



*The granary in flames:
Linking Russia's war in Ukraine with food
insecurity and migration in Africa*

University of Turin

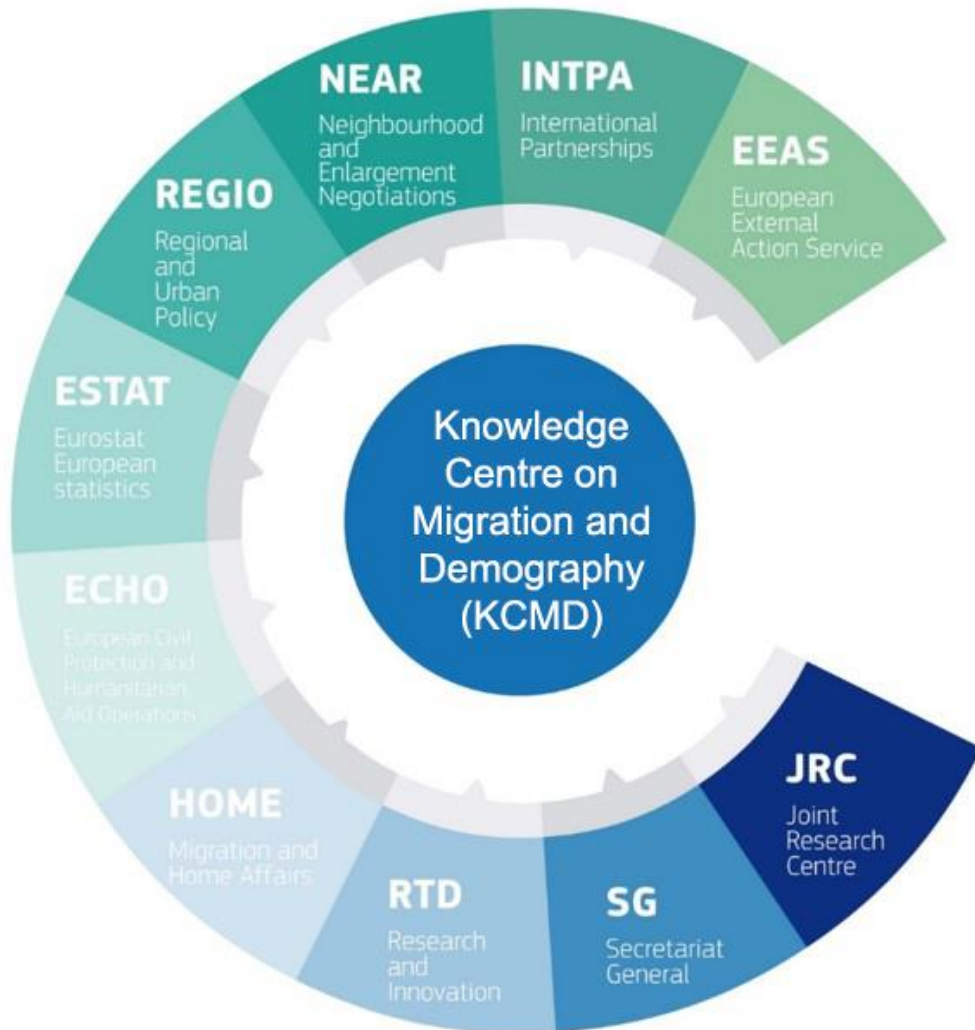
Sona KALANTARYAN

Joint Research Centre

European Commission

7 March 2023

Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography



Supports policymaking by independent scientific evidence for strengthening the Commission's response to the opportunities and challenges related to migration, demography and related policies.

Supporting Commission priorities:

- Promoting our European way of life
- A Stronger Europe in the world
- A New Push for European Democracy

Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography

A trusted knowledge broker with interdisciplinary research expertise

The KCMD:

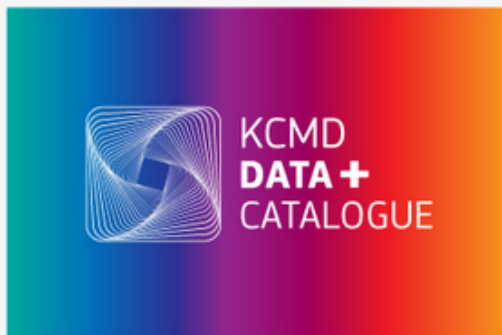
- manages and synthesises **existing knowledge**
- identifies **knowledge gaps**
- produces **new analyses**
- harnesses the **full potential** of non-traditional data sources

Current priorities:

- Data and Knowledge for Migration and Demography
- External Dimension of Migration (!)
- Demography and Democracy

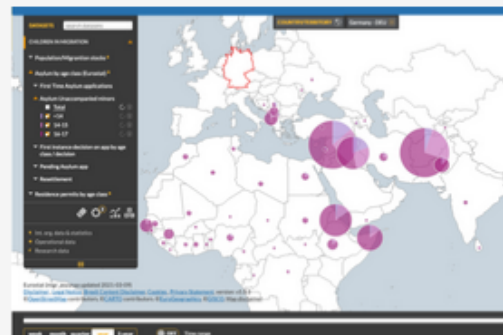


KCMD Knowledge Management Tools



Data+ catalogue

Discover data, web portals, stakeholders, networks and projects on migration and demography relevant to EU policies.



Dynamic Data Hub

Explore and analyse datasets relevant to migration and demography.



Atlas of Migration

Explore and visualise data on migration-related topics in 198 countries and territories worldwide.



Atlas of Demography

Explore demographic data, population projections and thematic demographic analyses at EU, national, regional and local level.

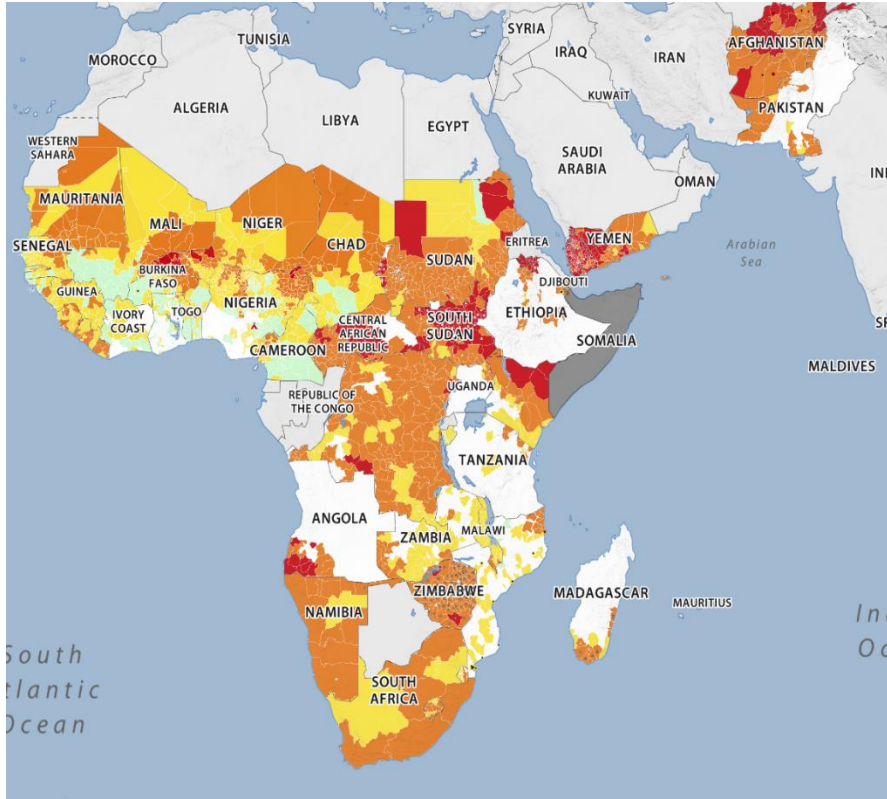
Africa related work in the EC's KCMD



What Russia's invasion of Ukraine means for food insecurity and migration in Africa

- Ukraine and Russia are important exporters of crucial commodities such as wheat and sunflower oil, and Russia is also the main exporter of agricultural fertilisers worldwide (FAO 2022).
- Much of Ukraine's agricultural land will be unharvested and crops will not be planted this year.
- The war caused rising food prices and shortages of staple crops in the Near East and North Africa region, spreading to the Horn of Africa (IFAD 2022; FAO 2022).
- Global fertilizer prices increased by 30% since the start of 2022 (WB 2022).
- Africa's economic outlook is being hit hard by large rises in food and fuel prices (IMF 2022).
- Many countries in Africa are highly dependent on imports from Russia and Ukraine and a decline in fertilizer use could harm their own food production.
- Public statements from political representatives and international organisations have made a connection between food insecurity caused by the war and migration flows.

Definitions



IPC Map Key: Acute Food Insecurity

1 - Minimal 2 - Stressed 3 - Crisis 4 - Emergency 5 - Famine Famine Likely Areas with inadequate evidence Areas not analyzed

Disclaimer: The information shown on this map does not imply that the IPC and CH officially recognizes or endorses physical and political boundaries.

Source: IPC and Cadre Harmonisé*

*Cadre Harmonisé applies to countries in West Africa, the Sahel and Cameroon.

- **Food security:** ‘when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences or an active and healthy life’ (UNCSD 2011)
- **Food insecurity:** ‘when people do not have adequate physical, social or economic access to food’ (FAO 2003)

JRC’s contribution

JRC’s Knowledge Centre on Food and Nutrition Security provides scientific support to the EU’s contribution to ending hunger, achieving food security and improving nutrition.

The Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) has informed food security and nutrition analysis and decision-making by defining the severity and magnitude of food insecurity:

- acute food insecurity
- chronic food insecurity
- acute malnutrition

Mixed evidence on the relationship between food insecurity and migration

Food insecurity does not drive migration

- Food insecurity does not drive migration, it affects how many people wish to emigrate but does not result in more people actually making a journey (Laborde et al., 2017; Sadiddin et al. 2019).
- For those who intend to migrate, the likelihood of actually preparing to move decreases with the severity of food insecurity (Smith & Floro 2020)
- The probability of actually deciding to migrate internationally decreased as food insecurity worsened (Sadiddin et al. 2019)

Food insecurity can be a driver of migration

- Migration can be an adaptation strategy in contexts of food insecurity. For poor rural households, sending family members into cities to work in sectors other than agriculture reduces the risks of hunger (FAO IFAD IOM WFP 2018).
- People who have less food than the average for their country are more likely to migrate if their access to food worsens. People who have better access to food than the average for their country are less likely to emigrate if their situation worsens (Smith & Wesselbaum 2022).

It is complex

- There are multiple, inter-related factors which shape international migration.
- It is difficult, if not impossible, to identify a single variable which drives migration.
- Much depends on the severity of the particular crisis, the ability to adapt, and on the intentions, resources and capabilities available.

Afrobarometer survey questions on food insecurity and migration intentions

Question	Set of answers
Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough food to eat?	0. Never 1. Just once or twice 2. Several times 3. Many times 4. Always 9. Don't know // 8. Refused to answer
How much, if at all, have you considered to moving to another country to live?	0. Not at all 1. A little bit 2. Somewhat 3. A lot 8. Refused to answer // 9. Don't know/Haven't heard enough
How much planning or preparation have you done in order to move to another country to live?	0. You are not currently making any specific plans or preparations 1. You are planning to move in the next year or two but not yet making preparations 2. You are currently making preparations to move, like getting a visa 7. Not applicable // 8. Refused to answer // 9. Don't know/Haven't heard enough // 99. Not asked in the country

Going without enough food to eat over time

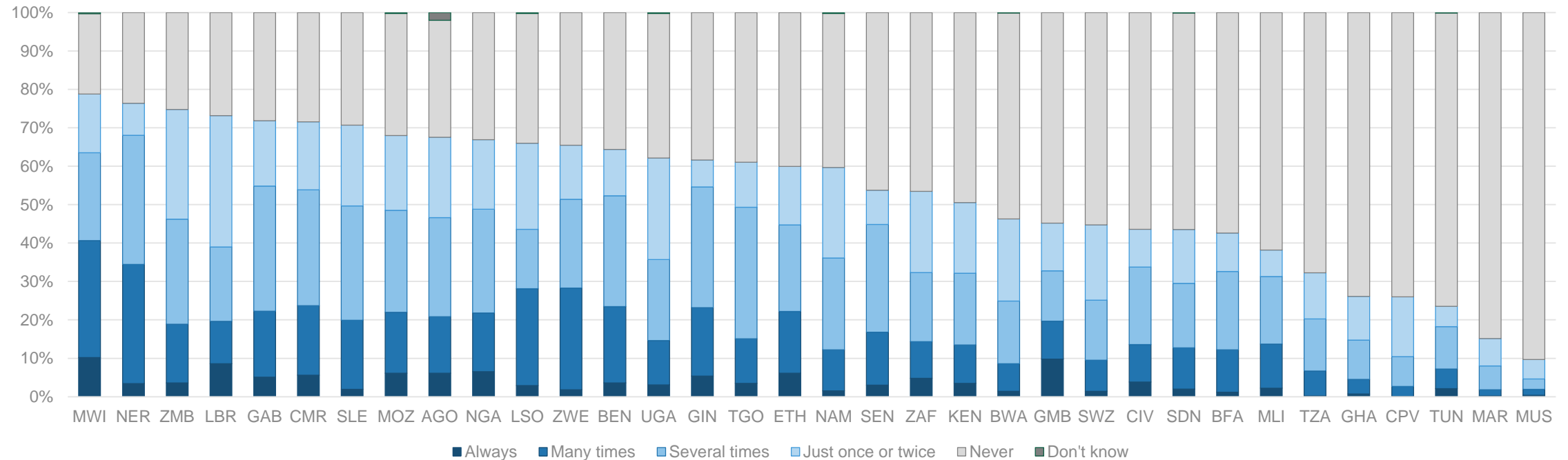
Frequency of going without food/period	Survey round		
	2014/2015	2016/2018	2019/2021
Never	54.8%	53.2%	47.7%
Just once or twice	14.3%	14.7%	15.8%
Several times	17.8%	18.4%	20.4%
Many times	10.5%	11.0%	12.6%
Always	2.4%	2.6%	3.4%
Don't know	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%
(N)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Afrobarometer Public Opinion Survey

Q: 'Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family: Gone without enough food to eat?'

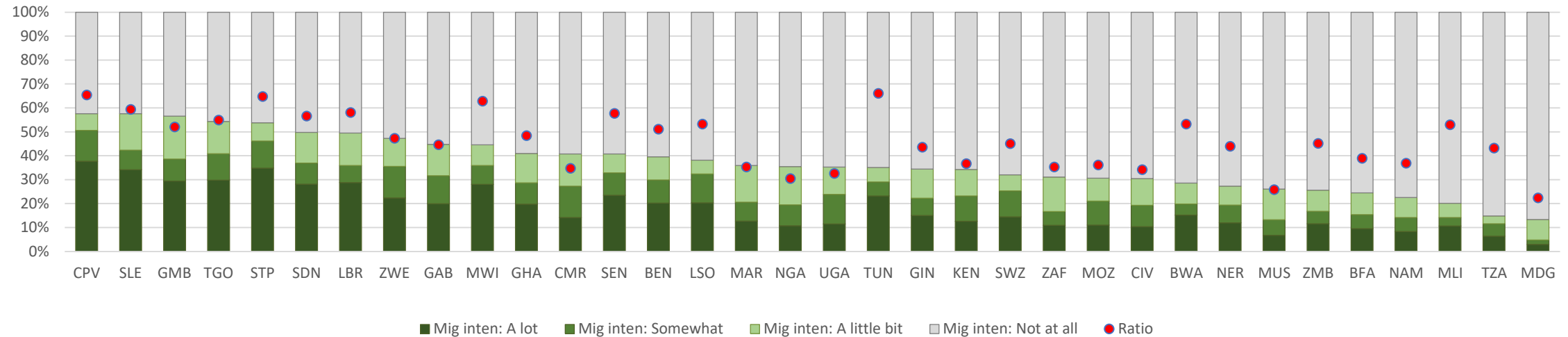
A: 'Never', 'Just once or twice', 'Several times', 'Many times', 'Always', 'Don't know' and 'Refused to answer'

People going without food (2019-2021)



- More than half of respondents in 21 countries (out of 34) reported going without food.
- Low (%): Mauritius (10%), Morocco (15%), Tunisia (23%), Cabo Verde (26%) and Ghana (26%).
- High (%): Malawi (79%), Niger (76%) and Zambia (75%).

Considering migrating (2016-2018)



- 37% were considering moving to another country || 11% plan || 3% prepare (e.g. applying for a visa)
- There are large variations across African countries
- Considering (Highest in Cabo Verde and Sierra Leone (57%) || Lowest in Madagascar (15%) and Tanzania (13%))
- Planning or preparing (Highest in Zimbabwe and Lesotho (7%) || Lowest in Tanzania and Madagascar (below 1%))
- Ratio = 'A lot' / (all three categories together). It shows the 'intensity' of desire to migrate.

Most likely continent for emigration (%) (2016-2018)

Destination (Continent)	Migration intentions phase		
	Considering	Planning	Preparation
Africa	31.7	31.5	35.1
Europe	30.3	32.0	30.7
North America	22.3	21.7	21.6
Other	13.1	13.0	11.6
Don't know / Refused to answer	2.6	1.7	1.0

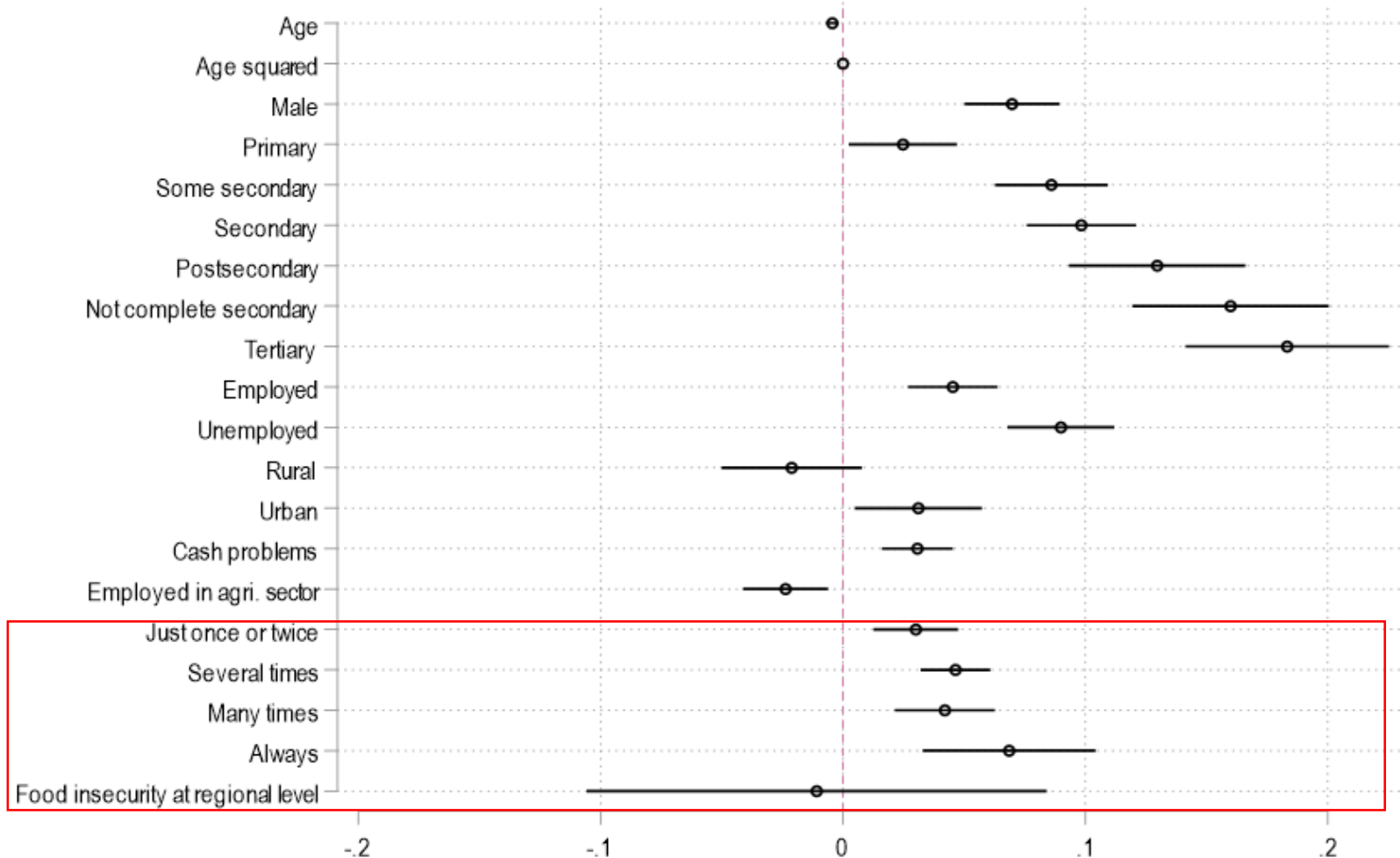
- 'Another country in Africa' is the most likely destination accounting for 32% of those who consider, and plan to migrate. It reaches 35 % among those planning to migrate.
- The share of those who consider Europe as the most likely destination is stable across the three groups – just above 30 percent of those who consider, plan or prepare to migrate.

Migration intentions by frequency of experiencing food shortages

	Frequency of going without enough food to eat					
Migration Intentions	Never	Just once or twice	Several times	Many times	Always	Total
Consider	0.36	0.39	0.38	0.35	0.38	0.37
Plan	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.11	0.11
Preparation	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.03

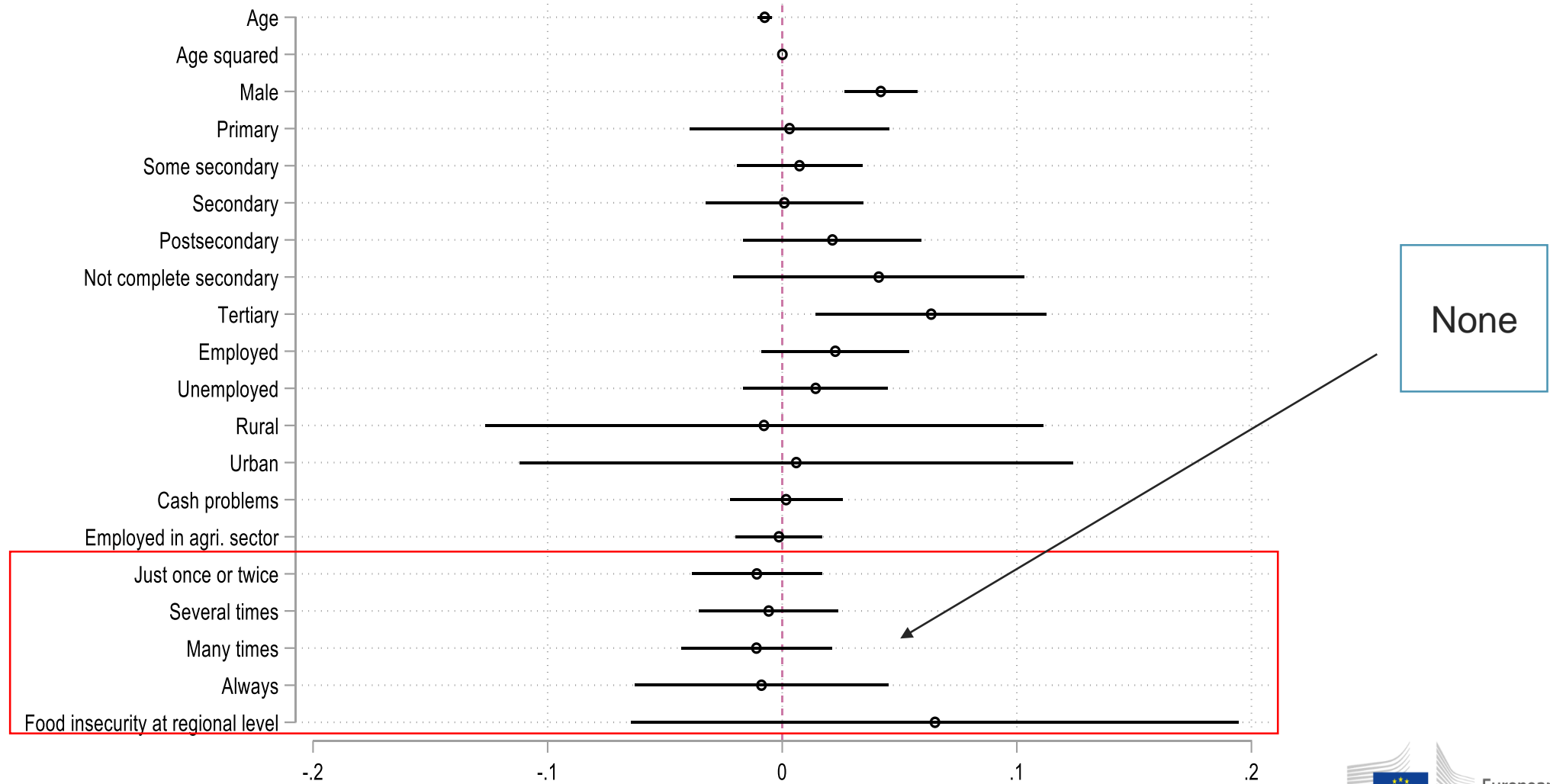
- Simple tabulation reveals little
- The solution is to apply more sophisticated statistical techniques
 - ✓ Multivariate regression analysis
 - ✓ Principal Component analysis

The relationship between food insecurity & migration intentions; Considering

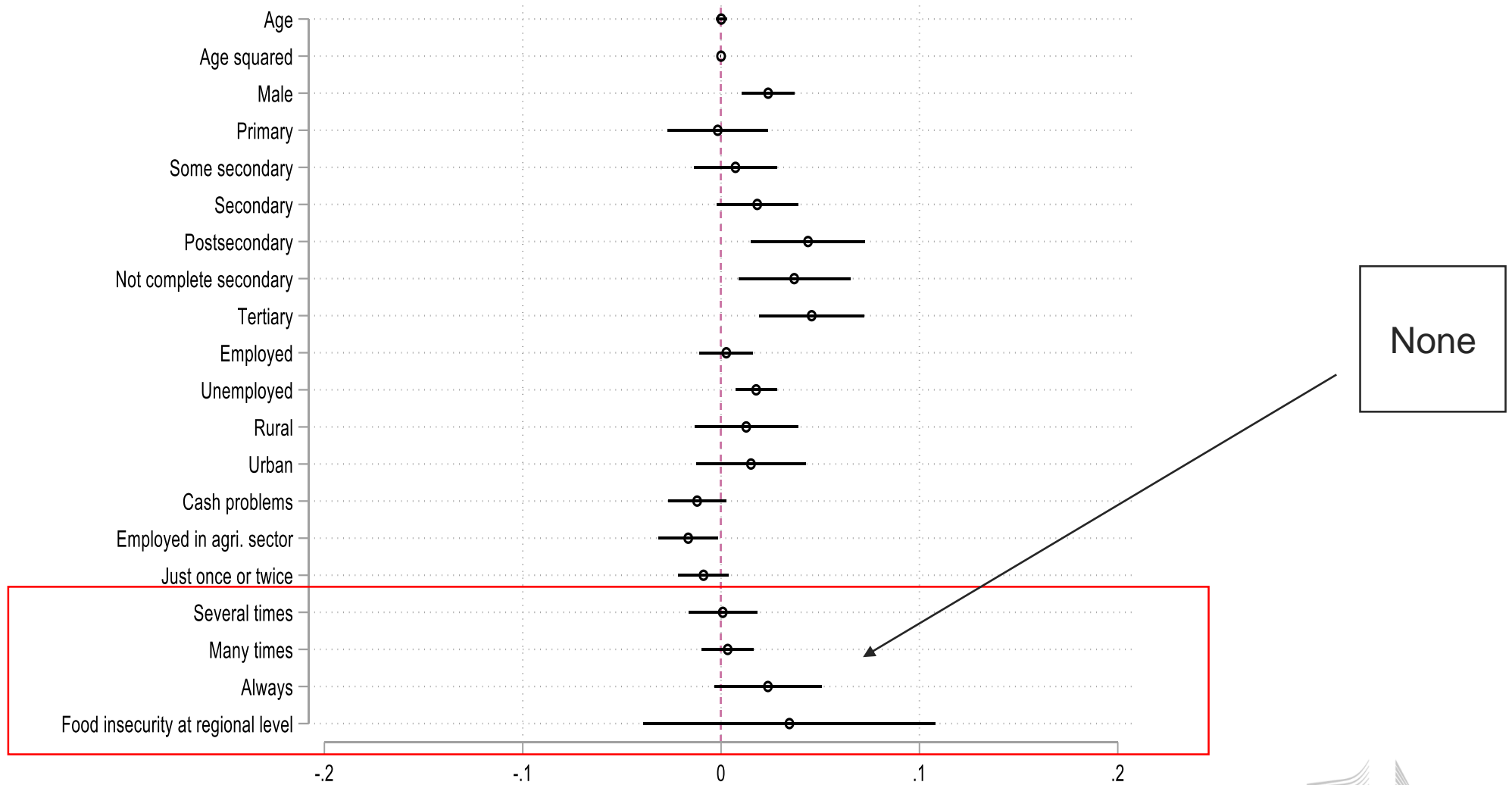


- Individuals considering migration are more likely to be
 - ✓ Young
 - ✓ Men
 - ✓ Reside in urban areas
 - ✓ Be active in the labour market
 - ✓ Employed outside agricultural sector
 - ✓ Have at least a primary-level education
- Having gone without food is positively associated with considering migrating.
- Higher frequency of going without food is associated with higher propensity to consider migration.

The relationship between food insecurity & migration intentions; Planning



The relationship between food insecurity & migration intentions: Preparing



Summary of results of multivariate regression analysis

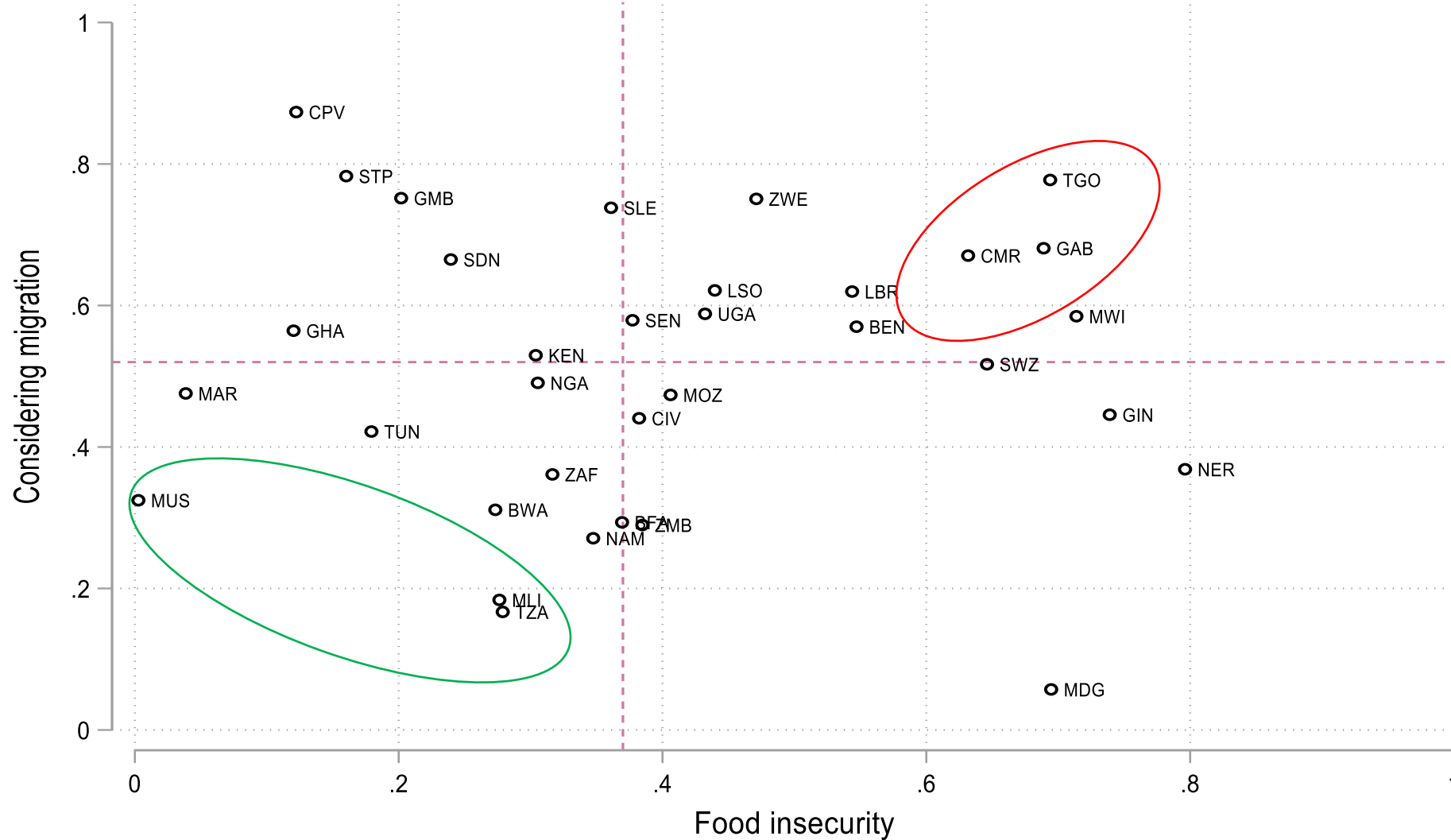
- Positive and statistically significant relationship between people reporting going without food and considering to migrate.
- More often an individual goes without food, then the more likely it is that they say they would consider moving.
- No statistically significant relationship between going without food and planning or preparing to migrate.
- Food insecurity does not make it more likely that people plan or prepare to make a move.
- It is likely that people would have to use the resources available to them for other adaptation strategies (such as purchasing or producing food), rather than funding a journey abroad.

Categorising countries with composite indicators

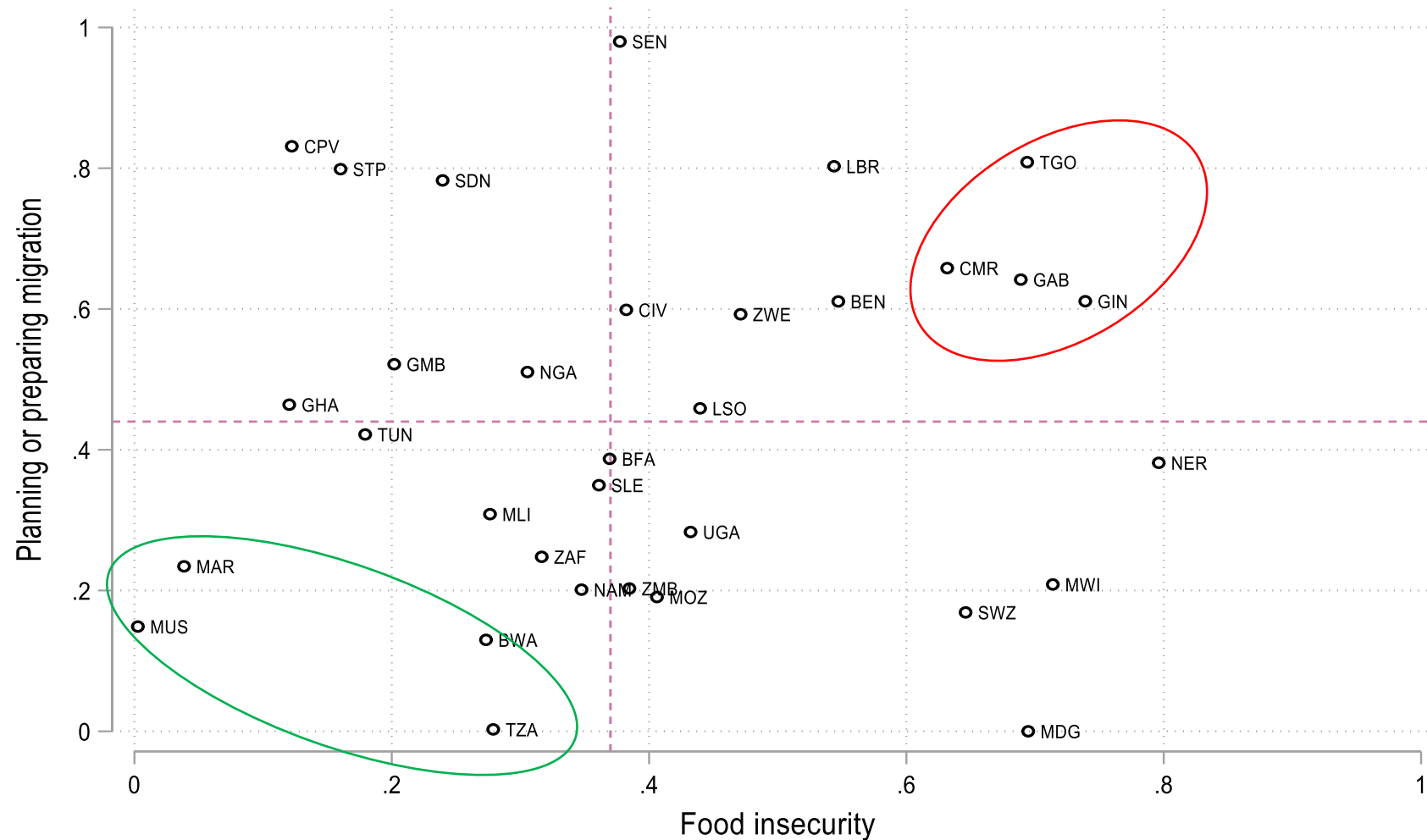
Composite indicator	Components
Food insecurity	Share of population gone without enough food to eat 'Several times' a year
	Share of population gone without enough food to eat 'Many times' a year
	Share of population gone without enough food to eat 'Always' a year
Considering migration	Share of population considered emigration to other country 'A little bit'
	Share of population considered emigration to other country 'Somewhat'
	Share of population considered emigration to other country 'A lot'
Planning or preparing migration	Share of population 'Planning to move in the next year or two but not yet making preparations'
	Share of population 'Currently making preparations to move'

- Composite indicators summarise complex realities as a single number they can be interpreted more easily than a battery of several indicators and allow for ranking countries across a range of values.
- Note: The obtained ranking is a function of the set of the underlying indicators and necessarily changes if the latter ones are modified (for instance, including share of those who see Europe as the potential destination).

Categorising (ranking) countries with composite indicators; Food insecurity vs Considering to migrate



Categorising (ranking) countries with composite indicators; Food insecurity vs Planning or preparing to migrate



Four identified groups of countries: High&High, High&Low, Low&High, Low&Low

Planning or preparing to migrate	High	Higher level of intention to migrate and lower level of food insecurity e.g. Cabo Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Sudan	Higher level of intention to migrate and higher level of food insecurity e.g. Guinea, Gabon, Togo
	Low	Lower level of intention to migration and lower level of food insecurity e.g. Tanzania, Morocco, Mauritius	Lower level of intention to migrate and higher level of food insecurity e.g. eSwatini, Madagascar, Malawi
		Low	High
		Food insecurity	

Case studies

Nigeria

- Migration in a context of food insecurity is a way of adapting when there are no other choices (e.g. the emigration of families during 1952 - 1953)
- No significant difference in long term migration (1972 -1973)
- Migration in a context of food insecurity is a strategic withdrawal to secure new income or assets elsewhere (e.g. temporary labour migration of the poor to close settlements during 1983 - 1985 famine)

Somalia

- Individuals and households have a range of ways of coping and adapting to a crisis (social connections).
- Migration of an individual or a whole family is often not the first choice.
- Migration is not inevitable during a famine but it does provide resources to those who stay as well as those who move (remittances).

Ethiopia (southern regions)

- Richer or poorer households respond to climate change and potential food insecurity.
- The poor most frequently turn to migration, and they tend to move temporarily to local destinations.
- The rich least frequently turn to migration as they adapt in other ways (can afford new tools, seeds).

Conclusions

- Caution and nuance is needed when considering migration in response to food insecurity.
- The analysis challenges suggestions that declining food security will necessarily lead to mass migration in Africa.
 - ✓ **There is no clear pattern relating food insecurity to migration intentions.**
 - ✓ **Going without food makes it less likely that people plan or prepare to emigrate.**
- **Food insecurity** or even a famine **do not automatically lead to mass migration.**
- **Migration is just one of many potential adaptation or coping strategies** in response to food insecurity.
- **Migration flows are shaped by multiple drivers** and while declining access to adequate food may lead to some people migrating, who moves and where depends on how a range of other factors as well.
- Whether food insecurity makes people migrate to another country depends on the severity of the particular crisis they face, their ability to adapt to it, and on the intentions, resources and capabilities available to them to migrate.
- **Many people will not be able to migrate**; they will need other ways to adapt to short-term pressures related to the war, in addition to ongoing long-term challenges of rising food prices, climate change and the Covid-19 pandemic.

Thank you

Please, contact us

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