

TOWARDS A NEW SOUTH-SOUTH MODEL: THE ROLE OF STATE POLICIES AND RELATIVE DEVELOPMENT LEVELS IN CHINESE MIGRATION TO ZAMBIA

HANNAH POSTEL

24 SEPTEMBER 2014

DEMIG CONFERENCE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

OVERVIEW

- **Hypothesis: Chinese migration to Zambia typifies a different nature of population flow from that addressed in the majority of migration theory; popular models merit expansion to include not only the archetype**
- **Migration theory: largely South-North.**
 - Relative development levels
 - State policies (entry, welfare)
 - Dual labor markets; migration systems
- **Data and methodology**
- **Immigration to Zambia**
- **Chinese migration to Zambia**
- **Conclusions and theoretical implications**

MIGRATION THEORY: OVERVIEW

- **Evolution of migration theory: DEMIG**
- **Dual labor markets (Piore)**
 - Employment factors drive migration; always demand for cheap immigrant labor at the “secondary” end of the labor market
 - Narrow yet can be expanded (Czaika – societal fractionalization)
- **Migration systems**
 - Origin and destination contexts and their relationships
 - Criticized as too broad

MIGRATION THEORY: GEOGRAPHY

- **Despite theoretical advances, geographical focus has not changed**
- **Migration archetype: low-skilled migration to high-income countries**
- **Relative development levels**
 - U.S. GNI 11x higher than average of top 10 migrant-sending countries
 - Often little state-provided welfare in origin; more in receiving
- **State policies**
 - Tending restrictionist (as regards low-skill migration)
 - At least rhetorical focus on border protection; stringent admission laws; combating “welfare migration”

SOUTH-SOUTH MIGRATION

- **Difficult to define**
- **UN 2013: 36% of global migrants (82.5 million) born and still reside in the global South**
- **Greater than any other migration pattern**
- **Relative development levels**
 - Less striking gap than in South-North
- **State policies**
 - Often more relaxed; if not in theory, in practice due to low enforcement capacity
 - 80% undocumented – contiguous borders and limited enforcement (Ratha and Shaw 2007)

DATA AND METHODOLOGY (1)



DATA AND METHODOLOGY (2)

- **Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)**
 - Designed by Migration Policy Group, 31 European countries
 - 148 policy indicators in 7 policy areas
 - Labor market mobility
 - Family reunion for third-country nationals
 - Education
 - Political participation
 - Long-term residence
 - Access to nationality
 - Anti-discrimination
 - In-person interviews with relevant government ministries
 - Coding: 0 vs. n/a

DATA AND METHODOLOGY (3)

		PERMIT NO.	FILE NO.	COMPANY NAME/ADDRESS.
QUAN	CHINA	019240	Z.0109/13	CHINA HENAN LTD
CHAO	"	019769	Z.0129/11	ZESCO
RING	"	019768	Z.0114/11	CHINA JIANGXI LTD
HENG	"	020966	Z.0314/13	SOGECOA (Z) LTD
ENG	"	0184126	Z.0385/08	NFC
IG	"	020954	Z.0219/09	CHINA GANSU
	"	020960	Z.0303/12	AVIC-INTL PROJECT
	"	020790	Z.0263/13	HUA CHANG (Z) LTD
N	"	019233	Z.0094/13	CHIBUKUMA
G	"	020758	Z.0266/13	MARINE CLEANING
	"	020763	Z.0267/13	ZDA - HENAN GUOJI
ALG	"	019235	Z.0124/13	GOLDEN HORSE ✓
FRG	"	019000	Z.0095/13	WAH KONG LTD
	"	018996	Z.0103/13	CHAMBISHI
	"	019347	Z.0050/13	CHINA CAMC LTD
	"	018972	Z.0051/09	ZESCO
	"	018961	Z.0052/09	NFC
	"	017415	Z.0009/13	KAISHENG AGRICULTURE
O	"	019008	Z.0112/13	SOGECOA (Z) LTD
ANG	"	020777	Z.0278/12	SEPCO (Z) LTD
IN	"	018101	Z.0394/08	ZHENG YUN MINING Co
	"	019228	Z.0055/11	WAHKONG ENTERPRISES
ING	"	020191	Z.0224/13	TANG JIANG
	"	019603	Z.0073/09	CHINA GEO
	"	019777	Z.0200/13	HUA JIANG INV. LTD
	"	020639	Z.0270/13	MADSHENG MINERAL

- Zambian Department of Immigration employment permits
- Stays over 30 days, up to 2 years
- Manually transcribed 25,000+ employment permits
- Country, company, location, occupation

DATA AND METHODOLOGY (4)

- **Weaknesses**

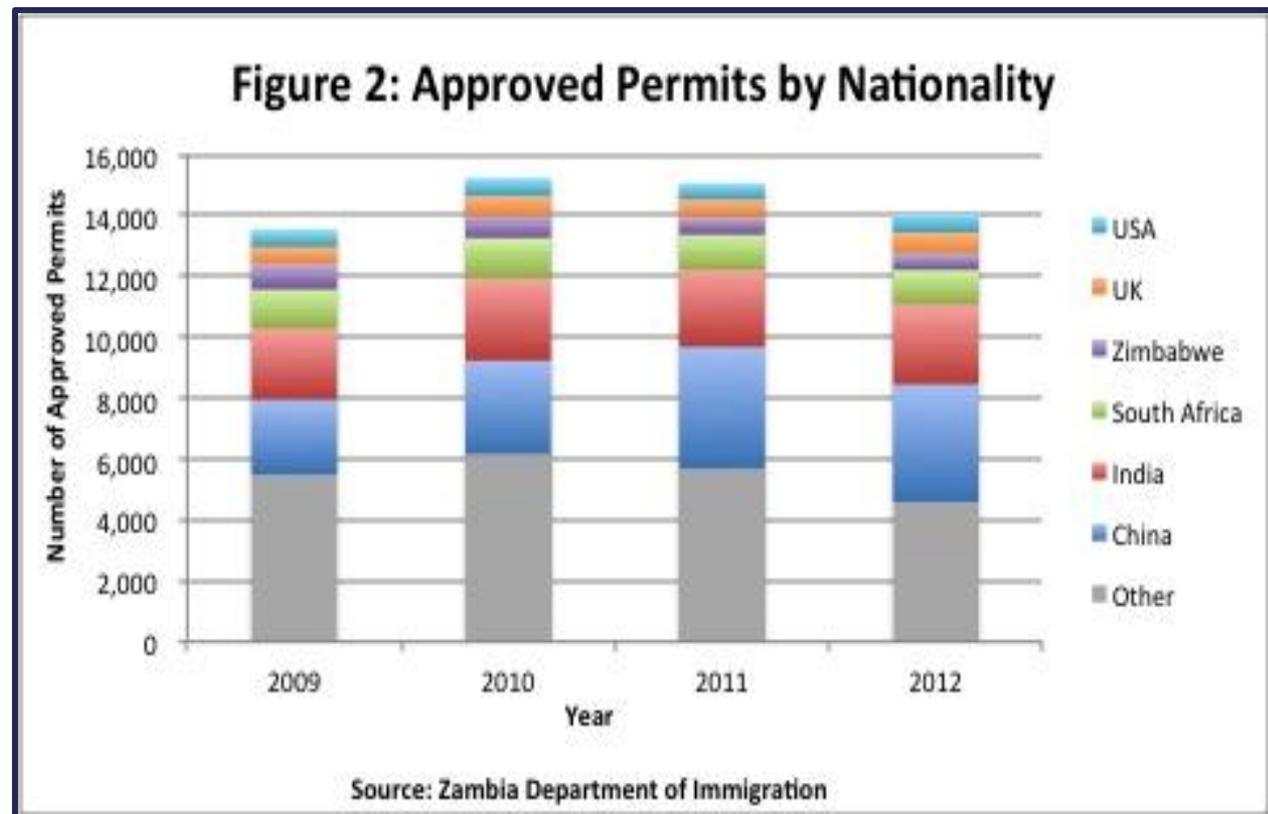
- Family members enter on same permit as permit-holder
 - No family reunion designation
 - One permit ≠ one person
- No way to determine length of stay
 - Extremely weak exit records
 - Permits vs. short-term visas indicate usually at least 6 month duration, but unable to determine exactly
- Permit renewals counted as new permits

ZAMBIAN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM: OVERVIEW

- **Very little specified policy**
- **Tenets:**
 - An immigrant to Zambia must have a contribution to make in form of skills, profession, or capital
 - An immigrant should not deprive a Zambian of employment
 - An immigrant should not be a charge on the state
 - An immigrant intending to settle in Zambia must be in possession of a permit
- **Investment/skill-seeking**
- **Does not intend to supply welfare**

ZAMBIAN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM: ACCESS

- Not a traditional migration destination; 141/167 HDI
- Only 5.8% of applicants denied admission over past 4 years
- Low total volume – approx. 17,000 work permit applications
- Diverse



ZAMBIAN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM: RELATIVE DEVELOPMENT LEVELS

Country	GNI per capita
China	6,560
India	1,570
South Africa	7,190
Zimbabwe	820
United Kingdom	39,110
United States	53,670
Zambia	1,480
Source: World Development Indicators	

ZAMBIAN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM: LENGTH OF STAY

- **Only qualitative due to weak exit records**
- **USA, UK: fixed-term work assignments, usually leave after 2 years**
- **South Africa, Zimbabwe, India: longer-term stays**
- **China: mixed**
- **Central, East Africa: mostly irregular, transit to South Africa**

ZAMBIAN IMMIGRATION SYSTEM: WELFARE

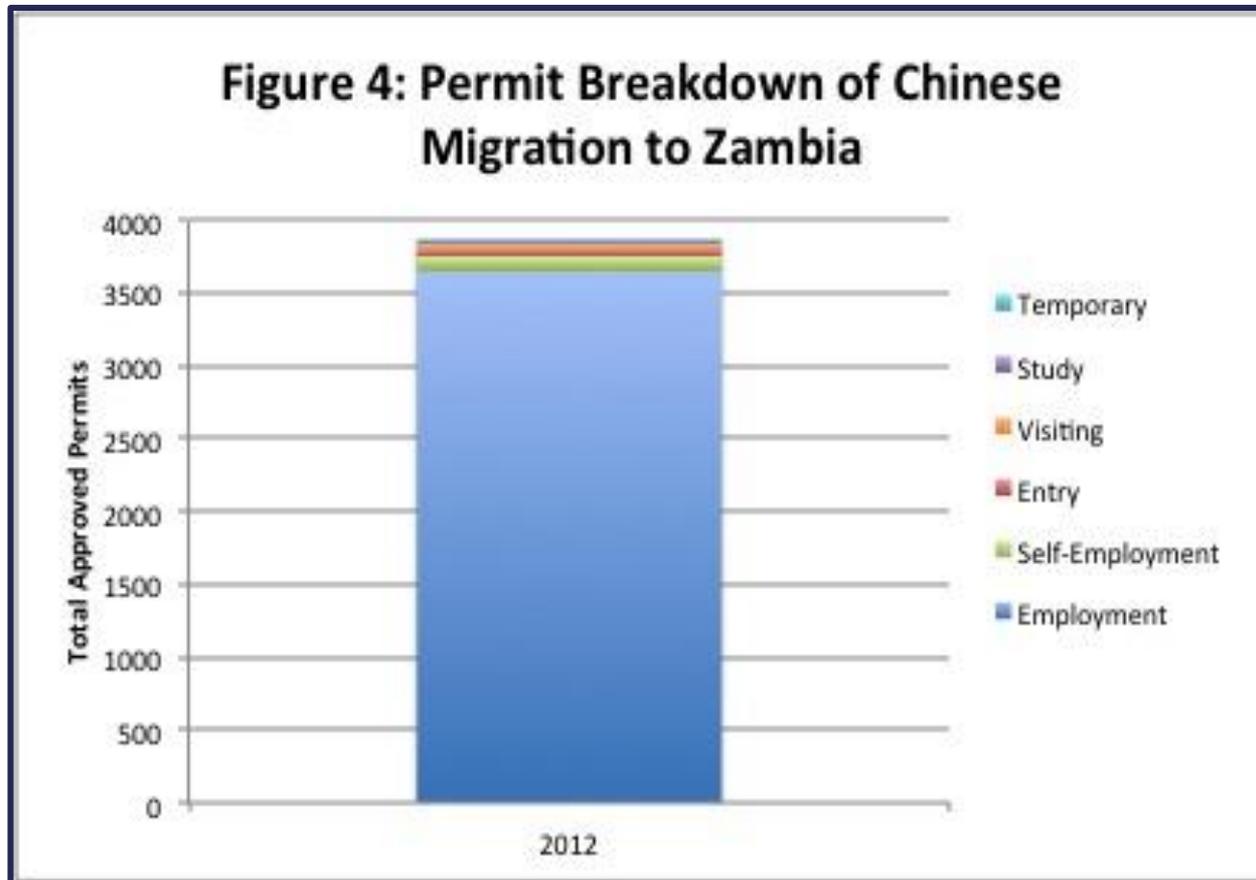
- **Explicit statement in immigration law**
- **Lack capacity to provide welfare to own citizens**
- **Relative development levels: most incoming migrants do not require government-provided social services**
- **MIPEX: designed for Europe**
 - Low score would indicate more stringent integration policies
 - Zambia: 29.55 out of 100; 37th of 38 if included
 - Mainly attributable to education and political participation
 - Immigration-specific policies on par with mid-level European countries
 - Does not indicate anti-immigrant sentiment; rather, different policy priorities and lack of resources

CHINESE MIGRATION TO ZAMBIA (1)

- **Zimbabwean, South African, British migrants virtually indistinguishable from local population – colonial ties, geography**
- **Long history of Indian migration**
- **Chinese – newer flow: more conspicuous, less assimilated**
- **China in Zambia**
 - First aid project, Special Economic Zone
 - FDI estimated over \$2 billion to date
 - Infrastructure – roads, power, water & sewerage
 - Mining
 - Construction
 - Manufacturing
 - Castles: “migrations are not an isolated phenomenon: movements of commodities and capital almost always give rise to movements of people.”

CHINESE MIGRATION TO ZAMBIA (2)

- Approximately one third of all approved employment permits; under 1% rejected in 2012
- Employment – main permit type



CHINESE MIGRATION TO ZAMBIA (3)

- **Employers**

- All Chinese-owned companies
- 55%: national or regional state-owned enterprises
- 20%: Zambian government ministry

- **Occupations (2012 dataset)**

- Managers: 25% of Chinese, 34% of total
- Also vague, possibly unskilled positions: multiple chefs for same company, “constructor”, “skilled worker” (20% of total)
 - Contrary to Zambian immigration policy
 - Lends credence to the stereotype that Chinese migrants take jobs away from native Zambians

- **China sending policy: tracks with global trends**

- Entry/exit reform, WTO accession, FOCAC 2008

CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

- **Migration to Zambia does not fit archetypal model**
 - Relative development levels: migrants offer managerial and sectoral expertise
 - Government policies: investment-seeking, not welfare state
- **Applications of current theory:**
 - Dual labor market theory in reverse
 - Immigrants fill “first tier,” natives fill “second tier”
 - Need for empirical evaluation of labor market structure
 - Migration systems theory
 - International labor markets (Massey et al)
 - Colonialism, political and economic ties
 - Broad can be good
- **No need for “separate but equal”; rather, broaden to encompass all types of population flows**

Thank you!

