Interlinkages between migration and inequality in Africa: review of contemporary studies

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Abstract

In recent times, migration and inequality have become topical issues of global attention. In the Sustainable Development Goals, Goal number 10 focuses on tackling inequality with indicator 10.7 speaking to facilitation of safe, orderly, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people. Few studies show that migration and inequality are interlinked; yet, others show that migration is an outcome of inequality. To the contrary, others argue that migration triggers inequality in the sending areas, due to increased flows of remittances sent by migrants to their areas of origin. The differential conclusions are attributed to varied methodological approaches used and the dimension of inequality investigated.

This article seeks to contribute to this knowledge gap by highlighting the scholarly work on migration and inequality in Africa, challenges encountered, as well as laying to bare the key findings. The review was done using desk review of published cases of studies done on migration and inequality in Africa.

The review finds that most studies in Africa rely on census and survey data and mostly focused on nexus between economic inequality and migration, thus ignoring other social inequalities. None of the studies look at the drivers of internal and international migration and how these impact on inequality.

The study recommends investigation of the nexus between non-income inequalities and migration as well as unpacking the contextual factors behind inequality and migration using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Additionally, increase in the number of country case studies to improve the body of knowledge on this subject.

Key words: #migration #inequality #Africa

1. Introduction

Migration and inequality are twin issues that have occupied global governance and humanitarian discourse in the recent years with the western countries focusing on governance of migration, and large programs put in place to improve coordination and policy response (see for example the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development[i] (KNOMAD). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reflect the shifting global concerns on unsustainable development and rising inequality with Goal 10 dealing with reducing inequality within and between countries. Tracking progress on SDG Goal 10 requires an assessment of the interphase between migration and inequalities in the world.

Conceptually, there is no standard definition of inequality although different scholars agree that it has to do with differences in access to opportunities and outcomes in each population. McKay (2002) describes 'Inequality' as 'concerning variations in living standards across a whole population'. Inequality is a multidimensional concept but there is vast literature on economic inequality compared to any other dimensions of inequality. Economists define economic inequality as 'the fundamental disparity that permits one individual certain material choices, while denying another individual those very same choices (Ray, 2008). Spatial inequality, defined as inequality in economic and social indicators of wellbeing across geographical units within a country, is also more common in literature (Kanbur & Venables, 2005).

Studies on migration and inequality mostly rely on longitudinal studies that compare circumstances in the origin areas before and after migration. Such studies rely on data that highlights the migration patterns on the one hand and the household livelihood structure over time, thus capturing the determinants and impact of migration. The emerging thesis from studies done on migration and inequality has been on the impact or effect of remittances on economic inequality, where remittances are used as the proxy indicator for migration. Such studies have focused on how remittances sent by migrants improve household welfare in the sending communities, increasing income inequality between migrant and non-migrant households. The nature of such studies has varied methodologically, with some conceptualizing remittances as an exogenous source of income, and thus, measure how inequality in sending areas arises between households which have migrants and those that do not have migrants; while others simulate a counterfactual argument, where a society is compared with the contribution of income from remittances and compared with a different scenario where remittances do not exist. Little focus has been on effect of other dimensions of inequality on migration.

For such impact assessments, stronger results have been yielded from international migration and the effect on local sending communities compared to internal migration impacts. A quick review of such studies shows that most of the global scholarly discourse has been done using data from developing nations including the US-Mexico migration, China, and Global North to South pathways, but fewer have been done in Africa which boasts large intra-continental migratory flows. This paper reviews existing literature of studies on migration and inequality in Africa in order to understand how those studies were designed and conducted, which methodologies were employed and how applicable were they to the local context, and finally, determine the key findings on the relation between migration and inequality in the different countries.

The review uses online resources and publications that feature articles investigating migration and inequality in Africa mostly from Google Scholar and online searches, although a cautionary note is made that few studies in Africa may be found in the international journals, prompting some researchers to conclude that there is inequality of global academic knowledge production (Wight, D, 2008; Mouton, 2010; Collyer, 2018; Medie and Kang, 2018).

The paper is organized as follows, in the next section the justification for doing this review is presented. Section 3 provides the review methodology, while section 4 presents the theoretical perspectives of migration and inequality. Section 5 elucidates the established mechanisms through which migration and inequality are interrelated, while section 6 provides the review of African studies indicating the data sources, analytical approach and major findings. Section 7 provides a synthesis of the emerging issues from the earlier sections, while the last section provides conclusions and recommendations on studying migration and inequality in Africa.

2. Rationale

The choice of reviewing African based studies separately from the Western and other regions is aimed at highlighting the uniqueness of the inequality structure, discourse, policy response and methodological issues that may face researchers based in Africa due its geopolitical state. As the world moves towards monitoring trends on the SDG goals, there is need to show evidence of the impact of migration on inequality in the Global South using case studies from the continent to inform policy discourse and programmatic interventions as necessary.

3. Methodology

This review used secondary data obtained from an online search for studies done in Africa using the Google Scholar search tool. For any studies that were found, a rigorous review was undertaken specifically focused on identifying the theoretical basis, data sources, methodological approach and key findings.

4. Theoretical perspectives on migration and inequality nexus

Migration and inequality are multidimensional concepts that have been studied over the years and theoretical formulations have been made to better understand these phenomena. Migration is one is founded on various theoretical dispensations that describe the patterns, motivations, choices and outcomes of human mobility. Inequality on the other hand has been associated with human welfare as economic development occurs, therefore focusing on how resources are shared and distributed within and between societies. Few studies have theorized the link between migration and inequality though indirectly, as they investigated how migration and development are interrelated on one hand, and how development and inequality are interrelated on the other.

Demographic theories have an impact on the understanding of the migration and inequality nexus, including the seminal work by the American Demographer, Frank Notestein who postulated the demographic transition theory (Notestein,1945) although, he left outmigration in this formulation. The theory describes the relationship between economic and demographic changes, with a focus on the changing dynamics of mortality and fertility as society grows, based on data from the Western world. A huge criticism of the theory is that it left out the impact of migration transitions as societies develop over time, and the theory was based on experiences of the Western world which were quite different from the developing nations including Africa (Mabogunge,1970). Zelinsky (1971) offers an alternative proposal that links migration to the demographic transition theory, namely the *migration transition model* which describes mobility transitions as economic development progresses within countries. While still using data from western countries, he shows that migration typologies depend on a country's stage of development, concluding that the more developed a country, the more complex the migration systems. Zelinsky has been criticized for ignoring the effects of spatio-temporal changes that occur in societies and which may impact migratory behavior, especially the improvements in transport and communications infrastructure (Skeldon,1990 and De Haas, 2007).

The Migration systems theory pioneered by Mabogunje (1970) identifies a migration system as comprising of places linked by flows and counterflows of people, goods, information, which increases likelihood for migration between such systems. The theory was based on the observations of rural to urban migration in Africa and argues that transition of migrants from rural to urban subsystems results in a complete transformation of their social and other attributes.

Other major theories of migration focus on two levels, the micro and the macro analysis of migration although the motivations cater for both international as well as internal migration. Micro theories focus on the individual factors influencing migration and include the *Human Capital* theory (Lee, 1966) that posits that international migration depends on the individual attributes including age, sex, educational level and skills, competencies, marital status, previous experience as well as risk taking spirit. The *Push and Pull* model postulates that people move from their origin areas due to 'push factors' that drive them away and move into their destination areas due to 'pull factors' that attract them, but the main flows are fueled by wage differentials between nations which perpetuates the migration flows, hence international migration will stop once wages are equalized between nations.

The *Cumulative Causation* theory postulated by Myrdal (1957) and later modified by Massey (Massey, 1990; Massey et al, 1994; Massey and Zenteno,1999) focuses on explaining the self-perpetuating nature of migration, with the proponents arguing that migration motivations are different and each migration experience alters the social contexts in which each occurred. This has been corroborated by the *Dual Market Economy* theory (Priore, 1979) who posits that as countries develop, they have two coexisting economic models, the capital-intensive primary sectors which offer well-paying jobs and high wages, and the labor-intensive sectors which have low wages unskilled labor. Thus, migrants move to the regions with higher skills and higher wages, prompting migration of educated and skilled members of the society compared to the immobility of their uneducated counterparts. The Social Network Theory focuses on the role that migrant networks play in sustaining flows of people, goods and services between two migration connected systems.

Macro level theories explain migration motivation at the national and global levels. The *Neoclassical theory* that argues that migrants move from regions with low wages to those of higher wages by considering the cost-benefit of migrating. The theory argues that when wage differentials between regions in a country are reduced, then migration levels also reduce, thus migration is seen as an equalizing factor for rural-urban migration. Critics have pointed out that migration seems to continue even when there are no economic benefits or job opportunities available in the urban areas thus, they argue that it is not only economic considerations that make individuals move. The *New Economics of Migration* theory (Taylor, 1999) shifts focus from individual migrant decisions to migrant households or families, where migration is seen as a household survival strategy. Migrants both local and international, are seen to move based on the strategic decisions their households make when faced with economic shocks such as poor harvests, harsh weather conditions.

World Systems theory conceptualizes the world as a capitalist system and that international migration systems comprise of sets of countries linked by flows and counterflows of migrants who share historical, cultural, colonial and technological linkages (Fawcett and Arnold,1987). Additionally, the migration system is also context specific, depending on the social, political, demographic or economic contexts (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992). Brown and Sanders (1981) criticizes earlier theories of migration and development owing to their description of development and mobility patterns of the Western nations and recommend that migration theories need to be grounded in the social contexts and structural realities of different countries.

De Haan (2000: p5) cautions that migration is a social process determined by social context and guided by social norms and structures some which include the household composition and social networks which play a huge role in determining who can migrate, as well as when and where opportunities exist. De Haas (2007) reformulated the mobility transition in a more integrated format which can simply be referred to as ‘migration transition’, and notes that it is impossible to envisage development without migration as migration is part of development. First, development is generally associated with higher overall levels of migration and mobility which arises because of increasing capabilities by loosening constraints on movement, increasing aspirations and increasing occupational specialization. Secondly, the relation between migration and broader development processes is fundamentally non-linear as development goes with shifting patterns of spatial opportunity differential; and third, societies tend to go through a sequence of internal and international migration transitions.

Development initially coincides with higher migration intensities (De Haas, 2007) since development motivates more people to migrate. Inequalities, defined as the variations in wellbeing between people or groups of people is a core outcome of development processes and the relationship between certain types of inequality, especially income inequality and migration may be moderated or mediated by other factors such as geography, socio cultural and demographic processes. Inequalities both reflect and amplify a constrained opportunity structure (Claire Melamed and Emma Samman, 2013). Black, et al (2005) argues that across different geographical, economic and social environments, the relationship between institution of migration and inequality is governed by access - who gets to migrate where - and the different opportunities that different types of migration stream offer.

De Haas (2010) identifies the two emerging dilemmas about migration and inequality, on the one hand, migration is linked to increased inequality because migrants tend to come from better off households, but the on the other hand, as more migration occurs, the sending areas lose out on the human capital as development gains leading to increased spatial inequalities between the sending and receiving areas. Owing to the contradiction inherent in some of the findings, De Haas (2010) proposes the need to conceptual the role of structural factors including the political, institutional, economic, social and cultural contexts within which migration occurs, as well as the role of agency, the real capacity of humans to overcome constraints and potentially reshape structure (p.241). Similar views have been articulated by other scholars such as Massey et al (1999) and Morawska (2007) who criticize theories that ignore human agency and how this interacts with state and other social structures to influence migration and inequality.

This complexity of the theorizing migration is elaborated by De Haas (2014) where he notes that ‘there is no central body of conceptual frameworks or theories on migration that can guide and be informed by empirical work’ (De Haas, 2014:6).

5. Mechanisms of Migration and Inequality

While migration and development nexus has received scholarly attention, there are few theories that guide the understanding of how migration and inequality influence each other. This section highlights global empirical studies that suggest mechanisms through which such influences occur.

Two schools of thought explain the mechanism of the migration and inequality interrelationship. First is a natural occurrence through the development process resulting in rising incomes in the urban areas leading to urban-rural disparities in wages and resulting in the increase in migration between urban and rural areas. Simon Kuznets postulated this in his seminal paper on economic development and inequality noting that at early stages of economic development, inequality increases with rising incomes, but as the level of per capita income increases, inequality reduces, leading to an inverted U-shape relationship between income inequality and economic development (Kuznets, 1955). This assertion has been criticized for focusing on the developed countries and not aligned to the realities of the developing world. An alternative mechanism is proposed by Lipton (1980) notes that inequalities within the origin area pushes out migration, hence individuals living in unequal settings tend to move out and remittances sent from migrants from rich households have a negative effect on the rural income distribution as it increases income inequality between migrant and non-migrant households. In the longer term as migration increases between rural and urban areas leading to a neutralizing effect on intrahousehold inequality in sending areas.

The effects of migration on inequality can be direct or indirect, with direct effects of migration on inequality associated with remittances sent to migrant households thereby changing their patterns of household expenditure and investments, while the indirect effect is through the 'multiplier effects' of such investments and changes in the labor market in sending communities (Mendola,2012). Some scholars argue that international migration reinforces spatial and interpersonal disparities in development in low income sending countries, from empirical studies in India, (Zachariah et al, 2001); in Mexico (Binford, 2003 and McKenzie and Rapoport, 2006), in Bangladesh (Rahman, 2000) and a comparative study of global data (Solimano, 2001). On the internal migration front, migration increased income inequality between migration and non-migrant household, in Nicaragua (Barham and Boucher, 1998); in Pakistan (Oberai and Singh, 1980) and in Kenya (Knowles and Anker, 1981). Not all studies find this increase in inequality as the effect depends on the migration history of the community and the role the remittances play compared to other income sources for the receiving household as found in Mexico (Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki, 1986); the relative deprivation of rural households before migration occurs (Stark and Taylor, 1991), and migrants costs, level of development and brain drain in the sending communities (Ebeke, 2011). Remittances also impact the wider community (Goldring and Durand, 1994).

Black et al (2005) in their study conclude that though migration-inequality relationship varies across space and time, there is need to specify the type of migration and dimension of inequality as different types of migration may have different effects on different types of inequality. Adams, et. al (2008) outline the two key methodological issues that arise when studying the impact of remittances on income inequality and which influence the resultant effect. If studies consider remittances as an exogeneous transfer from migrants then the key task is to determine how such remittances affect the overall distribution of income in the origin area (Gustafsson and Makonnen, 1993), while if they consider remittances as an extra source of income that the migrant would earn if they had not moved out, the task is to compute the changes in inequality in a counterfactual scenario where there is no migration and remittance and compare that with scenarios where there is migration and remittances with an input of the expected income that migrants would have earned if they stayed at home (Adams et al, 2005 & 2008).

6. Review of studies in Africa

This section reviews the contemporary studies in Africa and highlight the conceptualization of the subject, data sources, methodological approach, and mechanisms through which migration and inequality are interrelated.

6.1 Conceptualization of migration and inequality

Conceptualization of a migrant has differed in various studies conducted in Africa with those based on census data defining a migrant as a person who has changed the 'usual place of residence' at least once during the migration interval, which is one year before the census, while other studies such as the World Bank African Migration project, define a migrant as a person who used to the live in a household in the country, for at least six months, but left before the interview to live abroad (international migrant) or in another village or urban area within the country (internal migrant). This definition of a migrant can influence the outcome of analysis, with those making moves within a shorter period likely to inflate the number of migrants.

While migration is easy to measure, inequality presents a different conceptual challenge. Inequality is defined as the difference in social status, wealth or opportunity between people or groups[ii]. Inequality of outcomes is concerned with differences in overall living economic conditions including income, wealth, education and nutrition. Inequality of opportunity is concerned with differential access to opportunities by people living in the same community, and therefore the circumstances surrounding one's place of birth, their parental background, ethnicity and gender determine one's access to opportunities including where they go to school, what jobs they get and how economically successful they become.

Few analyses focus on exploring how the dimensions of inequality interrelate with the typologies of migration. Globally, studies looking at migration and inequality have focused on studying income inequality measured using the Gini coefficient generated from the Lorenz curve (Morgan 1962). Such analysis requires availability of consumption data from households which is not captured in the census questionnaires, thus most African countries have used Small Area Estimation technique to generate values for subnational estimates (see SID/KNBS 2013 study in Kenya).

McKay (2002) proposes that inequality studies should explore other dimensions apart form income; explore inequality of opportunities an also of outcomes; explore within group- inequalities and explore the between-group inequalities, such as considering differences within households within communities, and explore the temporal variations of inequality. Few studies have considered all these suggestions but there has been a greater focus on income inequality by economists. An improvement in measuring inequality when income and expenditure data is unavailable in surveys or census is proposed by McKenzie (2005), where the relative measure of 'inequality in living standards' (I), is derived using asset indicators. McKenzie's proposed method is useful when there is lack of information on household income and consumption, and therefore data on household infrastructure, building materials and assets, especially durable assets, is used to measure inequality in living standards as shown in studies the Latin America Migration Surveys[iii]where questions are asked about household assets.

6.2 Data sources

Studies on migration and inequality in Africa have relied on three key data sources: the decennial population and housing census which include modules on migration; specialist household surveys capturing in-depth information about migrants and migration processes, and ethnographic studies carried out among small samples of the population. Census data contains information on migration although they have limited information on household economic status save for asset indicators captured in the census questionnaire. The census data captures two types of data, the migration *event* where information is collected /about an individual capturing all the moves they make across time and space, and the migration *transition* where information is collected about who moved, when and where to, the kind of information collected in the national census. An obvious weakness of migration transition measure is that it fails to capture repeat moves, returns or even deaths during the interphase. Migration data captured in the census relates to the place of current residence, how long an individual has lived in such residence, any previous migration, place of birth and place of current renumeration, while reasons and motivations for migration are largely uncaptured.

Survey data provides alternative data for migration analysis and has been used in two ways: first, through sample survey of geographical areas where data is collected from key populations in regions with long migration history, while the second through the use of Specialist Surveys focused on collecting migration data while mirroring the format of the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS)[iv]. Specialist migration surveys provide a unique and rich data on the migration experience and migrant attributes which can be used to analyze migration trends including effect of remittances on household economies (Stark, 1988). In the early 90s, these had been conducted in only two countries namely Botswana[v] and Burkina Faso[vi] (Oucho and Gould (1993).

Survey data is however not standardized and comparable as noted in a review of 70 household surveys conducted between 1990 and 2006, (Plaza, et al, 2011). Most of the migration modules are different and incomparable across many African countries, with most surveys collecting information on migration history of all household members above 15 years of age, while others collecting information only from the Head of the Household[vii]. In addition, sections capturing migration data in these surveys are located differently, with some surveys putting this in a stand-alone section as identified in Cameroon[viii](2004), Gambia[ix] (1992), Guinea[x] (1994), Mali (1994); Rwanda[xi] (1998), and Uganda, 1993[xii]), or incorporating it into the other modules of the questionnaire such as literacy (Burkina Faso, 1998), education (Ivory Coast[xiii], 1998), and employment (Senegal[xiv], 1991).

The Migration and Remittances Household Survey conducted between 2009 and 2010 under the auspices of the African Migration and Remittance program (World Bank, 2011), captures demographic, social and economic characteristics of household including their migration history from three types of households, those with internal migrants, households with international migrants, and those without any migrants. The survey has been conducted in Burkina Faso, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda although coverage is limited, as they tend to sample only part of the total population. For example, the Kenya Migration Survey 2009 only covered only 17 out 69 districts.[xv] More recently, additional countries established specialist surveys including Egypt which carried out the Egypt Household International Migration Survey[xvi] (Egypt-HIMS) in 2013, as part of the Mediterranean Household International Migration Program.[xvii] The Egypt-HIMS provides detailed information on why, when, where and how migration has occurred.

Survey data has a challenge especially difficulty in sampling migrant households especially international migrants thus researchers rely on the use of national sampling frames to identify such households or use of remittance transfer data from mobile phones. A critical look at the gender dynamics of studies based on sample surveys, shows that some studies only featured male migrants especially those dealing with international migration. For example, in the study of migration and inequality in Egypt which only sampled male migrants, Adams (1989:47) notes that in rural Egypt, social tradition denied women in rural areas to work 'outside the home' by describing this as 'shameful', thus, there would have been fewer women in the study owing to such socio-cultural factors. To complement the census and survey data, other studies relied on qualitative methods to get insight of the impact of remittances on inequality with scholars using ethnographic techniques and use of focus group discussions to get more information (Lindley, 2017).

From the review of literature, survey data was the most common source of data for migration and inequality studies has been the use of specialist surveys. The findings also show that the research landscape in Africa has evolved from reliance on decennial census as the main data source for migration studies, to use of survey data and migration specialist surveys which provide a more comprehensive data source. The use of the World Bank Living Standards Survey to track migrants over the life course will revolutionize this discourse in the long term, although limited as they only track the household head (De Brauw and Lee, 2014).

6.3 Analytical approach

The common focus of the studies on migration and inequality has been on the impact of remittances on sending communities, yielding conflicting findings in different scenarios acknowledged in other similar global studies and attributed to methodological Adams et. al (2008). The impact of remittances on inequality depends on the conceptualization of remittances, either as extra source of household income or exogenous transfer from migrants. For the first case of remittances as exogenous income, the key task is to determine how such remittances affect the overall distribution of income in the origin area (Gustafsson and Makonnen, 1993). For the second case, the task is computing the changes in inequality in a counterfactual scenario where there is no migration and remittance and compare that with scenarios where there is migration and remittances with an input of the expected income that migrants would have earned if they stayed at home (Adams et al, 2005 & 2008).

The effect of migration on inequality can be determined the quantile regression technique (Koenker and Basset, 1978), a technique useful for accounting for heterogeneity in the data. The instrumental variable quantile regression (IVQR) improves on the quantile regression and is used to study the effects for a small number of endogenous variables (Chernozhukov and Hansen (2006). The methodology has been applied in several studies including Bang et al (2019) who applies it to Kenyan data to determine the distributional effects of remittances on household expenditure, arguing that the method takes into account the endogeneity in two key processes, the decision to migrate and decision to send remittances. Thus, the reason that some studies find remittances increasing inequality may be because they did not factor selectivity of migration, where richer households have higher opportunities to migrate compared to poorer households.

6.4 Key findings from empirical studies

Studies in Africa have given conflicting findings on the impact of remittances on inequality, but this is attributed to the methodology adopted. Most of the studies reviewed only considered effect of remittances on income inequality in sending communities.

In Kenya, Bang et al (2016) use the instrumental variable quantile regression model to explore the distributional impact of remittances on inequality data from the Kenya Migration Household Survey (2009)[xviii] and findings show that remittances increase household expenditure across all the expenditure distribution but have a bigger impact on poorer households. Earlier studies that showed that remittances increase income inequality in rural migrant households (Hoddinott,1992 &1992), although Knowles and Anker (1981) find a weaker link, as they argue that remittances depend on the household socio economic background including level of education and income, urban residence, migrant status and ownership of house in rural area and household dependents living elsewhere from the migrant. Wakajummah (1986) finds that land inequality increases out migration to urban areas, resulting in higher urban income inequality (Oyvat and Mwangi, 2017).

In Botswana, Lucas and Stark, (1985), confirm that rural migrant households demonstrated higher income inequality than non-migrant households when they received remittances. In Somaliland, Lindley (2007) in a study using ethnographic techniques finds that families in Hargeisa, who are living in a fragile political setting can improve their welfare status including education using remittances which benefit not only the migrant household but the wider community as well.

In Ethiopia De brauw, et. al (2013) use the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey measure the impact of migration on household welfare by comparing migrant and non-migrant households and find that consumption per capita increases for migrants, implying there is improved wellbeing. Beyene (2014) finds no significant impact on inequality from remittances for Ethiopia when comparing actual and counterfactual scenarios with remittances. In contrast, Andersson (2014) finds a considerable positive impact of remittances to rural household welfare when he looks at impact of remittances on household welfare in Ethiopia using the household subjective economic wellbeing.

Several studies have looked at the impact of remittances on inequality comparing international versus domestic remittances and findings show that international remittances increase inequality in sending communities, but the domestic remittances were more likely to benefit the poor than international remittances. This has been confirmed in Burkina Faso, where remittances from within Africa reduced inequalities for communities, but intercontinental remittances increased inequality. In Nigeria, domestic remittances received from internal migrants improve household incomes and reduce income inequalities between migrant and non-migrant households (Chiwuzulum et al, 2010). Fonta (2011) confirms that remittances reduce income inequality mostly in urban areas compared to rural areas of Nigeria, while Olowa et. al, (2013) shows that remittances, both domestic (within Nigeria) and foreign (other countries outside Nigeria and Africa), reduce poverty and inequality in rural households.

Adam et al (1989) confirms that workers remittances have a negative effect on the income distribution in rural Egypt benefitting only the wealthier households which were more likely to have migrants and conclude that this raises income inequality between the poor and wealthier households in rural Egypt. McCormick and Wahba (2013) attribute rising rural-urban inequalities to returnee international migrants who are more likely to settle and invest in urban areas than rural areas of Egypt. Arouri and Nguyen (2018) find that migrants in rural Egypt are more likely to move to areas of high asset and high-income inequality.

Quartey (2006) uses data from the Ghana Living Standards Survey and finds that 1 per cent increase in the flow of remittances improves the household welfare by 0.23 per cent (Quartey, 2006:23). Comparatively, Adams et al, (2008) using an innovative methodology that considers the sources of remittances and analyses their effect on income distribution in Ghana, confirms that international remittances increase income inequalities more than domestic remittances, while rural households are more likely to access domestic remittances than international remittances.

Elsewhere, Anyanwu (2011) looks at the impact of migrant remittances on income inequality in African countries using panel data for the period 1960-2006 and establishes that remittances have a significant positive impact on income inequality in African countries, although remittances to the North Africa regions fuels higher income inequality while the reverse is true for Sub Saharan Africa.

7. Discussion

This paper has presented summary of key studies on migration and inequality in Africa citing various empirical studies done in the region. The findings show that the World Bank sponsored studies in several countries including Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Uganda and Senegal using data from the Migration and Remittances survey. These studies used econometric analysis of the effect of remittances on income and expenditures in sending communities. The surveys have complemented data on remittances for measuring the changes in household welfare in the long term. Additional studies relied on the Living Standards Measurement Survey and panel data available for various countries.

A key limitation of traditional data sources in supporting studies on migration and inequality is the unavailability of household welfare indicators to complement the migrant data collected in such censuses and surveys. The specialist surveys fill this gap by providing a platform with both consumption and expenditure data that tallies with migration data. This observation reinforces the notion that migration studies is not accompanied by data that induces perspectives of measuring inequality, thus adoption of multiple data sources would be highly recommended for such studies. Use of qualitative methods like ethnographic studies can fill this gap (Lindley,2007).

The studies look at both domestic and international remittances and findings show that international migration has a positive effect on inequality compared to internal migration, attributed to the higher income received through international remittances compared to domestic remittances. However, domestic remittances have a higher impact on poorer households whose welfare changes due to remittances according to most of the findings from the studies reviewed. What does not emerge from the studies conducted so far, is how the drivers of internal and international migration affect the impact on inequality.

Conceptualization of the ways in migration influences inequality and how inequality influences migration is limited although Arouri and Nguyen (*ibid*) have attempted to do this. The studies only focused on income inequality largely ignoring other possible background factors that could influence migration or inequality. Additional factors impacting effect of migration on remittances include the education level of the migrant and the migrant household relative deprivation (see Hoddinott 1992 & 1994 and Bang, 2016), or whether the household resides in an urban or rural setting and the level of asset ownership (Knowles and Anker, 1981; Adam et al, 1989).

In addition, most studies have not examined the role of human agency in understanding effects of migration on inequality, a criticism offered by Massey et al (1999), Morawska (2007) and De Haas (2010). There is need to expand the conceptualization of studies on migration and inequality to consider the differential impact of different migration patterns and their drivers.

8. Conclusion and Recommendation

From the emerging review of studies on migration and inequality in Africa, the findings show that income inequality was widely studied with little focus on non-income dimensions of inequality. There is need to expand research on other dimensions of inequality and how they influence and are influenced by migration. Few studies have considered the gendered dimensions that interrogate the differential impact of migration and inequality on household headship.

There is little evidence of ethnographic studies on migration and inequality where scholars rely on qualitative data, instead mostly use quantitative data. Majority of the studies have featured econometric analysis of effect of remittances on inequality without illuminating the contextual factors behind the household welfare changes.

The findings show that the research landscape in Africa has evolved from reliance on decennial census as the main data source for migration studies, to use of survey data and migration specialist surveys which provide a more comprehensive data source. Most studies used the World Bank database on migration and remittances which did not cover many countries in Africa and such database is now outdated, hence need to expand the database to include other countries especially in Northern and Southern Africa. Local surveys such as the Ethiopian Urban Socio- economic Survey (EUSS) need to be scaled and replicated to improve the data sources on migration and inequality.

Several recommendations can be made from this literature review. First, there is need to increase the database of migration and remittances studies to incorporate more countries for comparative analysis, and to increase such analysis to non-income inequalities including intergenerational, gender and spatial analysis. Further, there is need to unpack the contextual factors behind inequality and migration by adopting qualitative techniques to understand how inequality affects those who migrate and those who do not migrate.

Notes

i www.knomad.org/
[ii] According to Collins Dictionary
[iii] This include the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) and subsequent Latin American Migration Project (McKenzie, 2005: p2).
[iv] The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) Program has collected, analyzed, and disseminated accurate and representative data on population, health, HIV, and nutrition through more than 400 surveys in over 90 countries. www.dhsprogram.com
[v] National Migration Survey in Botswana ,1978-79
[vi] National Retrospective Survey in Burkina Faso,1974-75
[vii] This may be related to the Survey instructions with some asking respondents to identify the household head and then administer the survey questions to this Household head.
[viii] Cameroon Demographic and Health Survey 2004
ix The Gambia Household Survey 1992
x Guinea Household Survey 1994
xi Rwanda Integrated Housing Living Conditions Survey 1998
xii Uganda Integrated Household Survey 1992-1993
xiii Ivory Coast Demographic and Health Survey 1998-99
xiv Senegal Household Survey 1991
[xv] These include Embu, Garissa, Kakamega, Kiambu, Kilifi, Kisii, Lugari, Machakos, Malindi, Migori, Mombasa, Nairobi, Nakuru, Siaya, Thika, Vihiga, and Rachuonyo
[xvi] Egypt Household International Migration Survey is part of the Mediterranean Household International Migration Survey Program (MED-IHMS), a multi-agency funded initiative to improve migration governance in the Mediterranean region.
[xvii] Mediterranean International Household Migration Program was established in response to the migration crisis in Europe for the study of migrants and refugees who have crossed into Europe from the Mediterranean Sea.
[xviii] Kenya Migration Household Survey (2009) conducted by the World Bank and the University of Nairobi

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