of conflicts, persecutions and violations of human rights and also, to a certain extent, those who end up in the stream of irregular arrivals as a result of wanting to enhance their economic opportunities. Both categories of "refugees" and "asylum seekers" have raised some concerns amongst states with regard to their rights of admission. To begin, I would like to say that the issue of migration in Sub-Saharan Africa is tied to a series of myths and I will mention three recurring themes in the migration discourse that are intertwined with these misconceptions.

Firstly, there is a widespread perception that migrants from Sub-Saharan countries are flocking onto the shores of Europe. However, as argued by Bakewell and De Haas (2007) evidence shows that migration in Sub-Saharan Africa is characterised by intra-regional movements.

Secondly, there is a misleading assumption that African cities are growing at a very fast pace due to massive influxes of migrants from rural areas. This also is not fully true. In fact, the average rate of urbanisation in the Sub-Saharan region is estimated to be 5 percent per year (UN-Habitat, 2014), a rate that is in line with those of other developing regions in the world. Moreover, migration is not the only phenomenon contributing to the growth of cities in Africa. Potts (2009) points out that there are at least three factors contributing to the process of urbanisation. The first is a natural increase of the urban population due to high fertility rates and lower mortality rates. The second is the reclassification of former rural areas as urban areas, and the third is internal migration from rural to urban areas. In this regard, she observes that a reduced contribu-

tion of net in-migration to urban growth it is not caused by less internal mobility but rather by an increase in circular migration. She further argues that it is becoming problematic for migrants to reside in urban areas for long periods of time due to the difficulty of securing employment and decent standards of living. In this context, migration and internal mobility might represent a survivalist strategies to diversify sources of income.

The last misconception I will remark upon is that of Sub-Saharan Africa as a region from which people are forced to flee because of conflicts and social unrest. However, looking at the latest statistics released by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2015a), refugees account for only 16 percent of the total population of international migrants in Africa. This shows that human mobility in Sub-Saharan Africa is driven more by economic factors than conflicts. That being said, according to UNHCR (2015b) Sub-Saharan African countries are currently hosting a staggering 3.7 million refugees, more than one quarter of the total global refugee population. Even if the majority of "people on the move" in the continent do not fall under the legal definition of "refugee," African countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Chad and Uganda host a large number of refugees in protracted refugee situations[1]. The issue of protracted refugee situations is also inextricably linked to the issue of refugee solutions which I am going to briefly discuss later during my presentation.

When discussing the topic of refugees and forced migration, it is inevitable to refer to the current refugee crisis in Europe and to reflect on the situation of Syrian refugees. This is not only because they are by far the largest refugee group in the world, currently numbering nearly 4 million (UNHCR, 2015b), but also because this crisis dominates media attention. In 2015, the picture of a dead refugee child laying on a Turkish beach sparked outcry on social media across the world.

According to Frontex (2016), since the beginning of 2015[2], over 500,000 people have entered Europe and nearly 3,000 have died while trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea. Two countries in particular, Italy and Greece, have had the most arrivals of over 100,000 and 350,000 respectively. I believe that looking at

1 The official UN definition of "protracted refugee situation" is a circumstance in which at least 25,000 or more refugees of the same nationality are hosted in a given country of asylum for at least five years.

2 This data refers to the first three quarters of 2015.

events in Europe in this specific moment will allow us to make some relevant considerations for the African continent and provide suggestions for the institution of asylum in Africa.

I was positively surprised listening to Chancellor Angela Merkel's defense of Germany's refugee policy when she stated that: 'Germany is doing what is morally and legally required of it' and that 'Europe has to show itself [as] a continent of values and solidarity.' These statements are relevant to my discussion as they encompass three main concepts regarding the first admission of refugees and asylum seekers and the global responsibility which derives from it.

The first concerns the moral obligation to admit refugees and asylum seekers and involves crucial ethical questions in the context of international migration, such as: What limits do states have to regulate the entry of non-citizens? Are criteria to select and admit immigrants fair and non-discriminatory? Is there a right to migrate? Do immigrants have access to the same rights as citizens? And how should pluralist and culturally diverse societies be managed? Given the conflicting interests around migration and the fact that the public discourse often treats human mobility as problematic, these questions do not have easy answers and represent a challenge for policy makers in the so called "first world" as well as in developing countries.

It is commonly accepted that states have a general right to control immigration and decide who to admit, and that they do not have any moral obligation whatsoever to accept non-citizens. However, with regard to the first admission of foreigners, refugees make an exception to the principle of state sovereignty. Liberal democratic states have, in fact, agreed to accept individuals who have a refugee claim. States also have a moral obligation towards asylum seekers because they are responsible for what might happen to them if they are sent back to their home countries. As pointed out by political theorist Joseph Carens (2003), once individuals are physically present within states' boundaries, receiving governments are responsible for their lives and well-being. The concept of *non-refoulement* is a corner stone of international and refugee law that stops countries from returning individuals to places where they may be threatened or face persecution. At the universal level, the most important provision in this respect is Article 33 (1) of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which states that:

> No Contracting State shall expel or return ('*refouler*') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be

> threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. At the regional level the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of 1969 gives expression in binding form to a number of important principles relating to asylum, including the principle of non-refoulement. According to Article II (3): "No person shall be subjected by a Member State to measures such as rejection at the frontier, return or expulsion, which would compel him to return to or remain in a territory where his life, physical integrity or liberty would be threatened for the reasons set out in Article I, paragraphs 1 and 2" (UNHCR, 2011).

It is worth noting that the legal definition of refugee is open to interpretation and, therefore, the classification between those who deserve international protection and those who can be sent back to their countries of origin is arbitrary. In spite of moral obligations towards asylum seekers, states are becoming more and more restrictive in granting access to their territories. Like many European countries that have experienced an increase in irregular migration, African countries are facing the dilemma of how to provide asylum while maintaining the integrity of their borders. In the particular case of South Africa, the imbalance between the restrictive immigration framework and the liberal refugee protection framework, in a region characterised by high rates of mobility and mixed migration flows, has resulted in large numbers of migrants turning to the country's asylum system as a means to temporarily regularise their stay. From 2005 to 2011, South Africa received the highest number of individual asylum applications globally, with a peak of over 200,000 applications in 2009 (Johnson and Carciotto, unpub.).

In relation to this example, I argue that states have taken on their moral obligations to accept refugees but are failing to reconcile them with their interests in protecting their sovereignty. This is resulting in a constant erosion of human refugees' and asylum seekers' rights. I have presented two concepts regarding moral obligation and principles deriving from general international law, of which the most relevant is the principle of *non-refoulement*. The third concept regards burden sharing and solidarity. Again, I will consider what is currently happening in Europe and link it with the refugee situation on the African continent.

Despite the reluctance of some Member States, the European Union has understood that the responsibility of caring for refugees cannot be left only to a few countries and has appealed for more solidarity. Europe has, in fact, to show itself as a continent based on moral values such as solidarity which rep-

resents one of the basic principles of international protection in the form of refugee burden sharing. Regrettably, as is well argued by Carens (1996: 161-162), 'the more sharply a morality conflicts with interests, the more likely it is that its moral prescriptions will be ignored or violated.'

In the case of Africa, neighboring countries are often responsible for providing humanitarian assistance for thousands of refugees with little or no burden sharing at all. Most of the African countries have pursued an encampment policy. For instance, large numbers of refugees are hosted in refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya with limited access to the same civil, political, social and economic rights as citizens. As such, African refugees are living in precarious situations and suffer as a result of their lack of rights to movement, physical safety, property, employment and self-employment.

The issue of burden sharing and solidarity is strictly connected to possible solutions to the refugee problem. This is particularly evident in cases in which refugees are living in protracted refugee situations for decades without the possibility of integrating due to the fact that the condition of refugee is seen as temporary and also because refugees suffer severe limitations of their basic rights as non-citizens. Commonly there are three solutions to the refugee crisis and they all deserve attention.

Voluntary repatriation is considered to be the preferable solution by the international community and hinges on the belief that all refugees intend to return to their home countries when conditions in their places of origin have improved and the causes of flight are no longer present. However, there are cases when return is not desirable and even impossible (UNHCR, 1999). Voluntary repatriation has been used by host governments and refugee agencies to terminate *refugeehood* situations by promoting repatriation when durable and fundamental changes of conditions in the country of origin have not occurred. I refer to the case of Rwandese refugees who were forced to leave Tanzania in 1996 as Rwanda was considered a country in peace. Safety in the country of origin should be considered a pivotal determinant in the decision-making process for returnees, but also for hosting governments who should return refugees back to their country only after safety and security are fully restored. The more recent case of Angolan refugees "voluntarily repatriated" to Angola from neighbouring countries shows how voluntary repatriation has to be pursued at all costs, even when refugees may still be reluctant to return (Carciotto, unpub.).

Resettlement is an option to find long-term solutions to the refugee crisis. There are currently only 27 countries across the world which have agreed to accept a quota of refugees hosted in less developed countries, often in protracted refugee situations. According to UNHCR (2015a), in 2014, over 100,000 refugees benefited from resettlement programmes and were relocated to industrialised countries such as the US, Canada and Australia. It is clear that this figure represents just a drop in the ocean and that more burden sharing means more states should take up the responsibility to tackle a humanitarian crisis which directly and indirectly affects all countries in the world.

Recently, South Africa was reflecting on whether they should take more refugees from Syria in the spirit of global burden sharing and African solidarity. However, this option was immediately shut down by those saying that the country is already hosting too many refugees from Africa. So would it be feasible for African states to practice an intra-African burden sharing? The 1969 OAU Convention provides that:

> [...] where a member state finds difficulty in continuing to grant asylum to refugees, such member states may appeal directly to other Member States and through the OAU, and such other Member States shall in the spirit of African solidarity and international cooperation take appropriate measures to lighten the burden of the Member States granting asylum.'

During the OAU/UNHCR Symposium on Refugees and Forced Population Displacements in Africa held in Addis Ababa from 8-10 September 1994, several recommendations were formulated to strengthen the system of refugee protection in Africa, including an encouragement for African states: 'to offer additional places for the resettlement in their territories of refugees from other African countries.'

While voluntary repatriation remains the best solution to refugee problems, resettlement to another country is sometimes the only way to guarantee the protection of refugees. Resettlement in the traditional resettlement countries is becoming increasingly restricted. While UNHCR continues its efforts towards the resettlement of African refugees in those countries, there is a need for African countries to reinvigorate intra-African resettlement of refugees. During the 1970s and 1980s, when refugees from South Africa were expelled from Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, other African countries accepted to receive them in their territories. More recently, Burkina Faso accepted resettlement of refugees

as part of burden sharing in the framework of intra-African solidarity (UNHCR, 2004). Obviously there are several obstacles to the practice of intra-African resettlement of refugees, most notably the fact that many African countries lack enough capacity and resources to accommodate resettled refugees and extensive violations of human rights still occur in several parts of Africa.

Local integration is the third solution to refugee problems but the least pursued by governments, including those who are hosting large numbers of refugees in Africa. In the past, from the 1960s to the 1990s, African countries had an "open door policy" to refugees who were largely victims of political persecutions and less victims of humanitarian crisis. States in the continent had a liberal approach towards the admission of refugees who, in some circumstances, were given land and citizenship rights. In this regard, voluntary integration and the granting of citizenship to long-term residents can be considered a means to fulfil moral and international obligations and to promote the principle of burden sharing. At present, local integration is no longer an available option, even in the case where refugees have spent almost two decades in a country of asylum and are fully integrated in their new "homes."

Countries of asylum in Africa are becoming very hostile environments for refugees who are often victims of xenophobic violence and stigmatisation, while increasingly restrictive policies of admission are becoming less and less compatible with moral obligations.

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Forced Migration and Asylum in Africa: Social and Political Challenges

Jean-Baptiste Sourou

Far from being a summary of my reading or hearsay, this presentation is the fruit of my work over a decade alongside African immigrants throughout Italy and my experience with young students in Africa Service. My work as a journalist, researcher and teacher led me to these men, women and children, who leave Africa, traveling in unimaginable conditions to find themselves living in worse situations than those they leave behind, that is, if they do not die crossing the Sahara desert or the Mediterranean Sea (Sourou, 2014).

These painful findings forever question my life as an African believer. They have inspired the analysis that I propose here and pushed me to found two associations: *Cèdres* in Benin and *Il Cedro* in Italy. The joint missions of these organisations are to help young people identify the opportunities that exist locally in Africa and question the European mirage in order to prevent the potentially dangerous and humiliating consequences of uninformed migration. In addition, they facilitate esteem among youth and mutual knowledge between Africa and Europe with the aim of engendering cooperation between the continents as equals.

Forced migration in the African continent constitutes a bleeding wound that will eventually empty the continent of its precious blood: its people. It risks to sink all of Africa, as every boat of African migrants that sinks into the Mediterranean is a part of the African continent that ends up at the bottom of the sea. How many young people are already lying there?

The Catholic Church, who is an "expert in humanity," cannot mirror the indifference towards this matter that one notes in African political spheres. Pope Paul VI (1967: 1), in the Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio,* states that

The progressive development of peoples is an object of deep interest and concern to the Church. This is particularly true in the case of those peoples who are trying to escape the ravages of hunger, poverty, endemic disease and ignorance; of those who are seeking a larger share in the benefits of civilization and a more active improvement of their human qualities; of those who are consciously striving for fuller growth.

I am tempted to say "better late than never." However, it is not late because the urgency of this matter is still present and we have to find solutions, poor as they may be. The Lord will bless and multiply our bread and our small fish to feed the multitude that he owns. I know many of the local churches in Africa, particularly in the so-called transit countries, strive to do much already. Nonetheless, a comprehensive and coordinated effort will be much more effective.

In this contribution, I will address the topic "Forced Migration and Asylum in Africa: Social and Political Challenges" through the history of the African continent, from its independence to present day. I have adopted this method as it is through the very history of Africa, its political structures, international relations and management of resources, that the causes forcing migration will be clearly identified. Despite its immense cultural, human, spiritual and natural resources, Africa has not always been a hospitable land for its own sons and daughters. I have divided the African history between 1960 and 2016 into four periods: the '60s, '70s '90s and 2000s.

The '60s: Years of Independence

In Africa, 1960 is called the year of independence, because eighteen African nations gained independence during this time. This was true for most of the former French colonies. In the decade of the '60s, a total of thirty-three nations were released from their colonial yokes and obtained national sovereignty, the same sovereignty many of them enjoyed as independent kingdoms before the colonial era. Independence generated much hope and enthusiasm in Africa. It was the release of charges, which have bruised Africans in their bodies, souls, cultures, identities and spirituality.

The African elite took over governance. Hubert Maga Coutoucou became the first president of independent Dahomey. Hamani Diori headed the Niger. Maurice Yaméogo became head of Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso, while Abbe Fulbert Youlou took in his hands the fate of independent Congo. The arrival of the indigenous political class was generally trusted, because they were Africans who were governing the countries.

The creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was a relevant achievement. It was the sign of an Africa that wanted to take off, despite some differences over procedures shown by the founding fathers (Ekué, 2014). Thirty-two independent states signed the OAU Charter in 1963.

The fact that the refrain "Our ancestors the Gauls" was no longer taught in the schools of African French-speaking countries was also a very important achievement. However, looking at those years, several questions should be asked. Did the leaders of the newly established countries consider how to make the educational system suitable for young people? Did the schools in African countries train the youth for working in Africa? Were the African youth prepared to take over the development of their country or were they just trained "ready to use" for the European labour markets? Were the health systems, transport infrastructures, communications and international relations developed with a vision of a sustainable future?

The answers to these questions reveal that in the '60s, the seeds of the migration crises had already been planted in the continent. In addition to these considerations, one should note the mismanagement of young African states, the negative consequences of which led rapidly to the formation of different military dictatorships in the name of the national safeguard. As a result of this militarisation, the period of the coups d'état began.

The '70s: Freedom with a Bitter Taste

Few days ago, I listened to an interview with president Kerekou (1933-2015), who explained the reasons for the military coup on 26 October 1972 in Dahomey. It was undertaken to save Dahomey from the political elite's inability to manage; he was alluding to personal quarrels, corruption, nepotism and ethnic divisions, which stifled the hopes that people had placed in the independence acquired a few years earlier.

In the '70s, many similar military coups raged in Africa. West Africa holds a sad record. These military experiences have had serious consequences on the social and cultural lives of citizens. The change that the militaries wanted to introduce, led to regimes that restricted freedom of expression and thought. As a consequence, many African scholars left the continent with their families. They were perceived as obstacles to the changes the new leaders advocated, either because they were against those changes or because they considered the military methods to be too harsh.

In reality, the militaries repeated the situation they wanted to avoid, and perhaps worsened it. The results were: acute economic crisis, popular uprisings, daily marches and strikes expressing the anger of the civil servants, who had accumulated months of salary arrears. Many countries were plunged into serious social crisis. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank nailed it with their Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the late '80s and early '90s.

The '90s: Did We Win Fatality?

The serious crisis of the late '80s and early '90s gave birth to the unique experience of the National Conferences. The first edition was in Benin, followed by Gabon, Congo, Togo, Niger, Mali, DRC and Chad. These conferences were meetings between all the forces of the nation – the ruling party, civil society, diaspora and exiles – to discuss and strategise towards a peaceful resolution of the political crisis (Boulaga, 2009).

One can safely say that this was one of the most exciting pages of contemporary history of some African countries. It was a new independence. This time it was the people who dictated the rules and, as such, the national conferences raised hopes. They meant freedom expression, speech, thought and to vote, and they ushered in the possibility of new constitutions and free elections.

The subtitle of this section took inspiration from the sentence "We won fatality" that concluded the report of the National Conference of Benin (1990), delivered by the rapporteur, Professor Albert Tévoédjré (Célestin, 2011). Africans did overcome fatality. But a question arises as to the many African countries that have failed to respect the will of change deeply rooted in the aspirations of the people.

While National Conferences were held, some countries have actually moved on. Others were reluctant to accept the results with dramatic consequences

that forced their populations to migrate, if they had not previously been reduced to silence. Populations fled en masse. This is the case of Togolese citizens who fled to Benin in 1993. On the 3rd of February of the same year, at the end of a Mass celebrated at the Friendship Stadium in Cotonou, Pope John Paul II (1993) addressed Togolese refugees in Benin stating: '[...] the violence and contempt for the legitimate aspirations of citizens have never led to a civic and social progress. One can even say that they often lead to irresponsible behaviour. Only the values that cement the democratic order and the consolidation of the rule of law help create a better future.'[1]

The 2000s: Where is True Freedom? Where Can One Live in Peace?

In the African countries that adopted a multiparty system, democracy and alternation of power, the hopes raised were not synonymous with development for all. Education, access to health care, better living conditions and job creation for young people were not granted to all. On the contrary, corruption, opaque systems of management of public good, the stronghold of some foreign firms on raw materials and the complacent gaze of foreign powers in national political affairs, stunted the zeal for free African states, where leaders are first and foremost accountable to their constituents. Understandably, for this reason many young people decided to try their luck in other African countries like South Africa, or in Europe, with all its consequences. These youth were mostly scholars and economic migrants.

However, one should also consider the "environmental migrants," meaning people who migrate because of different environmental issues in Africa, as the fathers of the second Synod of Bishops of Africa noted the significance of this cause of migration, in 2009. Bishop Lucius Ugorji Iwejuru highlighted that the wild and reckless exploitation of natural resources and the environment '[...] has a negative impact on Africans and threatens their prospects to live in peace' (Sourou, 2010: 22). For the Bishop of Umuahia in Nigeria, '[...] the environmental degradation in Africa is related to that problem' and '[...] en-

1 The original text states: 'La violence et le mépris des aspirations légitimes des citoyens n'ont jamais conduit au progrès civique et social. On peut même dire qu'ils traduisent souvent un comportement irresponsable. Seules les valeurs qui cimentent l'ordre démocratique et la consolidation de l'Etat de droit permettent de préparer un avenir meilleur.' The translation has been done by the author.

tire countries are destroyed by deforestation, oil spills, toxic landfills products, plastic containers or cellophane. The erosion of human origin sweeps arable land, devastates roads and silts water sources. These factors impoverish African communities and increase tensions and conflicts' (Sourou, 2010: 22). Entire populations of the Niger Delta in Nigeria suffer from the effects of oil and gas operations in the area that pollute water, rivers and farmland and are emptying entire villages of their inhabitants who leave in all directions in search of more hospitable areas. Several international surveys decry these situations of non-compliance with the indigenous rights.

In addition to this are the numerous wars linked to the exploitation of raw materials that abound in the continent. The case of the DRC is highly symbolic. To this extent, Nicolas Lola Ndjomo, Bishop of Tshumbe and president of the National Episcopal Conference of Congo (CENCO), during his intervention at the 2009 Synod, stated:

> The DR Congo natural resources fuel the greed of certain powers who are no strangers to the violence that is imposed on the population [...], all the conflicts taking place in the economic corridors and around the mining wells. [...] the balkanization plans hatched by predators to create "dwarf states" in Africa, manipulated at will by the strong of this world who act by multinational corporations and individuals in Africa and especially in DR Congo (Sourou, 2010: 20-21).

The Darfur crisis in 2003 caused nearly 300,000 deaths, 2,500,000 displaced and nearly 230,000 refugees in Chad. The war of three decades between South Sudan and North Sudan has created, apart from the dead, a group of young people that the United Nations has described as "lost generations." These young people have never set foot in school and were continually in the bush for protection. The current humanitarian crisis in the young Republic of South Sudan is classified as Level 3 by the United Nations, the same as that of the crisis in Syria. It caused more than 2.5 million displaced, while 4 million people (half the population) are suffering from hunger. Nearly 50,000 Sudanese children suffer from acute malnutrition over an oil-rich land: this is the main reason for the current war in one of the youngest states in the world that has only been independent since 2011.

The organised and deliberate fall of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi in 2011, in addition to chaos created in Libya, facilitated the market of weapons of any kind in the Sahel (Niger, Mali and Chad) and contributed to the armed incursions in

northern Nigeria and Cameroon. Upstream, oil and gas leave Libya, but downstream, populations are still massacred, terrorists run multiple attacks and the number of refugees and potential migrants are increasing.

Conclusion

The causes of forced migration in Africa are complex and diverse. Therefore, they require a multidimensional response. A governance without democracy for all, few economic benefits especially for the young people, education that does not respond to local needs, illiteracy and poor access to health services and drinking water are huge and intertwined challenges. They are deeply related to the foreign exploitation of raw materials, insecure environments and the subjection of Africa by Western countries. However, the fundamental question refers directly to the African, in the present and in the future. What can we do as the Catholic Church to transform Africa into a land where life is good for all people so that nobody would feel compelled to leave their home country? Migration should be enacted out of choice and not out of need. Most migrants, after suffering uncountable difficulties in their journeys, face disillusionment and their only desire is to return home, 'despite the war,' as I was told by Deng, a South Sudanese migrant in Rome.

Africans must be free to travel and go where they please, as do the citizens from other continents. If Africans fail to deal first with the political and social challenges mentioned above, soon there will be no people left in the continent to make emigrate. A drama similar to the slave trade has already started to play out and everybody should contribute to finding feasible solutions.

If Africa wants to stand up, it is imperative that it opens itself. No African should be looked upon as a stranger on African soil. From north to south, and east to west of the continent, Africans should be free in their movements, in their search for a more welcoming space for their wellbeing. There are African countries where migrants are treated worse than in the European airports. Is this not a shame and an aberration? African states must overcome misconceptions about people coming from different African regions and avoid dangerous stereotypes and simplifications. For instance, being of West Africa does not necessarily mean that one is Nigerian. And being Nigerian is not synonymous with being a trafficker. If among Africans on African soil there are such prejudices, how can Africans demand respect from others?

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Conflict and Forced Migration in Africa: A Contemporary *Locus Theologicus*

Jean-Jarrhel Bernadin Ndoulou

Migration is a phenomenon as ancient as the world. From the patriarch Abraham to Joseph, the Babylonian exile to the apostolic mission, the sacred scriptures are marked by migration. However, in recent decades, migration has obtained a central place of relevance among global events. As can be easily realised from TV, radio and newspapers' reports, the phenomenon of migration has become one of the main concerns for politicians, journalists and ordinary citizens, sparing no country. Everyone has his own opinion and beliefs on the matter. Since human mobility interests all continents, Africa is no exception. Because of armed conflicts affecting several regions in Africa, many African people are forced to move within and outside national borders.

"Forced Migrations and Conflicts in Africa: A Contemporary *'Locus Theologicus'*," is the topic I have chosen for this contribution. Dealing with this theme, I believe there are a few relevant questions to be considered: what is the global picture of forced migration in Africa? What challenges does it pose? How and why can forced migration be a "place" for theological reflection? Aiming at answering these questions, I have divided my contribution in three parts: 1) forced migrations in Africa; 2) the challenges of forced migrations in Africa; and 3) forced migration in Africa as a *locus theologicus*. For my analysis, I have adopted the analytic-hermeneutical method.

Forced Migrations in Africa

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) produces annual reports on forced migration that are available on its website. I have obtained all of the following data from this source.

Conflict and Forced Migration in Africa

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The Southern African region hosts more than half a million people of concern to the UNHCR. In 2013, the population was as follows: approximately 136,000 refugees, 278,000 asylum seekers and near 1,700 returnees.

Due to its national legislation that incorporates the basic principles of refugee protection – including freedom of movement, the right to work and access to basic social services – South Africa is the first country in the region that hosts the largest number of refugees. According to the Ministry of Interior, in 2013, this country hosted 65,000 recognised refugees and 230,000 asylum seekers waiting for recognition of their status at the end of the same year. The majority of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa have fled from the violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo and rampant insecurity in Somalia, Burundi, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Zimbabwe. Despite the integration of basic principles into national law, some institutions do not recognise some refugees' rights. The main needs of refugees consist of the provision of regular documents, within a fair and efficient asylum system, and access to basic social services as provided by the law and national policy. Due to the current socio-economic environment – characterised by high unemployment, inadequate services and economic inequalities – relations between refugees, asylum seekers and host communities have been strained. Despite the deterioration in these relations, South Africa still remains one of the main destinations for African refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants.

In 2014, Zambia hosted approximately 54,000 refugees in two locations: Meheba and Mayukwayukwa. In December 2011, Zambian authorities regularised the migration status of 10,000 former Angolan refugees. Refugees' access to social services is provided with the support of the UNHCR. Over 20,000 asylum seekers and nearly 24,000 refugees live in Angola, where the latter enjoy the support of the population and the government. The UNHCR and the Angolan authorities are jointly looking for a permanent solution to nearly 80,000 former Angolan refugees in Namibia, DRC and Zambia.

Most Central African countries are shaken by persistent internal conflicts in Nigeria, the eastern DRC, the Central African Republic (CAR) and Burundi, and are exposed to a situation of instability and violence, which causes internal and external displacement of populations. In 2015, the UNHCR estimated the number of refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons at about 5.1 million. 3.7 million of them were under its jurisdiction in the sub-region. Despite the complexity of the sub-regional context, governments have demonstrated a constructive attitude towards asylum and respect of refugee rights and principles.

Chad is a stable state in the region, surrounded by countries experiencing armed conflicts. It welcomed refugees from the CAR, Nigeria and Sudan. Considering the insecurity in these countries, the possibilities for voluntary repatriation hardly exist. In July 2014, Chad counted 1,000 Nigerian asylum seekers and 1,500 Nigerian refugees. Since January 2009, more than 17,000 Central Africans have entered Chad, increasing the total number of CAR refugees to 70,000. It should be mentioned that in 2006 and 2007, ethnic conflicts caused the internal displacement of around 180,000 Chadians, who are now living in eastern Chad. Furthermore, the bombings in the Darfur region and the border raids of Sudanese militias that endangered human lives caused the displacement of 250,000 Sudanese refugees to eastern Chad. They are now living in twelve camps in an arid region, without water and firewood. In these camps, many children have dropped out of school in favour of domestic chores and work. Villages have been looted and burned down in this region and several women and girls have been raped, abused and humiliated. Many of them have been banished from their communities. Finally, 113,000 Chadian returnees are still waiting to be granted regular documents from their countries of refuge and are at risk of statelessness.

Armed conflict that occurred in the CAR since December 2013 caused the internal displacement of approximately 930,000 people in 2014 and the exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries: 135,000 people to Cameroon, 22,000 to DRC and nearly 10,000 to Congo Brazzaville. The total number of CAR refugees in those countries, taking into account the previous flows, is about 427,200. Moreover, tens of thousands of migrants, mostly from Chad and Cameroon, were forced to flee the violence in the CAR. Due to the installation of Chadians in the CAR for many years – many of those being Chadian of the second or third generation who have no or very little connection with the country of which they are nationals – the CAR violence has caused a humanitarian problem for this group.

The conflict between the armed forces of Nigeria and Boko Haram in northeast Nigeria pushed people outside the borders of this country. Thus, 36,000 Nigerians have fled to Cameroon, increasing the total number of refugees in the country to 278,000. It should be noted that Nigerian rebels acting in neighbouring federal states of Yobe, Adamawa and Borno, conduct raids in Cameroon, by engaging in violence, robberies and kidnappings.

The security situation in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, which is unstable and unpredictable, prevented the repatriation of some 429,000 Congo-

lese refugees in the countries of the Great Lake region: 57,000 in Burundi, 74,000 in Rwanda and 55,000 in Tanzania. In addition, over 2.6 million people are internally displaced within the Congolese borders. 119,000 Congolese refugees from Equateur province (DRC) living in Congo Brazzaville from 2009 to 2010 were repatriated in 2014. Despite this homecoming, Congo Brazzaville still hosts about 23,200 Congolese refugees. Smaller populations from this country are hosted on the African continent, particularly in Uganda, Zambia and Kenya.

The offensive tactics of the Rapid Intervention Brigade of MONUSCO that led to the dismantling of one of the main rebel groups have helped to stabilise the security situation in the eastern DRC. Extended to other groups, they will create favourable conditions for the repatriation of Congolese (DRC) exiles in Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Congo-Brazzaville, the Central African Republic and Tanzania. The objective of welcoming and resettling 50,000 refugees of the DRC between 2012 and 2017 in the Great Lakes region continues.

Besides voluntary repatriation, integration into the host countries and resettlement of Congolese (DRC) refugees, durable solutions are sought for Angolan refugees in Congo-Brazzaville and the DRC, for Burundian refugees in Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania and for Rwandan refugees in Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville and the DRC. In September 2014, the Tanzanian president announced the resumption of the naturalisation certificate issuance process to former naturalised Burundian refugees, also called TRN (Tanzania Recently Naturalized).

The West African region has also seen violent outbreaks that have caused the displacement of people inside and outside in neighbouring countries. In this region, UNHCR has under its jurisdiction more than 15,000 refugees.

The post-electoral violence of 2010 in Ivory Coast caused 300,000 refugees to leave to neighbouring countries: Liberia, Togo and Mali. Nearly 200,000 Ivorians had fled to Liberia and voluntary repatriation in 2012 saw the return of about 40,000 Ivorians in Liberia and some 160,000 returned by their own means. The Ivory Coast took a decisive step to reduce the number of stateless people by ratifying the Conventions of 1954 and 1961 statelessness towards the end of 2013. However, according to UNHCR, the number of stateless persons in the Ivory Coast numbered around 600,000 to 700,000 between January and December 2015.

The presidential elections in Mali in 2014 and the relative improvement of security in the north have sparked the return home of a large number of Mal-

ian refugees. In 2014, over 12,900 refugees received aid for repatriation and in 2015, assisted return to the country was granted to 42,000 refugees which, according to UNHCR estimates, would add approximately 74,000 IDPs.

The violence in northern Nigeria between the Nigerian army and armed groups has caused major waves of displaced people and a humanitarian crisis. Indeed, more than 500,000 civilians have been displaced within national borders and others are going to the neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Niger and Chad. Moreover, in spite of political and security problems, these people are subject to persistent food insecurity in the Sahel. Furthermore, the UNHCR had under its jurisdiction in 2015, 1,700 recognised refugees. It also worked for the repatriation of refugees in Cameroon.

Senegal offers hospitality to about 15,800 refugees, including more than 13,500 Mauritanian refugees. With identity cards issued by the political authorities, the refugees enjoy economic and social rights. In the absence of repatriation, the process of integration on site was envisaged for them last year.

Like other African regions, this area experiences security instability leading to significant waves of population mobility. The violence that erupted in South Sudan in December 2013 has resulted in the internal displacement of 1.3 million people, more than 450,000 new south Sudanese refugees have sought refuge in Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Sudan. 160,000 South Sudanese refugees have been registered in Sudan, according to the UN agency. The unstable context of southern Sudan has worsened the already critical humanitarian situation of more than 243,000 mainly Sudanese refugees in South Sudan. In this country, the risk of famine in some areas and the prospect of new internal and external displacement remain a large concern. Indeed, according to the UNHCR, about 4.6 million people suffer from food insecurity because of the considerable deterioration of the humanitarian situation in South Sudan. Adding to these concerns are the heavy rains and floods that ravaged Ethiopia, Kenya and South Sudan and thereby exacerbated difficulties in the refugee areas.

In 2014, the number of refugees hosted in Ethiopia was 190,000, making it the largest host country in Africa. Thus, there are civilian masses composed mainly of women and children, suffering from alarming nutritional disorders and in need of protection and humanitarian assistance, living in Gambella region of western Ethiopia. Additionally, the large influx of Eritrean unaccompanied minors is a major concern because of the smuggling and trafficking of Eritrean refugees.

Despite stability in Somalia, the security situation remains precarious. Indeed, persistent interventions of militias distorting security add to new internal displacement. However, this apparent stability prompted some refugees and IDPs to return to their region of origin. Somali refugees are estimated at nearly 1 million and 1.1 million displaced. Eager to find solutions for these people, in August 2014, the Governments of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Somalia and Yemen adopted the Addis Ababa Agreement, under which the signing governments committed themselves to continue recognising their refugee status and improving the quality of their asylum. The Somali government, meanwhile, committed to continuing its efforts to establish an environment conducive to voluntary repatriation.

The countries of the Horn of Africa, including Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Djibouti have offered their hospitality to people fleeing the escalating Yemeni conflict that erupted in March 2015. Thus, the region has received almost 70,000 people from Yemen. These countries grant prima facie refugee status to Yemenis arriving on their soil and residence for people of other nationalities from Yemen.

Djibouti, a country with limited natural resources and struggling to recover from years of consecutive drought, hosts more than 23,000 refugees, most of whom are Somalis and have stayed in the country for over two decades, living in Ali Addeh and Holl-holl camps. In this country, employment opportunities and prospects for integration of refugees are limited.

The Challenges of Forced Migrations in Africa

The phenomenon of migration in general – and forced migration specifically – poses many challenges to all of humanity and particularly to the countries that are experiencing armed violence, transit countries and those that receive refugees and asylum seekers.

Countries or regions with armed clashes are generally rich in natural resources and raw materials. The shameless greed of multinationals to control these areas for a disproportionate exploitation of their natural resources at the expense of the indigenous populations and the natural environment is the cause of violence in these areas. Even in countries or regions where groups of a religious or secular nature make the law, natural resources constitute the real reason for violence. This is the case in the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Nigeria, northern Mali and the Kivu region of the DRC. In his Encyclical Letter *Laudato sii*, Pope Francis (2015: 32) stated that 'the Earth's resources are also being

plundered because of short-sighted approaches to the economy, commerce and production.' This concept of development, based on immediacy, raises the challenge of sustainable and integral development. This is the authentic human development in moral character, which fully respects the human person, but also pays attention to the natural world, taking into account the nature of each being and its mutual relations to others in an ordered system (Francis, 2015). Sustainable and integral development must

> [...] assume an economic and ecological sobriety style, realizing that possession of the superfluous and the desire to have more, is about to smother entire populations, imposing cultural patterns in which are not guaranteed the basic needs, the freedom of personal choices and lifestyles marked with the idea of the unity of the human family (Dotolo, 2011: 20-21).[1]

So, any true development must help to protect life and there is no life by destroying the human environment. Human life, because of its price, is a gift that we should protect from various forms of degradation. In this sense, all will to protect and improve the world cannot be conceived and achieved without the inclusion of the other and '[...] it requires above all a change of life-styles, models of production and consumption, and the established structures of power which today govern societies' (John Paul II, 1991: 58). This poses the challenge of good governance.

The phenomenon of forced migration raises many challenges in host countries, of transit and of destination. Indeed, in many parts of Africa, access to displaced persons or refugees is made difficult and sometimes impossible by impassable roads and torrential rain, but mainly by security conditions. This poses the problem of the lack of peace. Additionally, the establishment of camps for displaced persons or refugees in remote and rural areas far from the local populations, results in the lack of adequate channels of communication that causes the isolation of its occupants who are persistently exposed to violence from armed groups. Thus, the lack of security, remoteness and isolation of refugee camps are challenges that must be addressed for the benefit of displaced persons, refugees and the local communities.

1 The original text recites: '[...] assumer un style de sobriété économique et écologique, en prenant conscience que la possession du superflu et le désir de l'avoir plus, sont entrain d'étouffer des populations entières, en imposant des modelés culturels dans lesquels ne sont point garantis la satisfaction des besoins fondamentaux.' The translation is done by the author.

In some countries, the lack or weakness of legislative and institutional mechanisms to protect refugees results in some of their fundamental rights being violated. Indeed, in these circumstances of institutional deficiency and the violation of rights, refugees are faced with the inability to enjoy certain fundamental rights such as the freedom of movement, the right to work and access to essential services in the fields of education and health. The legislative and institutional deficiency is also due to refugees' inability to achieve self-sufficiency and to procure means of subsistence. This places them in conditions of permanent assistance. To these challenges are added those cases of refoulement and/or denial of access to asylum as well as the issue of sexual violence. For countries that do not have adequate financial and human resources yet offer hospitality to a large number of migrants, refugees are at risk of be exposed to food insecurity and for women the risk of prostitution is high. Many African countries have not ratified the Conventions of 1954 and 1961 on statelessness and there is an evident lack of reliable data and information on this issue. Also, for this reason, many African people have become stateless, constituting another challenge caused by forced migration.

In addition to these challenges of legal and material order, forced migrants and emigrants, being human persons, also feel the desire to satisfy their spiritual needs. In some countries or regions, the religious dimensions of refugees are not taken into account. This is a challenge that must be addressed for the good of those asylum seekers and internally displaced persons who are accustomed to listening to and practicing the Word of God and the sacraments and who are currently in situations in which they are deprived of their spiritual needs.

Forced Migration as a *"Locus Theologicus"*

In the document titled, "Theology Today: Perspectives, Principles and Criteria," the International Theological Commission (2012: 72) stated *inter alia* that '[...] theology's "source and starting-point" is the word of God revealed in history, and theology seeks to understand that word.' And through the incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Jesus, the only Son of the Father, God revealed Himself as saviour of the world and God, in the depth of His being, is Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In this vein, the function of the theologian, according to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (1990: 6), is to '[...] pursue in a particular way an ever deeper understanding of the Word of God found in the inspired Scriptures and handed on by the living Tradition of the Church.' In this sense, theology, rooted in the essential act of listening in faith to the revealed Word of God, Jesus Christ, helps God's people to be able to account for the hope that is

in Him. Thus, from this perspective, theology '[...] offers its contribution so that the faith might be communicated. Appealing to the understanding of those who do not yet know Christ' (Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 1990: 7). Although the full revelation of God as Father loving the world (Jn 3: 16-35) is fulfilled in the revelation of Jesus, 'creation and history [also] constitute the space and time in which God reveals Himself' (International Theological Commission, 2012: 6). In this line, the events in the human history of the world are fundamental benchmarks for theological discourse because through them God communicates, transmits a message to the people of faith. Migration is one of those places or landmarks that challenges and questions the faith in its relationship to God and His relationship to humans. For faith in Jesus Christ makes the believer responsible for the life of the other: 'Cain, what have you done?' (Gen 4: 10). The migration experience, from departure through transit to destination, invites migrants, the communities or countries of transit and the host communities or countries, to read and scrutinise the migratory journey and to discover and collect the message that God communicates through the challenges posed by this phenomenon. The challenges faced by the displaced, within or outside national boundaries and in the countries of transit as well as in destination countries, do not leave the faith indifferent.

Forced migration, due to the large number of internally displaced people (IDPs) and exiles, poses challenges in the countries of departure, transit and destination that cannot leave the believer, the Church and all people of good will insensitive. Such challenges make migration a place of prophetic indignation. In this perspective, displaced crowds, the suffering of hundreds of thousands of human beings, armed violence, the dramas and tragedies suffered by families and lives deleted, can challenge the faith of Christians to escape the drama of insignificance (Ela, 2003), and avoid falling into the dealings of the Levite in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lc 10, 32ss). Human beings are the primary and fundamental way for the Church, as affirmed by John Paul II (1979: 14) in his Encyclical Letter *Redentor hominis*, because

> [...] redeemed by Christ, and because with man – with each man without any exception whatever – Christ is in a way united, even when man is unaware of it. [...] Since this man is the way for the Church, the way for her daily life and experience, for her mission and toil, the Church of today must be aware in an always new manner of man's "situation."

Forced migration is a "sign of the times," a phenomenon that marks human history and current events in African countries. Because of its influence and scope, it is the mirror of a period, the expression of the particular needs and aspirations of people. Thus, the expression "sign of the times" manifests the consideration of the historicity of the Church, which is in the world (Jn 17: 11.15.18), although it is not of the world (Jn 17, 14.16). Therefore, what happens in the world cannot leave the Church indifferent.

According to the International Theological Commission (2012: 54), 'the world is the place in which the Church, following in the footsteps of Christ, announces the Gospel, bears witness to the justice and mercy of God, and participates in the drama of human life.' As a sign of the times, forced migration is a *locus theologicus* and constitutes a benchmark by which theology helps believers to grasp '[...] the importance of developments, events and trends in human history, and to discern and interpret ways in which through them the Spirit may be speaking to the Church and to the world' (International Theological Commission 2012: 53). In fact, 'as they live their daily lives in the world with faith, all Christians face the challenge of interpreting the events and crises that arise in human affairs, and all engage in conversation and debate in which, inevitably, faith is questioned and a response is needed' (International Theological Commission 2012: 52). Forced migration is one of those crises that questions faith and ask it for answers.

Conclusion

After considering the global picture of migration, including forced migration in Africa, a continent shaken by armed conflicts, one can clearly state that migration is a "sign of the times." Given the challenges concerning internally displaced people and refugees, it appears evident that forced migration is a place of suffering and degradation of the human being. Refugees and IDPs face many obstacles so as to take control of their lives and destiny. Jesus, who identifies himself with the poor, oppressed, marginalised, small, exiled and displaced, challenges us with reference to the parable of the Last Judgment (Mt 25). The migration experience does not leave the conscience of the Church indifferent. Can one say that the African Church has an awakened conscience?

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Conflict Management and Responsible Migration: The Example of Abraham (Gen 13). What Lessons for Today?

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After a pastoral internship at the refugee camp of Tongogara (Zimbabwe), Emmanuel Bueya, a Congolese Jesuit (DRC), reflected on the pastoral care of human mobility. Describing the tragedy of the refugees, including wandering, deprivation and spiritual distress, he especially regretted the absence of ecclesial activity in the camps. He cites the different causes of migration in Africa, including wars, border conflicts, external subversion, economic hardship, instability of political regimes, ethnic rivalries, ideological intolerance, etc. He recommends, among other things, an upstream prevention and better management of conflicts. He also proposes to educate pastoral workers in conflict management and raise awareness about the issues of reconciliation and dialogue.

I would like to focus my contribution on the prevention and management of conflicts starting from the Abraham paradigm, as reflected in Genesis 13. The choice of this character is not neutral. Bible stories present Abraham as a perpetual migrant, since he was given this order from God: 'Leave your country, your kindred and your father's house, go to the land I will show you' (Genesis 12: 1). This migrant picture is so meaningful that the Book of Hebrews provides a spiritual reading:

> By faith Abraham, when called to go to a place he would later receive as his inheritance, obeyed and went, even though he did not know where he was going. By faith he made his home in the Promised Land like a stranger in a foreign country;

> he lived in tents, as did Isaac and Jacob, who were heirs with him of the same promise. For he was looking forward to the city with foundations, whose architect and builder is God (Heb 11: 8-10).

The narrative approach of the stories in the book of Genesis shows that the main sources of human conflicts are greed and refusal to accept a limit to the desire to possess. However, the word plays an important role in the settlement of disputes. We will later consider this by examining the conflict that opposed Lot to Abraham, and forced them to separate. This story can teach us about some reasons for migration, as well as the conditions for responsible migration. But before we go there, I will say a word on the biblical theme of migration. This will be my first point.

The Ambivalence of Migration in the Bible

The theme of migration in biblical literature is a solid anchor (Vögel, 2009). Already, it is placed in the heart of the myth of origins as an archetypal dynamic of human life. Indeed, the first migration story is the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise (Gen 3: 23-24). The second story appears in the wandering of Cain who had become stateless following the divine curse after the murder of his brother: 'You will be a wanderer traveling the world' (Gen 4: 12). But Cain does not wander unprotected; the Lord imposes a sign to evade the condemnation. The migration of Cain, like that of Adam and Eve, is described as a departure from God: 'So Cain went away from the Lord and settled in Nod' (Gen 4: 16). One can hold that in these stories, migration is presented negatively, as an expulsion that breaks the relationship with God. It is the consequence of sin and the loss of paradise.

However, another perspective considers the migration experience in a positive way, not as an alienation from God, but rather a walk with God. Walking leads to a new living space and is part of the history of salvation. This view rightly begins with Abraham. With him, migration becomes an essential part of God's promise (Gen 12: 1ss). Even the founding event of Israel's identity as a people, namely the Exodus, uses the category of migration. This is well summarised in the primitive creed of Israel in Deuteronomy 26: 5b-10, on the occasion of the offering of the first fruits: 'My father was a wandering Aramean [...] He went to Egypt, where he lived as a stranger [...] the Lord brought us out of Egypt [...] and gave us this land.' This use of migration as a category in the history of salvation is seen in many texts and at different levels. It is not without reason that some refer to the servants of God as people "on the way" (cf. typical examples of Moses and Paul of Tarsus). Being on the road is to be open to new areas, but

also to be detached from the status quo, expecting anything. Whoever is on the way must register the unpredictable in his agenda. At the same time, he must be a partner to the unpredictable (Mukenge, 2001).

In truth, the history of Israel will continue to oscillate between the two perspectives: migration-punishment, separation from God on the one hand, and on the other, the migration-promise of salvation and walk with God. This is well seen in the experience of the Babylonian Exile: exile itself is presented as a punishment, while the return is described as a new exodus and a new occupation of the country.

The theme of migration is also present in the New Testament. Childhood Gospels are glazed with a movement pattern, from the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem through to the Flight into Egypt. Jesus spent his working life as a homeless itinerant preacher, and Luke recorded Jesus' life as a journey to Jerusalem, a long journey that leads him 'the way' of the cross. The reason for migration also appears in Paul when he presents the believer's life as a nomadic life that moves in a foreign land, longing for its true home which is the heavenly life (2 Cor 5: 1-10).

The theme of human mobility is, thus, seen throughout the biblical writings and draws several perspectives. We have pinned a negative view of migration (punishment), a positive vision (promise of salvation) and a spiritual vision (the walk of the believer). Let us turn now to the episode in Genesis 13. This will be my second point.

Reading of Gen 13

Genesis 13 is part of the cycle that extends from Genesis 11: 27 to 25: 18. In this cycle, note the importance of the genealogies as a general framework, and travel routes as a narrative thread (Marchadour, 1999). Two themes are predominant here: the promise of the land and that of an offspring. The cycle is set so that the suspense is carefully maintained, because these two promises are slow to come to pass, and many obstacles constantly thwart their fulfilment[1]. After

1 It is even surprising that until the end of the cycle, the only piece of land that Abraham really has is the field of Machpelah, purchased with money from Ephron the Hittite (Gen 23). The numerous offspring, which is promised and is compared to the dust of the earth (Gen 13: 16) or the stars in the sky (Gen 15: 5), is limited to Isaac alone, as heir of the covenant (Gen 17: 21).

the genealogical data that set the scene immediately, the presence of Lot is mentioned in the wake of his uncle Abraham and the barrenness of Sara. The text announces the promise of the land to Abraham by God (Gen 12: 1ss). Just as the promise was announced, Abraham and his family are forced to immigrate to Egypt (Gen 12: 10-20) because of famine that broke out in the country. This is a result of migration and mobility: the search for food security and the desire to avoid inhospitable and difficult physical conditions.

It is interesting to note a significant correspondence prompting us to go further in the intelligence of our story: forced by famine, Abraham went down to Egypt where he returned filled, among others, through the generosity of Pharaoh (Gen 12: 16). But he and his house were struck with great plagues (Gen 12: 17). Later, Israel's son also goes down to Egypt because of famine (Gen 42). They came out many (Ex 1: 7), and during their departure, they benefitted from the generosity of the Egyptians (Ex 12: 35-36) who were struck, too, with great plagues (Ex 7: 14ss). There is, without a doubt, a parallel phenomenon (*syncrisis*), the scope of which may help us understand that these stories pose the conditions for living as free men on a land given by God. Among these conditions, it is surely the way to look at the Earth and the others. It is a look of lust, which sees only one's own interest and excludes any otherness, thereby carrying destruction. Only he who learns to look at the other – contemporary or descendant – like his brother and make room for him, while enjoying the goods as gifts of God, is committed to the path of peace, justice and reconciliation.

Gen 13: 1 marks the return from Egypt. Again, we see a nomadic Abraham moving from camp to camp. The end of the chapter shows him settling in the oak of Mamre, in Hebron, not as an owner but as a resident. Until the end of the cycle, Abraham is considered in the country as an alien and a resident (Gn 23: 4: *gēr wetôšāb 'ānōkî*).

I propose here to read Gen 13 from the quinary scheme model that breaks the plot into five successive times. I suggest the following structure: vv. 1-5: initial situation; vv. 6-7: knotting; vv. 8-9: decisive action; vv. 10-13: denouement; vv. 14-18: Final situation. Let us examine this text closely.

The Initial Situation or Exposure (vv. 1-5)

> Abram went up from Egypt to the Negev, he and his wife and all that [was] for him. And Lot [was] with him. Abram [was] very rich in cattle, in silver and gold. He

> went on his journeys from the Negev to Bethel, to the place where his tent [was] before, between Bethel and Ai, to the place of the altar he had made previously. And there Abram called on the name of YHWH. And Lot who went with Abram had small livestock herds and tents.

This is the presentation of the characters and their situations. On Abraham's side this dates back to Egypt where he had gone because of famine. Meanwhile, the situation pleasantly changed; he returned filled. The narrator first mentions, in general, that his wife and all that belong to him accompany him. He also noted that Lot was with him (v. 1). The narrator then includes the description of Abraham's property to justify the claim that he had become 'very heavy' (Kabed me'od): he owned cattle, silver and gold (v. 2). Before mentioning the property of Lot, the narrator reminds wisely – by analeptics – that Abraham is in the same place where he had already prayed, between Bethel and Ai, and there he calls upon the name of Yahweh (v. 3 and 4). This reminder succeeds in presenting the patriarch as a man who continually gives a place to God, a man open to something other than himself.

It seems useful to make three comments on this presentation. Firstly, although they are parents, Abraham and Lot each have their own property. The property of one is not the property of the other. There is room for respect of private property. Secondly, since three distinct terms are used to designate his property, one concludes that they do not have the same things. Even though they have all been filled, they are nonetheless different from each other. Inter-human difference, as we know, is originated and constitutive of humanity; it should not be a source of conflict but, as already shown in the story of the murder of Abel (Gen. 4: 1-16), this is often an unfortunate reality (Mukenge, 1999). Thirdly, Abraham's tents are mentioned in the context of prayer, while those of Lot are presented as assets. Indeed, every time Abraham presents his tent (vv. 3 and 18) it is to invoke Yahweh, and he built an altar in the same place. But when Lot drew up its tents, it was to settle among the people who sinned against Yahweh (v. 12).

To the theme of this meeting, it should be noted that migration can be a way of realisation for an individual or a group: it can allow an individual to find his way out of lack and thus escape annihilation. The text does not say if these means are as a result of hard work or of human generosity. The story, however, allows us to consider them as a divine blessing, and thereby excludes violent or dishonest acquisition.

The Knotting or Complication (vv. 6-7)

> The country is not enough for them to live together, because their goods were abundant and they could not dwell together. There was a dispute between the herdsmen of Abram and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle. And the Canaanites and the Perizzites then dwelt in the land.

This is the trigger of the plot. The narrator is careful to show that the difficulty that will arise is normal: given their great wealth they could not continue to live together (v. 6). This is a natural law of growth: a lineage that is growing still ends up splitting into several sub-lineages to allow everyone a better development. This is a social cause of migration.

The trigger for the action is a dispute (*rîb*), which broke out between the herdsmen of Abraham and those of Lot (v. 7). The text does not explicitly say the reason for the dispute. According to Robert Alter (1968), the biblical authors leave open a certain sense of uncertainty, particularly regarding the motives or behaviour, the moral characterisation of the characters and their psychological lives. However, the finding of insufficient land may hint at a conflict over the same pastures or water.

The biblical narrator does not take sides in this dispute. The incision on the presence of the Canaanites and Perizzites into the country surreptitiously insinuates that if Abraham and Lot compete for the land through their shepherds interposed, it is not theirs. They will be able to claim it within the logic of gift and thanksgiving.

The Processing and Decisive Action (vv. 8-9)

> Abram said to Lot that no, I pray thee, no quarrel between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and your herdsmen, for we [are] men brothers. The whole country is not before you? Separate yourself from me, I beg you. If you go left, I go right; and if you go right, I go left.

This is the turning point of the plot. The turn usually winds up the difficulty. Here, there is a proposal made by Abraham. Narrative studies of the First Testament stories have highlighted the importance of speech and dialogue in interhuman relationships. Note that the resolution of the conflict that broke out between the herdsmen is assumed by the leaders: Abraham clearly perceives that this conflict can spoil relations between himself and his nephew; he does

not want it to come to that. He does not let the situation deteriorate or leave it to deteriorate further. As it were, he takes things into his hands.

As for the content of his proposal, it deserves careful consideration because it is from there that one can grasp what makes the difference between the two protagonists. From the outset, Abraham gives the reason why we must avoid a dispute between him and Lot, '[...] for we are men brethren' (*ki 'anāšîm' Achim 'anāhnû*). The *hébreu'āh* term has not only the narrow sense of '[...] brother of the same father and same mother' (Gen 4: 8); it is also used to designate a half-brother (2 Samuel 13: 4), a distant relative (Gen 29: 15), a member of the same clan or a fellow (Gen 31: 32; Dt 17: 15), a friend (2 Sam 1: 26) or an ally (Am 1: 9). It may even have the generic meaning of "similar" (Job 30: 29).

Abraham offers separation while leaving him the first choice: 'If you go left I'll go right, and if you go right, I go left.' All in all, the proposal includes the requirement of a clear demarcation of territories, an establishment of clear boundaries. Since the two protagonists are eponymous ancestors, it is appropriate to infer that the understanding or agreement between individuals requires the acceptance of limits and the respect for what belongs to the other. This point may seem important in migration management: migration must in no way be transformed into a territorial conquest or colonization.

The Outcome or Resolution (vv. 10-13)

> Lot raised his eyes and beheld all the plain of Jordan, as in its totality, it was a watered region before Yahweh will destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. She was like the garden of Yahweh, like the land of Egypt as you go to Zoar. Lot chose for himself all the plain of Jordan, and he went to the east. They separated each from his brother. Abram settled in Canaan, while Lot settled in the cities of the plain. He pitched his tent toward Sodom. Yet the men of Sodom (were) very wicked and sinned against Yahweh.

In principle, the outcome of the plot is the time when the initial tension is liquidated. Lot made his choice and the separation occurred. The way the narrator recounts the choice of Lot intends to let the reader focus on him and share his values. Lot who said no words made a choice guided by what he had seen, 'he raised his eyes and saw all the plain of the Jordan.' In reality, Lot throws a covetous eye on what he sees. It is a look that stops at appearances, regardless of the quality of people in the region. There is a subtle echo of the story of Genesis 3 in which Eve had looked at the tree with the same lust, stopping

at its enticing appearance (Gen 3: 6). Moreover the narrator ironically suggests this comparison between this region and the garden of Yahweh. The irony is that man was driven out of the garden, the entrance of which was banned to him (Gen 3: 23-24). And the rest of the book shows that Lot lost too, he looked with so much lust, as Eve had lost the garden. The irony is accentuated by the proleptic indication that this assessment of Lot takes place before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (v. 10). It is also a signal to the reader who, knowing the current situation in the region, could not understand how Lot could choose a community with so much hatred.

Note some details to grasp the negative significance of the choice of Lot. The narrator extensively uses the expression of all: all the plain, irrigated area as a whole, these terms suggest that the lust of Lot has no limit (vv. 10-11). He wants to have everything he sees. It is an attitude of conquest. Moreover, the narrator states that he chose (*wayyibhar-lô*); and he reveals to the reader what the people of Sodom really do. Lot knew nothing about this information and this ignorance makes him appear as someone who bases his choice on appearances and his lustful gratification.[2]

Epilogue or the Final Situation (vv. 14-18)

> And Yahweh said to Abram after Lot had separated from him: Lift up your eyes, I pray thee, see from where you are, to the north, the south, the east and the sea (the West), for all the land that you see I will give to you and to your descendants forever. I will set up thy seed as the dust of the earth. If a man can number the dust of the earth, thy seed also be numbered. Arise and walk through the land in its length and breadth, for to thee will I give it. Abram moved his tent, he came and settled the oaks of Mamre, which (are) in Hebron he built there an altar to Yahweh.

It is not insignificant to note that Yahweh asks Abraham to '[...] lift his eyes and see,' which are gestures previously posed by Lot, on its own initiative. There is a deliberate narration to emphasise the contrast between the two protagonists: while Lot looked up to see the region of the Jordan and to choose for himself, Abraham was invited by the Lord to lift his eyes to look where stood the four cardinal points. The reference to God insinuates that Abraham took the ownership of the land in

2 This is what Robert Alter (1968: 22) calls 'dramatic irony process.' The reader is informed of what the main actor of the story is not aware, even if he should be.

his heart as a gift, allowing an inclusion of the otherness of God that gives and that of his descendants to whom he will leave this legacy. To see well, from God to him, the gift exceeds Abraham himself. While Lot chose for himself, in an act of lust and desire to own everything (the plain), the promise of the land was given to Abraham and his descendants simultaneously. In fact, Abraham, at this stage, does not own the country and it has no descendants yet: he saw the promise. A review of the historical background will enrich our thinking. This will be my third point.

The Post-Exilic Context

The biblical historiography – Deuteronomistic specifically – is full of stories where land claims are settled by violence, conflicts are resolved by the law of the strongest, and army conquests are idealised. In contrast, the patriarchal narratives in general, reflect a peaceful way to consider confrontation with neighbouring peoples (Pons, 1990).

Today, several specialists support the idea that the Abraham cycle or patriarchal traditions are to be dated back up to the time of exile. In this context, we can understand the insistence on the final promise of the land. The word 'forever' in Genesis 13: 15 seems to respond to a situation where the promise is definitely compromised: the Judean exiles that lost their land are invited to keep the same hope as that of Abraham. Since at their return from exile they must meet the same neighbours, imagine another confrontation mode made up of dialogue and compromise rather than the type of confrontation described by the Deuteronomistic historiography. That is why Genesis 13 describes the character of Lot as the ancestor of the Ammonites and Moabites and a companion, even a nephew of Abraham, in order to lay the foundations for an agreement with neighbouring Transjordania.

We can also understand the stakes of such literary and narrative construction considering that the post-exilic community was torn by two opposing trends: an exclusionist current represented especially by the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Deuteronomy, and a more tolerant current vis-à-vis the stranger that is presented in the patriarchal narratives books like Ruth and Jonah. The narrative technique of the patriarchal narratives in this context is to certify the kinship between different peoples of the region and show that the vital issues were not solved by war but by agreement sought with perseverance. Here, we can take the full measure of the reason given by Abraham to resolve the conflict, 'because we are men brethren' (therefore we are similar).

As reported by Jacques Pons (1990), editors of patriarchal traditions serve a purpose: to show that Israel's history had not ended with the deportation and the loss of land, but started on peaceful foundations. That is why they give hope reiterating that the Promised Land was not only for Abraham, but even more for his seed, represented by the returned exiles and survivors of exile. At the same time, they are prevented from any illusion; they will now have to live in an environment where the land is shared with other people and where only negotiated settlement can ensure the survival of each other. Returning from exile, the exiles considered themselves as the only legitimate heirs, the true Israel. Ezekiel, Esdras, Nehemia and all the Deuteronomic current sustain this view (Römer, 1997). Facing them, the non-exiled population claimed their right to possess the land saying, 'Abraham was alone when he was put in possession of the country. We are many, that is, that the country is given heritage' (Ez 33: 24 see also Ez 11: 15). This territorial dispute was related to the redistribution of land undertaken after the deportations, whose the beneficiaries are non-exiles (see 2 R 25: 12; Jr 39: 10). Within the context of this conflict, drafters of patriarchal traditions responded by showing that Abraham, to the end, did not own the land but had to survive through alliances, compromises or even skill. Around the figure of Abraham, Israel in exile and Israel that remained in the country are called to reconcile. In addition, the Promised Land does not indicate, according to the texts of Genesis, the expulsion of other people living on the same soil, Abraham becomes a figure of integration that allows for dialogue with the other. Let us draw lessons. This will be my last point.

Lessons for Today

Regardless of the idea that one is finished with the historicity of the patriarchal narratives, be aware that they have a symbolic and archetypal dimension. As such, they retain an undeniable referential value. Abraham and the other patriarchs live human and religious experiences that can serve as a reference for every generation of believers as they are more corporate personalities of individuals. Positive lessons come from Abraham's attitude that show that the narrator as a model to emulate.

To me, the first lesson is that, he takes the initiative to resolve the conflict. And this initiative is to meet with Lot in person. It made him a partner, a protagonist. We can say that their conflict is set at the highest level, between officials and policy makers – those who have influence and can engage the entire community – not from mere implementers. This is to be used for conflict resolution and even the management of the migration crisis today.

The second lesson is that it is necessary to appreciate the motivation behind Abraham's stance, '[...] because we are men brethren.' Its aim is to preserve the fraternity, or better, to build it. It does so in a peaceful solution to the conflict, and taking into account the interests of everyone (everyone has the right to land, everyone has a voice).

A third lesson concerns the inclusion of future generations in the country's occupation. One of the consequences is the refusal to settle, that is to say, the need to exert total control over the country. In this regard, the contrast between the two characters is striking: while Lot chose his territory and takes root, Abraham continues to live semi-nomadically. Olivier Belleil (2000) has characterised the two men as such: the look of Lot betrays the 'lust,' the desire that seeks to seize what he covets. That of Abraham welcomes the huge share that God is preparing him. He contemplates God's gift. The promise and the gift therefore require the beneficiary to feel responsible vis-à-vis future generations. The choice of Lot that is part of any promise or any donation will result in the total destruction (Gen 19). At Sodom and Gomorrah, nothing will be left to future generations. Is that, according to these accounts, Lot's sense of responsibility has no place for otherness (here, God) and to posterity, inevitably leading to irresponsible destruction. Does this not call for our space management and resources to take future generations' wellbeing into account? The case of the conflict in the Great Lakes region, this type of lack of a sense of responsibility for the other not only resulted in a humanitarian catastrophe, massacres, displacement of populations, hatred and distrust between groups, but it has also produced an ecological disaster and endangered protected animal species.

Let us therefore make no mistake. Applying a text such as Gen 13 to the African context, particularly with regard to conflicts that mark entire regions – conflicts generated either by territorial claims, by the love of money or by the thirst for domination and power – does not invite Africa to renounce its rights on behalf of a common resource or to redraw the boundaries. The text we have analysed cares about respecting limits ('If you go left, I go right') and the protection of private property (each had their own property). However, since conflicts are inevitable, even within a single group, the golden rule to any solution is dialogue not arms. This is the main lesson. We must strive towards a responsible word that commits those in authority to safeguard human brotherhood, because we are men brothen.

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African Migration: A Call for the Church

Mesmin-Prosper Massengo

> In the case of many civilizations, immigration has brought new growth and enrichment. In other cases, the local people and immigrants have remained culturally separate but have shown that they are able to live together, respecting each other and accepting or tolerating the diversity of customs (John Paul II, 2000: 3).

I would like to begin my contribution with these positive and encouraging words from Pope John Paul II, words that are at the same time very revealing of the complexity of the migration phenomenon.

The theme "African Migration: A Call for the Church," which was entrusted to me, is a topic that requires a few essential clarifications. "African migration" is a catchall term that must be explicated: does it refer to domestic migration within an African country? Or to international migration from one African country to another? Or to intercontinental migration originating from an African country? Does it indicate forced or voluntary migration? According to the 2011 statistics provided by the International Organization for Migrants (IOM, 2011), the movement of Africans is mostly a continental trend. In 2010, almost two thirds of sub-Saharan migrants moved to other countries in the region. In the same year, 70 percent of migration flows in West Africa were interregional.

The theme also presents other questions. What do we mean by the expression "a call for the Church?" Which Church is at stake? The universal or the local Church? The Church in the country of origin or the Church in the country of arrival? In my understanding, the entire Catholic Church is the addressee of the call, in all her particular expressions: the Church in the sending country as well as the Church in the receiving country. The call is also addressed to the Church

in the transit countries, since there are many migrants who are just in transit, sometimes for long periods, while trying to reach their final destinations. The complexity of the theme entrusted to me requires taking into account several elements that could be useful to understand the role of the Church vis-à-vis the migration phenomenon, particularly when one deals with migration in Africa.

In terms of human history, migration is nothing new. It is a reality that is inherent to the life of every human being. The History of Salvation starts with the migration of Abram, who is instructed by God himself: 'Go from your country, your people and your father's household to the land I will show you' (Gen 12, 1). The life of Jesus is marked by migration since his childhood, when Joseph and Mary had to migrate to Egypt, in order to save their son from the fury and jealousy of Herod who was planning to kill him (cf. Mt 2, 13-15).

I intend to articulate my contribution in four parts. In the first part, I will present the main trends of African migration. In the second part, I will identify the causes of African migration. Then, I will discuss the role of the Churches vis-à-vis African migration. Finally, I will introduce the need for a dialogue between the Church and States/International Organizations (IOs).

Map and Phenomenology of African Migration

It appears necessary to start my reflection by tracing a map of African migrations and defining their classification, meaning their phenomenology, based on the main media reports which may be easily consulted.

For the past several years African countries have been experiencing huge internal and international migration. Apart from a few exceptions, one can fairly say that the whole of Africa is on the move. In North Africa, Libya is in turmoil since the sudden disappearance of its guide, Mouhamar Gaddafi. The country suffers a dangerous instability, which compels people to keep on moving. Despite the uncontested election of its new president, Tunisia is not spared from attacks of all kinds, some of which have been tragically affecting both Tunisians and foreign people. Algeria is facing serious incursions of Islamist fundamentalists, who are also very active in Mali. Despite the apparent calm, Morocco lives in an increased vigilance against terrorist attacks, like the one that targeted a cafeteria in Marrakech just a few years ago. Morocco is an important country of transit migration, as well as a country of origin and destination.

In West Africa, the fundamentalist group called Boko Haram sows terror and destabilisation in Nigeria. The populations of Nigeria's neighbouring countries live in fear of sudden raids and many people have already decided to migrate.

In Central Africa, one can say that every country is deeply affected by migration and its related problems. In addition to the significant forced migration, which is evident in the entire region, one should also mention the notable migration inflows of West African nationals to Central Africa for the purpose of trade.

In East Africa, there is also sizable migration that is bound to political and military instability and economic problems, particularly in the Horn of Africa. Outflows of unsafe migration headed to the Mediterranean Sea are prevalent in this region. However, there are also other complex and difficult migration flows. Many people cross entire countries, risking their lives, sometimes on foot, trying to reach South Africa, where they hope to find a better future for themselves and their families. Unfortunately, too often, the reality of life in their destination country appears very different from their expectations, which results in disillusionment.

The Causes of African Migration

The causes of African migration are numerous and varied. It is not a simple task to identify all of them, since there are significant differences between, and even within, regions. However, the causes of migration in Africa can be classified into three main categories: political unrest, economic insecurity and armed conflicts.

There are many African countries that are real models of democracy and innovation. Unfortunately, there are also many others that present the image of Africa as unable to organise itself as a modern continent. For this tattered Africa, the song is familiar: lack of true democracy induces excessive behaviour on the part of governments, which restrict the fundamental freedoms of the citizens of these African countries. The actors who are in power set up the rules, and as such, do not properly question them. When opposing voices are raised, they are stifled or simply and squarely destroyed. The consequences that follow are clearly evident: witch hunting, establishment of a state of siege without it being decreed – (sometimes to the extent of denying it), excessive restriction of freedoms, disproportionate use of force against peaceful demonstrations, kidnapping and murder of dissidents, etc.. This gloomy picture pushes those who fear for their lives elsewhere, so those who fear for their lives, as we said, go to seek refuge elsewhere.

African Migration: A Call for the Church

Mesmin-Prosper Massengo

Several experts in economic and political matters related to migration recognise the impact of the economic reality on the movement of a certain social strata. Moreover, some politicians of so-called civilised and ultra-modern countries do not bat an eyelid regarding their own fertile imaginations, when they create concepts that legitimise their hegemony and superiority over other nations they consider, erroneously and pretentiously, inferior countries. I refer to the concept of "selective migration," that is to say, the receiving country's exclusive selection of only those migrants that they perceive to be useful or of economic value. This exclusivity is not founded on a desire to reward the competence or expertise of those who are "selected migrants." This is what is called, in my point of view, the brain drain at the expense of the emancipation and development of Africa.

In addition to selective migration, there are other types of migrations that are driven by the thirst for wellness of Africans who risk their lives and face obstacles of every kind. As a result of this drive, the Mediterranean Sea, instead of being the link between Africa and the European continent, has become a large cemetery for many young Africans. It is worth noting that many of these young Africans come from countries with rich and vast natural resources. Apart from the problems produced by the monopolies imposed by multinational companies, there is a problem related to the distribution of the common good, as noted by Destin Mouéné Ndzorombe in 2013:

> Since then it [Congo Brazzaville] has kept its vocation as a country of immigration and emigration. If until 1991 its migration outflows were composed only of students, later on, from 1993 until the early 2000s, they will grow not only because of the wars called "civil," but also because of the absence the common good in the country. This resulted in the increase of "economic" migrants and Congolese refugees (Ndzorombe, 2013 147-148).[1]

The common good, understood as a set of social conditions that allow individuals and groups to achieve their perfection while not losing sight of the indi-

1 The text in the original French states: 'Depuis lors, il a conservé cette vocation de pays d'immigration et d'émigration. Si, jusqu'en 1991, son émigration est exclusivement estudiantine, cette dernière s'enrichira, à cause non seulement des guerres "dites civiles" qu'il a connues, à partir de 1993 jusqu'au début des années 2000, mais aussi de l'absence du bien commun dans ce pays. Ce qui a pour conséquence, l'augmentation des émigrés "économiques" et des réfugiés congolais.' I, the author, provided the translation.

vidual, remains the major concern for those who leave their home countries in search of a better life. The redistribution of national wealth must benefit everyone, not only a small group. When distribution of national wealth is unfair, there are resulting social and individual situations that push people to migrate.

Violence and armed conflicts also cause the flight of entire populations towards safer and more peaceful lands. Unfortunately, several African leaders contribute to the rise of conflicts in their territories, causing massive displacement and situations of unspeakable poverty.

Many African regions have seen unceasing armed conflicts, which have produced massive human movements with negative effects on human development and individual and social stability. Beyond local disputes, the selfish interests of multinational companies and foreign powers often fuel these armed conflicts. To effectively eradicate wars in Africa, a shared awareness of and engagement in transformation should be promoted. Africa needs leaders, men and women who are able to do and think differently, in order to promote concrete actions that enable the continent to fulfil its potential.

African Migrations and Churches

The title of my contribution mentions the Church in the singular. However, considering the dynamics noted in the migration scenario, I will not hesitate to put Churches in the plural. To this extent it is compulsory to at least refer to the Church of departure and the Church of arrival. In addition, migration studies are now also considering the Church of transit as a third actor. The long periods migrants are often compelled to spend in countries of transit challenges the local Churches to provide them with adequate and appropriate pastoral assistance.

The Universal Church has always expressed her concern for migrants and people on the move in general. The establishment of the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People within the Vatican Curia is evidence of the Church's interest in human mobility. There are several magisterial documents that deal directly with migration. The first is the Apostolic Constitution *Exsul familia*, issued on 1 August 1952 by Pope Pius XII. This document concerns the spiritual assistance given to migrants. The second is the Motu Proprio *Pastoralis migratorum cura*, issued by Pope Paul VI on 15 August 1969, which highlighted the importance of the spiritual and cultural heritage of migrants in pastoral care offered to them. The Pope also noted the importance of the na-

tional language of migrants insofar as it is their only means by which to express their thoughts, mentalities and religious lives. A week after the publication of the Motu proprio, on 22 August 1969, the Congregation for Bishops published the Instruction *De Pastorali migratorum* cura (or *Nemo est*). This document is innovative and pushes the different pastoral actors to be aware of their specific roles. Migrants are no longer considered mere beneficiaries of special assistance. They must be regarded as holders of human dignity, inalienable rights and duties in society and in the Church. The Church of origin and the Church of arrival should cooperate for their protection and promotion.

In 1970, the Pontifical Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Tourism was established though the Motu Proprio *Apostolicae caritatis* of Pope Paul VI. Eight years after its creation, the Commission published a memorable document, a circular letter titled, Church and Human Mobility. This document made a clear distinction between two types of mobility: free or voluntary migration and forced migration, driven by the concern for security, survival, freedom and peace. The same document also proposed a reflection on the Church and her mission. Being evangelical in nature, the Church is invited to take a head-on approach to the issue of migration in her ministry that must continually be adapted to the needs that arise. Finally, the document highlighted the different kinds of human mobility: labour migration, forced displacement, seafaring, land and air transportation, nomadism, tourism and others (Pontifical Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Tourism, 1978).

The last magisterial document on the migrant ministry is the Instruction *Erga migrantes caritas Christi*, published on 3 March 2004 by the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People. It is a charter on the pastoral care for migrants and itinerant people, presenting most of the elements that are necessary to understand the phenomenon and develop the pastoral interventions in favour of people on the move. The outline of the document and its volume reveals the desire to not neglect any aspect of the migrant ministry, from theological reflection to the pastoral structures to be established. A kind of appendix concerning relevant juridical and pastoral regulations has been attached to the Instruction.

It is worth noting the precedence and importance of the Petrine authority in the reflection and action of the Church in response to the vast field of migration. The various documents listed above are tangible proof of the relevance of human mobility for the universal Church. Such concern necessarily translates

into reflection and action for the local Churches, particularly for the Churches of origin, arrival and transit.

The priority of the Petrine See and the consequent engagement of the local Churches are true for all missionary activities, as it was highlighted in the Vatican II's Decree *Ad Gentes*:

> This duty [mission], to be fulfilled by the order of bishops, under the successor of Peter and with the prayers and help of the whole Church, is one and the same everywhere and in every condition, even though it may be carried out differently according to circumstances. Hence, the differences recognizable in this, the Church's activity, are not due to the inner nature of the mission itself, but rather to the circumstances in which this mission is exercised (Vatican II, 1965: 6).

The real question refers to the strategies to be adopted in order to develop sound policy and pastoral care that are able to transform migration into an enrichment for the receiving societies, as pointed out by Pope John Paul II in the text I quoted at the beginning of my contribution.

Even within the Church itself, there are some attitudes that should be criticised. To this extent, Pope Francis (2014a) stated:

> Often, however, such migration gives rise to suspicion and hostility, even in ecclesial communities, prior to any knowledge of the migrants' lives or their stories of persecution and destitution. In such cases, suspicion and prejudice conflict with the biblical commandment of welcoming with respect and solidarity the stranger in need.

In his Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium*, which is abundant in similar reflections, Pope Francis (2013: 270) noted: 'Sometimes we are tempted to be that kind of Christian who keeps the Lord's wounds at arm's length.' This means that the Church is invited to show its creativity and its inventiveness in considering her role of evangelisation aimed at addressing effectively the challenges posed by the phenomenon of migration.

In 1975 the Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii nuntiandi* of Paul VI (1975: 14) had already stressed this point:

> We wish to confirm once more that the task of evangelizing all people constitutes the essential mission of the Church. It is a task and mission which the vast and pro-

> found changes of present-day society make all the more urgent. Evangelizing is in fact the grace and vocation proper to the Church, her deepest identity.

Talking about strategies, one should include among the different pastoral initiatives the establishment of links between the Churches of origin and the host Churches. Many believe that it is important to reproduce in the host Church the religious habits and styles of celebration of the Church of origin. This practice might be useful and commendable. However, one can question whether such a practise could slow – if not halt – the integration process of migrants in the society or the Church of arrival. The tendency to replicate the life of the community of origin in the host church has indubitably a nostalgic background, and manifests migrants' desires to feel at ease in their expression of faith. Nonetheless, as to the integration into the new host society, this could generate problems of cohabitation. This is the case when migrants' expressions of faith are not part of the process of synthesis between the religious practises of the Church of origin and host Churches.

To reach the synthesis it is necessary to come together, make concessions from both sides and find resource persons capable of creating a dynamic symbiosis that does not destroy migrants' traditional elements, nor impose local practices in a way that drives migrants to self marginalise and creates spiritual and religious ghettos. My reading simply echoes the call of the conciliar Decree *Ad Gentes*: 'In order that he [the bishop] may properly fulfil this noble task, let him thoroughly study both the conditions of his flock, and the private opinions of his countrymen concerning God, taking careful note also of those changes which urbanization, migrations, and religious indifferentism have introduced' (Vatican II, 1965: 20).

Towards a Dialogue between the Church and States/IOs on Migration

The Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM) recently obtained the status of observer at the African Union. This is a great asset that should be developed in order to elaborate and disseminate reflections on matters of common interest, such as migration.

It is important that Africa avoids addressing the phenomenon of human mobility without a prior, in-depth analysis undertaken jointly by African political leaders, possibly in consultation with African religious authorities. Too many Africans have died in the Mediterranean Sea, and too many are stuck in transit countries, like Libya and Morocco, waiting to cross over to Europe.

In July 2015, I was invited to Vilnius, Lithuania by the Secretary General of the Council of European Bishops' Conferences (CCEE) to deliver a presentation on the recent migration crises. In my contribution, while acknowledging the complexity of the reality of migration, I focused on the terrible situation in Libya, a country that is suffering a progressive disintegration and allowing the trafficking and smuggling of thousands of migrants every week. There was no peace after the assassination of Gaddafi. It is confusing to see his killers moving and speaking freely, in connivance with the Western superpowers. They created chaos that is still affecting not only Libya but also other African countries, generating violent conflicts and encouraging terrorism. This is what the Church must denounce, as the then Apostolic Nuncio in Libya did in the case of the bombing targeting Gaddafi. He questioned the effectiveness and relevance of such a bombing, which in reality murdered only civilians.

In an age of vast migration, many people leave their place of origin and undertake this dangerous journey hoping, with desires and fears, for better living conditions. Through its pastoral structures, the Church is called to inform African would-be migrants of the dangers entailed in the perilous journeys crossing deserts and seas.

The Church has to collaborate with the states and international organisations in assessing the merits and relevance of policies that enhance the development of African countries in order to stop this "migratory haemorrhage." Subscribing to this logic, the Archbishop of Niamey praised the initiative of the president of the Republic of Niger who, in 2012, invited the imam, the Archbishop of Niamey and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Niger to pay a visit to the President of Nigeria in order to express Niger's solidarity with the people of Nigeria devastated by the tragic violence of Boko Haram. As Benedict XVI (2011: 97) stated in this Apostolic Exhortation *Africae munus*, 'One can never be a Christian alone.'

Ultimately, human mobility is a phenomenon that can leave no one indifferent. On the one side, according to official data, migration is benefitting Africa enormously. In 2014, migrant remittances to African countries totalled US$ 35 billion. This is a colossal sum that clearly shows the real economic potential of migration for African families and communities. On the other side, for Western receiving countries, which are experiencing spiritual decline and alarming rates of secularisation, migration can be a solution, since migrants may bring back the founding values – mostly Christian – of their civilisations.

African Migration: A Call for the Church

Mesmin-Prosper Massengo

The Churches in Africa should be attentive to the phenomenon of human mobility and consider it as a favourable opportunity to concretely express her charity: '[M]ay we have the courage to touch the suffering flesh of Christ, revealed in the faces of those countless persons whom he calls "the least of these my brethren"' (Mt 25:40, 45 quoted by Francis, 2014b: 6).

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Migration Intervention Practices from the Grassroots in the Ethiopian Catholic Church

Bekele Moges Kidane

Ethiopia is one of the East African countries, the second highest population in Africa with about 99 million people according to the census projection of 2015. The population growth and fertility rates in 2014 are 2.89% and 5.3%, respectively. The population strata show that over 48 million members of the population are young people under age of 18 years.

The country is a Federal Democratic Republic that has seven regional states and two town administrations. The regional states and administrations are further classified into 83 zonal administrations and 831 *woredas* (districts).

The country is recorded as having one of the fastest growing economies in the last decade and aims toward becoming a middle-income country by 2025. According to the latest estimates of World Bank (n.d.), the level of poverty declined to 29.6% in 2010. The unemployment rate of the youth aged 15-24 is 7.1%.

The number of tertiary education institutions has increased greatly compared to 15 years ago, when there were only two universities, namely Addis Ababa University and Haramaya University. Currently there are over 34 public universities, 7 private universities and 52 technical vocational schools in the country. The annual student intake has increased to over 100 000. These educational facilities accommodate 467 445 students. The number of annual graduates in first degree and above has increased to over 100 000. However, the number of annual university graduates in the country greatly exceeds the professional employment opportunities generated in the country.

Figure 1: Map of Administrative Regions of Ethiopia



Ethiopia is highly affected by climate change that affects the seasonality and timeliness of rain. The frequency of droughts in the country has escalated from one every 20 years to one every 2 years. The farmers' dependence on rain-fed agriculture has resulted in food insecurity. The limited household land holding and land size for farming (on average less than 0.5 hectares) cannot assure the food production necessary to sustain a family's yearly needs. As such, the number of people in need of emergency food assistance has increased by millions.

Migration Inflows and Outflows in Ethiopia

The Horn of Africa has unique migration challenges. Every month thousands of irregular migrants and asylum seekers attempt to cross borders to escape conflicts, droughts and economic difficulties. A large number of people usually migrate from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, and South Sudan across the sea to the Middle Eastern, European and Asian destinations. Many others choose intracontinental migration, heading particularly to South Africa.

Ethiopia is a source country for trafficking in persons (TIP) and smuggling of migrants (SOM). Many young Ethiopian women are trafficked and reduced to domestic servitude and prostitution in the Middle East. They transit through Djibouti, Egypt, Somaliland, Sudan and Yemen to the Middle East and Europe. In 2014 alone over 75 000 Ethiopians were smuggled by boat to Yemen. They usually travel to the coast of the Red Sea or Gulf of Aden and pay smugglers to take them by boat to Yemen. Before October 2013, when overseas labour recruitment was not banned, the Ethiopian Government estimated that around 1 500 Ethiopians migrated daily as part of the legal activity of 400 authorised international placement agencies. In the past years, close to 17 000 people per month legally migrated to the Middle East and most of them ended up being trafficked. The unrealistic promises of migration agents and brokers continue to provide an ever-increasing number of "costumers" to the criminal groups, who made TIP and SOM their main business. The strong networking and underground operations of traffickers, both at the local and the international levels, can be hardly avoided by African migrants.

In five years, from 2008 to 2014, about 480 480 Ethiopian migrants were registered in Middle Eastern countries. In the same period, a total of 1.5 million Ethiopians illegally left the country. According to UNICEF, the dominant age group of Ethiopian emigrants is 15-34 years.

In 2013 Saudi Arabia issued the "Nitaqat Law," by which all foreign workers were requested to obtain a work permit within a grace period of seven months. After the deadline, all undocumented labour migrants were expelled from Saudi Arabia. From November 2013 to March 2014, over 163 000 Ethiopians were deported to Addis Ababa.

From the Horn of Africa there are four major directions following the poles to the east, west, north and south. They are irregular routes, where migrants cross the borders of countries without authorisation or travel documents. This mass movement is also mixed in nature as it includes refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, environmental migrants, victims of trafficking, smuggled migrants, stranded migrants (in transit), unaccompanied minors and others. Most Ethiopians take these routes to reach Europe, South Africa, the Middle East and Asia. An estimated 17 000 to 20 000 Ethiopians migrate to South Africa each year through these irregular channels. There is also regular migration that takes place through private employment agencies, which generally deploy labour migrants to the Middle East.

In Ethiopia there are five mixed migration routes, taking into account both the irregular and regular migration flows: eastern, western, northern, southern and central hub. The eastern route transits through Bossasso (Punt Land), Afar and Djibouti and crosses the Gulf of Aden to Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the Middle East and beyond. The western route goes through Sudan into Libya and across the Mediterranean to Europe. The northern route is through Metema via Sudan, Chad and Egypt, through the Sinai to Israel and Europe. This route was sealed since 2013 due to the construction of the Negev Desert wall by Israel. The southern route destined for South Africa crosses through Moyale via Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Through the central hub, Addis Ababa regular migration through private employment agencies takes place via air flight to Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar and Kuwait. The other irregular mixed migration routes use land and sea transport to reach different destinations.

Ethiopia is also a destination country for many people from the region. At present, Ethiopia is home to over 99 million migrants as well as around 750 000 refugees from South Sudan, Eritrea and Somalia. There are currently 233 727 registered South Sudanese refugees living in six camps in Gambella Region (UNHCR, 2015). Following the 2011 drought, famine and on-going insecurity, there are approximately 240 086 Somali refugees in Ethiopia, Dolo Ado, Boqolmayo and Malkadida camps. Dolo Ado is the second largest refugee camp created since 2007, second only to Dabaab in Kenya.

UNHCR estimates that there are between 800 and 1000 new arrivals to Dolo Ado every month through sixteen entry points from Eritrea. The main camps are in the northern part of the country at Shimelba, May Ayni, Adiharush and Hintas in western Tigray and significant numbers of urban refugees reside in Addis Ababa and Mekele. These refugees from Eritrea are schooled youth and unaccompanied children as young as seven years old. Approximately 130 000 Eritrean refugees have been seeking asylum in Ethiopia since 2007.

In the Horn of Africa, there are various causes of migration related to political, social, economic and environmental crisis that can be categorised as push and pull factors. As a push factor, human rights abuse, presence of armed conflicts, resource shortage, lack of reliable governance and political instability increases the plight of refugees in East Africa. As a pull factor, the better opportunities for studies, employment and better pay abroad contributes towards the mass movement of youth despite the challenges and high risk involved en route to

their destinations. The economic and social factors also significantly contributed to the increase of irregular migration.

One of the root causes of migration in Ethiopia is an abject poverty due to climate change, environmental degradation, disasters and lack of alternative development options that disable households from producing enough to sustain the families' food needs. The majority of migrants from the rural parts of the country are forced to leave their villages and migrate abroad in search of jobs that might improve their livelihoods.

The questionable common assumption that life is better abroad, together with a lack of awareness about job opportunities in Ethiopia, constitutes another relevant push factor for irregular migration. Pressure from relatives and friends both in Ethiopia and abroad, as well as returnees' success stories, have convinced many to migrate irregularly. The widespread assumption that even low-skilled workers can eventually find jobs abroad encourages those in rural Ethiopia to continue flocking to foreign destinations.

In Ethiopia, a "culture of migration" has developed. Some communities in southern Ethiopia look at migrants' remittances as a genuine strategy for subsistence. Parents are considering sending their children abroad as a way to assure a durable livelihood for them. In this line, even irregular migration is tolerated even when it is not promoted. Many young people decide to follow their friends in risky journeys and migration routes as a sign of bravery. Allure for wealth, resulting in a strong desire for success or quick change, is another factor contributing to the increase of youth migration from Ethiopia. Finally there are other situations, like school failure, limited family resource and death of parents, which push Ethiopian youth to leave and seek out greener pastures.

Migration and Development in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has the largest diaspora in Africa, with an estimated two million Ethiopians residing in Asia, North America, Europe and African countries. Out of the sub-Saharan African diasporas in the United States, the Ethiopian diaspora is second only to Nigeria.

Ethiopian out-migration is a source of remittance, skill transfer, cultural exchange, job creation, and is a means of satisfying labour demands and enhancing fair distribution of wealth and resources. In 2015, Ethiopia received

around 600 million USD in remittances (World Bank, 2016). According to another recent estimated, the country is expected to receive 3-3,5 billion USD in 2024/2025 from its diaspora community (Carter and Rohwerder, 2016). Migrants' remittances are contributing to the development of the country in a significant way. Recognising this, the Ethiopian government is encouraging the diaspora community to invest in their home country's development. The Diaspora Directorate has been established within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to facilitate such investment and increase the role of migrants in economic development. Nonetheless a fair assessment of the migration-development nexus in Ethiopia should take into consideration many other elements, particularly the real costs of migration.

Survivors and returnees of irregular migration indicate that the amount of money requested by traffickers has increased over time. Along the southern route to South Africa, smugglers and mediators used to demand fees of around 2000 USD for their services. The tighter the security control on the route becomes, the higher the cost of irregular migration. Irregular migration to South Africa now costs 3000 USD per person, and is increasing daily. Migrating irregularly from Ethiopia to the Gulf countries costs up to 6000 USD per person. According to a study published in 2015, irregular migration through Sudan to Israel costs up to 15 000 USD (Minani Bihuzo, 2015). Initial payment to smugglers is requested in advance, at the beginning of the journey. Other disbursements are requested while en route, keeping migrants in custody and asking their families to transfer the money through illegal channels.

According to some Ethiopian returnees interviewed in the vicariate of Hosanna, in the southern regional state, the payment to traffickers and mediators is mostly sourced from family incomes (29%) and migrants' savings (21%). Other sources include the sale of material possessions (15%), remittances received from family members living abroad (15%), sale of household livestock (8%), sale of fixed assets (6%) and loans (5%).

Failure to reach the destination and compensate the investment generally results in crises in the migrants' households and makes their eventual return difficult. Many migrants, who are caught, imprisoned and deported along the way, continue to attempt to reach their destinations by any means possible.

Irregular migration is a risk-taking act performed deliberately that affects the lives of the individual, as well as their family and community in general. It has

tremendous social and economic impacts on the country. Some interviews done with survivors and returnees of irregular migration indicate that migrants experience different psychological and physical challenges before departing, while getting to the destination, after reaching – or failing to reach – the destination and upon returning back home. They can be classified as pre-departure, on the route, upon arrival and post-return encounters and experiences.

As for the pre-departure experiences, migrants report being worried about debt reimbursement and the risks of irregular migration. They also reveal their suspicions regarding the unreliability of migration agents and the possible exploitation and abuse of rights by brokers.

Many irregular migrants tell sad stories of challenging experiences across the route. They undergo psychological stress as a result of separation from their family and fear of being caught by the police or criminal groups along the route. In transit countries, they are compelled to hide from local authorities. Some mentioned getting stranded, paying bribes to policemen and being abandoned by brokers. The journey is often physically gruelling as and migrants experience thirst and hunger. Those who are exhausted and unable to keep the walking pace of the group are frequently scorned and beat by the guides and traffickers. While crossing the desert, many migrants contract serious diseases and are attacked by wild animals. Migrants are often extorted, systematically abducted and tortured for ransoms by criminal groups. Many are abandoned in rural areas, caught by the police, jailed in detention centres and eventually prosecuted. Many die along the journey. On 9 December 2015, twenty-one migrants were found dead in a container in Zimbabwe. They were trying to cross the South African border irregularly at the cost of 300 USD per person. Migrants travelling by sea are normally compelled to board overcrowd boats and, as a result, many perish at sea. In 2015, according to the estimates of the International Organization for Migration (2016), 3771 migrants died or went missing while trying to reach Europe by sea.

Upon arrival at their destinations, many migrants experience culture shock in terms of language, lifestyle and food, as well as discrimination and forced religious conversion by host communities. For instance, in April 2015, ISIS militants in Libya beheaded thirty Ethiopians because of their Christian faith (McLaughlin, 2015). In the same month, two Ethiopians were burnt in Durban, South Africa, during a series of xenophobic attacks (ENCA, 2015). Ethiopian migrant workers in the Middle East are often confined in labour houses where they are forced to

work 16-21 hour days and deprived of sleep. In some instances such migrants are recorded as having been denied a salary, communication, food and medication. Some of them were infected with HIV/AIDS due to rape, or developed fistula, gastritis, kidney infections or suffered mental breakdowns. Some migrant workers are physically abused, harassed, severely beaten and even killed.

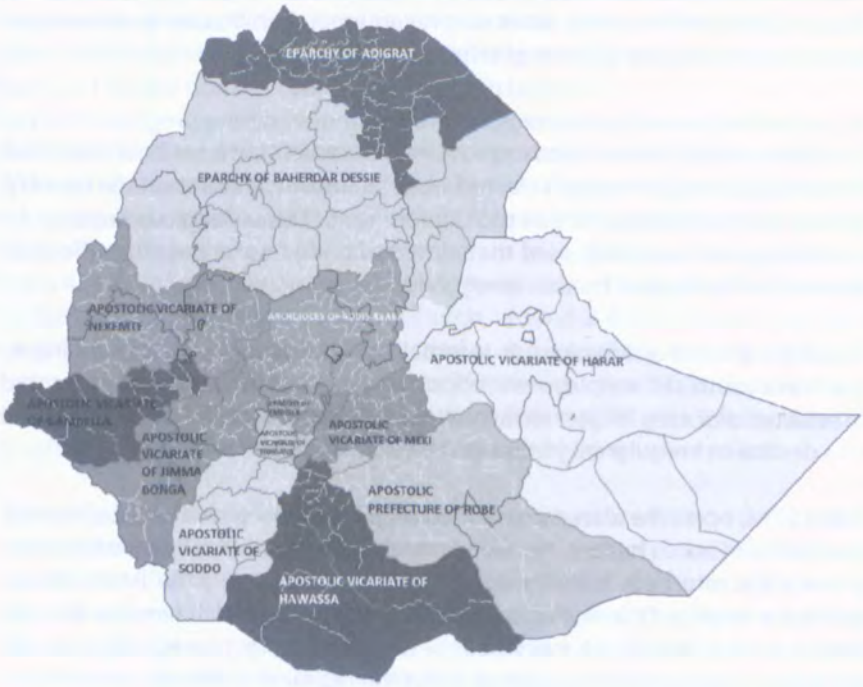
Those who fail to reach the destination and manage to safely return to their community usually feel fear, confusion, frustration, regret and guilt. They often face problems of readjustment and trauma, quarrelling with family members, relatives and neighbours. They are exposed to mental and physical illnesses, and often experience embarrassment due to their altered behaviours.

Most Ethiopian migrants, both from rural and urban settings, are young. They make up the most productive workforce of the country and their departure constitutes a significant loss for Ethiopia, the negative effects of which will be seen in the long run. In rural areas, many parents lost their elder children to migration, who otherwise could have assisted them in farming. In the countryside some elderly people have been left alone and are unable to produce enough food to survive. In the Southern part of the country, many families whose bread-winning member migrated, experience marriage breakups and parental absence that, in turn, negatively affect children. Migrant families unable to recover their investments in the migration of one or more family members generally suffer dramatic financial instability.

The Response of the Ethiopian Catholic Church

The Ethiopian Catholic Church structure does not conform to the regionalised structure of the country. It is stretched across the country to foster evangelical and integral human development. All the action of the Catholic Church in Ethiopia is entrusted to two agencies, namely the Social and Development Commission (SDCO) and the Pastoral Activities Commission (PACO), with each agency holding different responsibilities and programs. There is also a National Secretariat, which is responsible for coordination at the national level and operates through Diocesan Catholic Secretariats. The National Secretariat has five major mandates: to (1) coordinate, (2) facilitate, (3) represent at national and international levels, (4) capacitate and (5) monitor/evaluate the works of the thirteen Diocesan Catholic Secretariats throughout the country.

Figure 2: Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Catholic Church



The Church is responding to the challenges posed by migration in Ethiopia by promoting international and national advocacy on migration. In 2011 it organised an international conference on migration and human trafficking, aimed at bringing the agenda to the fore of all development endeavours. In this conference, the collective participation of government ministries, Caritas member organisations from Lebanon, Jordan and Italy, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), independent researchers, and migration related diocesan offices, contributed to a greater awareness of the human mobility phenomenon in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Catholic Church is one of the members of the National Task Force and National Counsel to Combat Trafficking and Smuggling in Ethiopia. The Church provides information and data on irregular migration in neighbouring countries thanks to the Caritas network.

In order to reach the grassroots, the Church established a department in the national office and local offices within diocesan and religious structures. This has enabled the Church to work on prevention, rehabilitation and reintegration of returnees and support of refugees in the camps.

As part of the prevention strategy, several awareness-raising programs that run in tandem with the livelihood improvement intervention have been launched in targeted areas,. The areas selected were the most vulnerable in the country: Jimma and Kombolcha. Within the Conference of Major Religious Superiors, a working group was composed that aimed to mitigate the negative effects of human trafficking and human smuggling.

To offer valuable alternatives to international migration, projects aiming to generate youth self-employment opportunities were initiated and promoted in selected dioceses. Project reports reveal that these actions have contributed to a decline in irregular migration in the selected areas.

Since 2013, upon the above mentioned migration policy shift of Saudi Arabia, the Catholic Church has been working on rehabilitation and reintegration of deportees and returnees in their original communities, namely the Jimma Bonga and Robe areas in Oromia Regional State, and the Kombolcha area in Amhara Regional State. The Church mobilised the communities for reintegration, providing former migrants with vocational skills training, micro credit opportunities to start small businesses and assistance with the developement of business plans.

The Catholic Church in Ethiopia also established stable partnerships with international and national actors involved in anti-trafficking and migration issues, such as Caritas Malawi and the Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa (SIHMA). The Church usually shares experiences at regional Catholic Bishop Conferences, like the Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM), the Association of Member Episcopal Conferences in Eastern Africa (AMECEA) and the Association of Episcopal Conferences of the Central Africa Region (ACERAC). Through its national Caritas, the Ethiopian Catholic Church is a member of the international migration network Migration and Development (MADE). Aiming to better assist migrants in transit countries, the Church shares information and works closely with the national Caritas offices in Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya. It also works with government institutions at the local and national levels, as well as international organisations. On issues concerning domestic migrant workers in the Middle East, the Catholic Church

in Ethiopia works in partnership with Caritas Lebanon and Caritas Luxembourg. The Church is among the promoters of a global approach to supporting and empowering migrants that aims to contribute to the protection, defence of rights and fostering of socio-economic development of asylum-seekers, refugees and female domestic migrant workers in Lebanon.

The Catholic Church also takes part in service programs for refugees. In July 2015, it collaborated in the Accelerated Learning Program School in Gambella refugee camps, namely Kule and Teirkidi. It built 4 schools with 40 furnished classrooms, as well as latrines and water points. Jewi, the newest refugee camp, hosts 47 813 refugees and has a school-age population (3-18) of 28 668. Thanks to the engagement of the Catholic Church, around 2 400 children (boys and girls) between the ages of 7-14 years, and at the rate of 60 students per classroom (in two shifts), were benefitted by the construction of 20 classrooms, 2 administration blocks, 2 libraries, and 4 latrine blocks (2 for girls, 2 for boys) with 9 latrines in each block and 4 hand washing and drinking water points.

The Catholic Church in Ethiopia supports all government efforts to combat human trafficking. There is a growing consensus in all sectors of the government, society and Church, on the magnitude and seriousness of TIP and SOM. In July 2012, a national task force was established under the Prime Minister's Office headed by the deputy prime minister. The task force is composed of representatives from different ministries, NGOs and religious institutions, including the Ethiopian Catholic Church. A new national legislation concerning TIP and SOM has been in place since August 2015. According to this law, those who assist or conduct TIP or smuggling into or out of the country, produce fraudulent travel documents, assist in illegal stays, destroy evidence, conceal crimes and fail to disclose criminal acts within 15-25 years are punishable by life imprisonment and a fine from 7500 to 25 000 USD. A fund to prevent and control trafficking and smuggling and rehabilitate victims has been established.

As previously mentioned, one of the main challenges is the growing attractiveness of irregular migration to Ethiopian youth, despite the high risks and recorded fatalities. Mass movement of migrants is still observed in the country. There is an evident lack of coordination and networking between the stakeholders in transit and destination countries. There are no bilateral agreements or regional compacts that enable the safe movement of people. In many of the destination countries, there is no labour attaché in the Ethiopian diplomatic posts. In the Middle East, for example, this absence makes assisting female

migrant workers impossible. Ethiopia's borders are enormous and porous, making every effort to curb irregular migration difficult. To worsen the circumstances, Ethiopia has established very few rehabilitation centres for returnees.

Conclusions

Poverty, peer pressure, a culture of migration, a demand for cheap labour in destinations and lobbying by brokers who understand the lucrative nature of trafficking, are all factors that are significantly contributing to the increase of irregular and regular migration – and sometimes human trafficking – in Ethiopia. The need for cheap labour forces and seemingly attractive lifestyles are the main pull factors of destination countries. Though Ethiopians migrate to different countries, the Gulf States and South Africa are their main destinations. The state's efforts to suppress human trafficking and smuggling of migrants requires international financial and political support.

Ethiopia is a source, transit and destination country of TIP and SOM within Africa, as well as outside of the continent. There is a growing consensus on the magnitude and severity of TIP and SOM. Almost every corridor of the country has become a hub for TIP and SOM, which has resulted in migrants, their families and their communities paying great economic, health, social and psychological tolls. All African countries need to contribute towards a common plan to break the network of traffickers and sign a regional compact to collectively work to uphold the rights of migrants and protect them from xenophobia and discrimination.

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Jesuit Refugee Service Eastern Africa Programmes And Experiences in the Field of Forced Migration

Beatrice Gikonyo

Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) is a work of the Society of Jesus with a mission to accompany, serve and advocate on behalf of refugees and other forcibly displaced persons. The priority of JRS is to accompany refugees whose needs are urgent or forgotten. In its work, the organisation embraces the definition adopted by Catholic social teaching, which applies the expression "de facto refugee" to all persons persecuted because of race, religion, membership to social or political groups, as well as victims of armed conflicts, erroneous economic policy or natural disasters. For humanitarian reasons, the expression is also applied to internally displaced persons, that is civilians who are forcibly uprooted from their homes by the same type of violence as refugees, who do not cross national frontiers.

This definition is broader than the conventional definition that limits the application of the term "refugee" to only those individuals, who seek asylum outside their countries of nationality due to '[...] well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion' (UN, 1951: Art. 1).

According to its Charter, JRS gives priority to situations of great need, to places where a more universal good may be achieved, and to needs to which others are not attending. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach (2007: 17), a former Superior General of the Society of Jesus, explains this mandate in the following words:

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> The mission is to be on the move, to be always available to respond with alacrity. We are not called to stay forever in the same place with the same people, but to be like St. Paul, to start something, and to move on when our work is done, constantly in search of needs that are not being met by others.

Currently the work of JRS is spread throughout the world in 45 countries clustered into 10 regions supported by an international office in Rome. The organisation provides assistance to refugees in cities and camps, individuals displaced within their own countries, asylum seekers and individuals held in detention, giving priority to accompaniment and pastoral presence among refugees and displaced persons.

The Beginning

After the Vietnam War in 1975, there was a great exodus by boat of more than 1.6 million Vietnamese people seeking safety and better lives in nearby countries. More refugees would later flow from Cambodia and Laos in a similar fashion. Struck by the plight of these *boat people* and hundreds of Ethiopian refugees in Rome, Pedro Arrupe, then Superior General of the Society of Jesus, decided to establish a service to coordinate Jesuit refugee work in November 1980. In a letter to all Jesuit Major Superiors, Arrupe (1980) noted that the Society was already doing a considerable amount of work assisting refugees in several parts of the world, so it had become necessary to develop and extend the work further and coordinate it better.

Arrupe drew inspiration from the story of Ignatius and his nine companions in the second winter of 1538 in Rome, when they took care of thousands who had fled famine, disease and cold in the countryside. Arrupe had also experienced what it was like to be a refugee, having been forced to leave Spain in 1932, when the Jesuits were expelled by the socialists. He had also responded to the plight of those displaced by the Hiroshima atomic bombs in 1945 in Japan, caring for the wounded in the Jesuit novitiate, where he was director of novices.

Several months after founding JRS, Arrupe suffered a stroke that left him partially paralysed and was succeeded in 1983 by Peter-Hans Kolvenbach. For the next 24 years, Kolvenbach led JRS, shaping it to what it is today and securing its space firmly in the society.

Although initially intended to work as a network helping those Jesuits already in the refugee apostolate, the interventions and the structure grew as global

refugee numbers increased, and refugee needs also grew (JRS, 2000a). When JRS was started in 1980, there were about five million refugees worldwide, while there are over 60 million refugees in the world today. However, the Service has remained light in order to avoid being overly bureaucratic, and to ensure flexibility and focus on serving according to the Ignatian priority of greater need.

JRS Eastern Africa Region

JRS Eastern Africa region is one of the ten administrative units of the Jesuit Refugee Service. It started as a single operation in the early 1980's in Ethiopia, assisting people displaced by political unrest and famine. The services rendered at this time were mostly pastoral, medical and, later in 1984, included food distribution. It later grew in size and scope and in the 1990's the regional office was established in Nairobi. At the moment, the region has fifteen projects in five countries, namely Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia.

The design of the programmes is informed by the experiences of the organisation in its interaction with the forcibly displaced. This is made possible by being physically present in the areas where refugees and internally displaced persons reside.

Forced Displacement in the Eastern Africa Region

According to UNHCR (2016), there are about 60 million forcibly displaced people in the world today, with 20 million of these being refugees. In Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa alone, there are more than 9 million people in different states of displacement. Two countries, Somalia and Eritrea, have produced a constant flow of refugees into the continent and to Europe for the longest time. The two are also ranked with Syria and Afghanistan among the top seven refugee producing countries in the world. Somalia has not known peace since the year 1991, when Siad Barre, its then president, was toppled by clan-based militias, sparking violence and lawlessness that in turn has lead to massive refugee flows to date.

For Eritrea, the policy of mandatory conscription into indefinite military service has been leading thousands of its young citizens out of the country (Kibreab, 2009). In fact, a majority of those who have died in recent times while crossing the Mediterranean are said to be Eritrean.

A number of other recent conflicts have also contributed to the rise in forced displacement in the region. The conflict that erupted in South Sudan in De-

cember 2013 following political disagreements has, to date, lead to more than 1.8 million persons becoming internally displaced and over 778,700 crossing over to other countries as refugees (UNHCR, 2016).

Similarly, in April 2015, Burundi was plunged into conflict after the country's Constitutional Court allowed the president to prolong his term in office. With about 292,800 refugees having fled already, and hundreds left dead, there are still no signs of peace in the country (UNHCR, 2016).

As a whole, the region is in a constant state of mobility with new conflicts erupting even before the older ones settle down.

Programmes and Experiences of JRS: Living the Mission Statement

JRS programmes are designed to fulfil one or all of the elements of the mission statement, namely accompaniment, service and advocacy. This section provides a brief analysis of the practical implementation of each of these elements.

Accompaniment is an attribute that has set JRS apart from other agencies serving displaced populations. Accompaniment, as practiced by JRS, is defined by a cluster of attitudes and values: solidarity, hope, respect and dignity, friendship, open listening, hospitality, striving for justice and opting for the poor and marginalised (Hampson et al., 2014). Mark Raper (2013) called accompaniment the cornerstone of JRS identity and describes it as being physically present among refugees as companions, witness and protection. JRS opts for a personal style of presence.

Similarly, David Hollenbach (2015) explains that accompaniment means being with the people being served. It means being with the refugees on the ground, listening to their stories, and showing them through genuine personal presence that they are not forgotten. In practical terms, JRS staff are found living and working alongside the refugees in Kenya's Kakuma Refugee camp, in Ethiopia's Mai Aini and Dollo Ado camps, in South Sudan's Maban in the Upper Nile State, among returnees in Western Equitoria in South Sudan, in Uganda's refugee settlements and in Darfur region in Sudan.

A typical day for the staff in the camps includes activities such as home visits to the elderly, the sick and the newly arrived, meeting up with refugee peer counsellors for the latest updates and visits to other agencies to follow up on support for particular refugees. In many cases, staff members simply give

time and a listening ear to those who just need to talk. For those working with refugees residing in urban areas, they do hospital rounds, visit new arrivals at home to ensure they are settling in well, meet the local parish priest to discuss issues involving refugees in the particular parish and participate in meetings organised by refugees themselves.

This resonates with the assertion by Joe Hampson (2009), one-time Regional Director for JRS Eastern Africa, that JRS accompaniment is the purposeful and open presence to individuals or communities, through a response deriving from religious and humanitarian concerns that has implications for service and advocacy work. Accompaniment leads to service, which is shaped by knowledge of refugees' needs that has been gained from direct interaction with them.

Therefore, JRS moves beyond a mere delivery of services through offering companionship, active listening and solidarity and focusing on individual needs and concerns. In this way, JRS aims to reduce the enormous power gap that exists between the humanitarian worker and the beneficiary and hopes to increase the desire for genuine participation by displaced people in programmes and services addressing them (Hampson et al., 2014). New innovative programmes are developed through listening to refugees speak about their hopes, dreams and needs.

This is best illustrated by the different programmes currently running in urban areas in Nairobi (Kenya), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and Kampala (Uganda). In Addis Ababa, a refugee community centre was set up to provide a safe space for refugees to meet, a cyber café for them to connect with family and friends back home or abroad and a day care centre for working mothers who cannot afford the high cost of childcare.

In Kampala, a day care centre was borne out of the need to relieve mothers of child care duties while they attended adult English classes, to enable them to concentrate in class. The day care service eventually grew to a nursery school, which provides an educational foundation to the young ones.

The Nairobi initiative caters to a more dispersed community of refugees and, therefore, uses local parishes near the neighbourhoods where many refugees have settled as meeting points. As such, the refugees access services closer home without the need to travel all the way to the JRS offices.

Hampson (2009) describes accompaniment as having three overlapping and mutually reinforcing aspects. It is the critical intersection between faith and humanitarian action, it is an expression of essential attitudes within JRS and it makes unique structural and programmatic demands on the work undertaken by JRS.

Accompaniment ultimately leads to advocacy for policies and institutions that respect the rights of refugees. Gaps in policies, violations of rights and abuses affecting refugees become more visible when humanitarian workers relate closely with those affected. When this happens, JRS takes the responsibility of speaking out and advocating on behalf of the refugees.

Pastoral services are another dimension of accompaniment offered by JRS Eastern Africa to Catholic refugees in response to need. This is in recognition of the potential of faith to help refugees cope with hardships and look beyond the present to a future of hope. In some of the areas in which JRS works, there has been no presence of a priest for many (approximately 10 or 20) years, so this ministry is particularly essential. In 2010, Richard Dwyer, a Jesuit priest, was sent to take care of returnees in the southern part of South Sudan. This experience made him '[...] understand how important the presence of a priest was as a symbol and a practical sign of God's presence, especially in providing people with access to the sacraments of the Eucharist, baptism, confession and marriage' (Dwyer, 2014).

A similar situation currently exists in Maban County, a region in the Upper Nile State in South Sudan. In addition to running educational programmes with a team of several staff members, two Jesuit priests minister to both the local Mabanese community and the Sudanese refugees hosted in that area. The local parish priest is barely able to move the long distances between the churches located deep in the interior to celebrate mass as he has no means by which to travel. As such, the two Jesuit priests could not have come in at a more opportune time.

Although JRS serves people of all faiths, pastoral accompaniment is offered exclusively to those who attend religious services in respect of the fundamental right to freedom of worship of individuals. No religious practice is imposed on refugees of a different faith.

JRS services are tailored to meet local needs according to the resources available. Therefore services offered in camp settings are somewhat different to those offered to refugees in urban areas.

According to the Guidelines on Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Emergency Settings of the Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC), populations displaced by armed conflicts and other disasters are affected by significant psychological and social suffering. Specifically, the people suffer loss of or separation from loved ones, sexual and gender-based violence, physical assault and other life threatening ordeals. Therefore, they need to be assisted to cope and heal from those experiences. However, it is important to note that not everyone develops major psychological problems and that most people exhibit resilience, which is the ability to cope well in the face of adversity (IASC, 2008). Still, the risk exists and it is, therefore, essential to provide appropriate support to all who are already affected or are potentially at risk.

The term "psychosocial" indicates that a link exists between psychological and social wellbeing and that the two spheres influence each other. Consequently, a widely accepted definition of the term psychosocial support is the one adopted by IASC (2008: 5): '[...] any type of local or outside support that aims to protect or promote psychosocial well-being and/or treat or prevent mental disorder.'

Given the nature of JRS clientele, mostly persons who have fled war and conflict, the organisation has set up psychosocial programmes in all the 15 projects in the region. Each project has adapted the psychosocial activities according to the local need and capacity of the staff. The activities include offering a listening ear, professional and pastoral counselling and therapy for mental health problems.

The psychosocial programme in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya started in the1990s, in the camp's early days. In addition to offering individual and group counselling and family therapy, the programme also provides alternative therapies such as massage and reflexology for those with psychosomatic pains. Each year, thousands of refugees are served with impressive results.

In the spirit of empowering refugees to take charge of their lives, JRS psychosocial programmes utilise a model of refugee peer counsellors, who are trained to assist in offering counselling services to fellow refugees. This increases the capacity of the organisation in this field, thus ensuring the services reach as many deserving cases as possible. This model also recognises the abilities and skills that refugees possess and restores their human dignity as a result.

Aiming to uphold the safety and protection of the individual's dignity, other kinds of support are provided to refugees in the form of basic necessities such

as food and shelter. Moreover, specialised services for those who are suffering from severe symptoms are offered through a referral network.

According to UNHCR (2016), children below 18 years of age constituted 51% of the refugee population in 2015, revealing an increase from 41% in 2009. Sadly, a majority of these children are unable to get an education due to a number of barriers including conflict in countries of origin, language barriers in the country of asylum, long travelling distances to school for those not in refugee camps, lack of teachers and overcrowding due to large numbers in camp schools.

Compounding the problem is the reality that humanitarian aid going to fund education in conflict settings is usually a paltry sum standing at just 2% in 2013, and 1% in 2014, against a target of 4% set by the UN Global Education Initiative (Susan and Hine, 2015). Against this backdrop, UNHCR (2016) has stated that refugees spend an average of 17 years in displacement; therefore the need for education for refugees cannot be gainsaid.

JRS recognises the importance of education for refugees and other people who are forcibly displaced and, for the last 35 years, has been providing empowering educational programmes. Further, JRS considers educational programmes to be a lifesaving intervention a lasting contribution to long-term, durable solutions to conflicts. Promoting realisation of the right to education for children ultimately leads to the gradual realisation of other rights.

The JRS' Global Education Initiative (JRS, 2016: 2-4) enumerates further benefits of education, noting:

> Education is an essential component in the building up of human dignity, because it helps people to restructure their lives by giving them skills to transform the situation in which they find themselves and to sustain themselves. It helps build the person's capacity to make his or her life better and allows that person to make informed choices. Well-educated refugees (whether they are integrated locally, resettled, or repatriated) are able to bring skills to help build and transform their communities [...] Teenagers are very vulnerable to exploitation (e.g. trafficking, recruitment as child soldiers, being married at a young age) and benefit from the protection offered by schools.

JRS Eastern Africa designs programmes that can meet the demands of a varied group of refugees such as accelerated learning programmes for adult learners or overage children, teacher training, distribution of learning materials and re-

habilitation of schools, scholarships, girls' education, special needs education and tertiary education.

Over the years, this support has been directed to areas with the greatest need and a major operation supported South Sudanese refugees' education in Adjumani in the North of Uganda from the early to mid-2000s. Upon the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in the year 2006, JRS supported returnees' education inside South Sudan until the year 2010 when the operation was wound down.

In 2013, JRS partnered with Jesuit Commons, Higher Education at the Margins (JC:HEM), to deliver an innovative online programme offering certificates and diplomas to refugees in Kakuma camp in collaboration with Jesuit colleges and universities in the USA. The programme is set to be replicated in other areas soon.

A livelihood is a means of securing the necessities of life. This refers to a source of income or means of support and subsistence. The opportunity to work and earn a living is one of the most effective ways people who have been displaced can rebuild their lives in dignity and peace. The JRS handbook Working with Urban Refugees, emphasises that '[....] working on livelihoods is not just about economic self-sufficiency; it is also about restoring dignity, confidence and hope, as well as promoting integration' (JRS, 2012: 21). Unfortunately, a majority of countries openly deny refugees the right to work, binding them to a life dependent on aid. Similarly, forced encampment policies in Kenya and Ethiopia frequently confine people to camps where opportunities for any meaningful livelihoods are limited.

However, refugees living in urban areas are provided with some working possibilities, especially in the informal sector. JRS helps refugees to establish livelihood activities by offering technical training and assistance (depending on the needs in the local market) and helping set up small businesses by providing grants, credit, tools and other resources. This approach supports and aligns with the recently adopted alternative to camps policy by UNHCR that aims to promote refugees' direct engagement. The latter are invited to utilise their skills and capacities to take responsibility over their lives and families so as to reduce dependence on aid. The same approach also is intended to promote refugees' contribution to the local economy and local integration.

Emergency support refers to the targeted distribution of food and non-food items such as mattresses, blankets, clothes, hygiene items, basic medical treatment, transport and accommodation in urban areas. Newly arrived asylum

seekers, refugees and other forcibly displaced people often do not have even the most basic necessities, as they may not carry much when they flee. Other individuals and families may also qualify for this assistance depending on the circumstances. Many agencies do not provide this kind of support to new arrivals. Therefore, JRS tries to fill the gap for a period of three months. By the end of this time, the refugees will have received initial registration documents from UNHCR or from government depending on the laws of the country of asylum, which allow them access a greater pool of agencies for assistance.

JRS guidelines on working with urban refugees require this support to be part of an integrated approach that includes advocacy, accompaniment, psychosocial and livelihood components. This is to ensure that the individuals are not left vulnerable after the emergency assistance is withdrawn.

Defending the rights of refugees and asylum seekers is an integral part of the JRS mission. Advocacy work flows from accompaniment and service and is, therefore, informed by the experiences of staff in the field, and their interaction with refugees. JRS carries out advocacy in the following ways:

- Seeking ways to advocate for those whose needs are forgotten by others;
- Addressing both immediate needs as well as long-term policy objectives of specific groups of refugees and forcibly displaced people;
- Being close to the people concerned, and supporting their hopes and aspirations;
- Giving people the opportunity to tell their stories;
- Creating spaces for dialogue between the centres of power and those who want to bring about positive change.

JRS advocacy takes place at multiple levels with the lowest being "one to one" assistance carried out by project staff who respond to refugee needs in the course of their daily work. The next is the country level where JRS responds to changes in national laws and policies that affect refugees, and works with the local church to promote hospitality for refugees. On a regional level, advocacy staffs are engaged in monitoring issues that affect refugees across national boundaries and developing position papers on relevant issues. Finally, at the

international level, JRS has strategic advocacy offices in Rome, Geneva and Washington, where issues of concern to the organisation are presented to relevant institutions with power to influence other actors as well.

Conclusions and Recommendations

JRS programmes reach only a fraction of those who need them, partly because of limited resources. Yet the UNHCR's (2016) latest statistics indicate an increase in the number of forcibly displaced people worldwide, which has already hit the 60 million mark. There is an overwhelming need to continue catering to forcibly displaced people. However, xenophobia in countries of asylum, restrictive government policies, terrorism, increased numbers of protracted crises and dwindling donor funding are some of the challenges facing responses to the refugee problem.

The Catholic Church and other faith based organisations have a reason to take up '[...] the cause of the stranger' (Job 29:16) and increase assistance to the forcibly displaced. Based on JRS' long experience, I would like to conclude by presenting a few recommendations aimed at improving the service the Catholic Church is providing to forcibly displaced people in Africa. The work of SECAM with the African Union should be strengthened to actively contribute to efforts to resolve conflicts currently going on in the continent. The Catholic Church should play a more active role in promoting positive policies with regards to refugees in receiving countries. In other words, it should promote the preferential option for the poor. More collaboration among Catholic inspired organisations should be promoted in order to share available resources so as to reach out to many other displaced populations in the continent who are in need of assistance.

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Highlights of the Conference

Fabio Baggio

In the first session, the substantial ambivalence of the migration and development nexus was highlighted, together with the need for ethical reflections on the same nexus with the aim to influence the policy-making exercise. Moreover, the importance of a sound demographic approach to the migration phenomenon was underlined: overpopulation and insufficient resources on the one hand and aging population and decreasing fertility rates on the other, are relevant elements to be considered. Finally, it was stated that there is an urgent need to provide migrants and their families left behind with different possibilities to use remittances towards real investment for development.

The speakers in the second session invited one to look at migration through the lens of the "common good." In a global perspective, the participation in humankind's common good is facilitated by migration. Development should be understood as fair and equal access to the common good and migration is an implicit denunciation that in the corresponding country of origin this is not happening. The Catholic Church is the guarantor of everybody's participation in development and common good. Moreover, deplorable anti-migrant and anti-foreigner attitudes are widespread in many African countries, even among government officials. There is a need to recover the transnational belonging of African people as part of the history and tradition of the Catholic Church. To such an extent, one can get inspired from the richness of the Church documents on human mobility, which clearly state the relevance of the defense and promotion of human rights, dignity, interculturalism and social justice. Finally, the speakers stated the importance of raising the concern of the Catholic Church with regards to international and intracontinental migration in Africa. Evangelization is the promotion of every human being in order to make him/her able to respond to the divine plan. To this extent, it is es-

sential to uphold their rights and dignity. The evangelizing mission consists of showing the merciful love of God to every single human being, with a special attention to the weak. In line with this, solidarity with foreigners and itinerant people, following the example of the Good Samaritan, is a useful criterion to test the missionary spirit of the local Church.

In the third session, starting from pastoral experiences in the grassroots, the importance of eradicating the "evil" causes of migration was highlighted. Moreover, the speakers called for greater attention to be paid to the gender dimension of human mobility in Africa, which is often overlooked. To this extent, the role of women in achieving local, sustainable development should be highly considered. Migrants and refugees have always constituted a real resource and enriching force in receiving societies. On this ground, should the encounter with the "other" be understood as threat or opportunity? The decision is up to both of the meeting partners. The real encounter is grounded on the conviction that one has always something to offer and something to receive. In Africa, human mobility is a growing phenomenon. There is a significant discussion on the link between migration and development, with enthusiastic projections of a widespread development impact in the countries of origin. Nonetheless the reality is that in the last several decades, global inequalities increased despite the increase of international migration. From an ecclesial perspective, migration is challenging Christian solidarity and the identity and catholicity of the Church as the unique family of God.

In the fourth session, participants broke into eight small groups, according to language proficiency, to envision pastoral responses to the challenges posed by the migration and development nexus in Africa.

In the fifth session, the speakers stated that refugees pose a multifaceted challenge: they face problems before departure, when seeking asylum, after the recognition of their status and even when they return. It is crucial to eradicate the evil causes of forced migration, a task for the Church to be shared with governments, international organisations and civil society actors. The claims by local populations that refugees get more attention than the local poor constitute a challenge to be addressed. Understandings of the refugee crises today should take into consideration the moral and legal obligations of the states, at least those which are signatories of the international conventions, to receive asylum seekers and refugees. The case of South Africa reveals that when such obligations are in conflict with national sovereignty and security, the former are

to loose the fight. In addition, special attention should be paid to the historical reasons for political instability and coup d'état, which are now generating social instability and limitations to personal freedom. Violence will never lead to a better civilisation. On the contrary, the worsening of living conditions and lack of security brought on by violence would push more people to seek safer places abroad. To this extent, there is a need to adopt an interdisciplinary perspective when dealing with forced migration and to acknowledge every party's specific responsibilities in order to assure the conditions for people to stay.

In the sixth session, the speakers underlined that the phenomenon of forced migration in Africa is a *locus theologicus*, a space for God's revelation today and a sign of the times. Such revelation refers directly to the claims of the pilgrim people of God, the cry of the poor, the lamentation of the exiled. Forced migration is a *locus theologicus* because it is a human tragedy that requires redemption, liberation and salvation. The example of Abraham and Lot (Gen. 13) shows how differences are "genetic" to humankind. They should not be erased, but they cannot be a reason for conflict. When people grow, separation is necessary in order not to enter into conflict. They have to take a different path and settle in different lands, like Abraham and Lot. However, the lands where the two patriarchs settle are not their own properties, they are a gift from God to be looked after. The agreement between human beings is more important then the borders. Mutual respect for the other's place avoids any conflict. Finally, the complex situation of forced migrants in Africa is calling the Church to be a real agent of reconciliation, a promoter of hope. Such promotion starts from home: Catholics must reconcile among themselves beyond borders, nationality and historical claims.

In the seventh session, the speakers stated that in response to the challenges of migration and asylum in Africa, the local Catholic churches have to work in a spirit of solidarity, using all their means, agents and structures, to cater to the brothers and sisters on the move. The same churches have also to engage government and international organisations in this missionary endeavor. Discrimination and abuse towards refugees is widespread globally, as well as in Africa particularly. The Catholic Church should fully advocate and lobby towards a better protection for asylum seekers and refugees and, above all, the eradication of the causes of forced displacement.

In the eighth session, participants again broke into eight small groups, according to language proficiency, to envision pastoral responses to the challenges

posed by conflicts and forced migration in Africa. These workshop discussions highlighted some significant points. Migration has a positive impact on development or, at least, a development potential to be unleashed. Nonetheless, more attention should be paid towards the costs entailed in the migration experience. With regards to the complex phenomenon of human mobility, the Catholic Church needs to know, judge and act. Migration should not be promoted nor stopped, but should be truly free, informed, assisted and governed. The right to migrate should never obfuscate the right not to migrate, i.e. the right to be provided the necessary conditions for a dignified and fulfilling life in one's own country. There is an urgent need for more cooperation between churches of origin and churches of arrival in order to assist migrants, asylum seekers and refugees more properly and efficiently.

Bio-sketches

Editors

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Today human mobility in Africa poses serious challenges to the Catholic Church, whose doors are often those knocked daily by migrants and refugees, seeking material and spiritual answers to their plight. The Church is called to promote a different perspective, where asylum, displacement and migration become a component of dialogue among cultures and societies, and where people on the move are viewed as fellow human beings. To such extent, the *Association des Conférences Episcopales de la Région Afrique Centrale* (ACERAC), in cooperation with the *Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar* (SECAM) and the *Scalabrini International Migration Institute* (SIMI) organized and held an international conference on the theology of human mobility in Brazzaville (Republic of Congo) on 21-23 January 2016. This book presents the proceedings of the conference. It aims at contributing to the theological reflection on the phenomenon of human mobility from the African perspective and promoting pastoral cooperation between local Churches in the sending, transit and receiving countries.

