



TRANS-SAHARAN MIGRATION TO MOROCCO: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Background: adds background. **Objective:** The aim of the present work was focused mainly to present the statistical analysis and a comparative study of Trans-Saharan migration to Morocco using different routes. **Results:** The transmigrants are originating from ten countries such as Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Congo, Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria and Burkina-Faso. The first result showed that the route 1 which was characterized by a high percentage is usually the most dominant so as to reach Morocco by the migrants. "Crossing the Sahara is worse than crossing the sea. In the water, either you die or you survive, but you are not subject to pain and endless pain." HAFSA Sub-Saharan migrant. **Conclusion:** This study shows that the Trans-Saharan migration to Morocco possesses a lot of difficulties and problems particularly the risks of crossing the desert and the borders. Thus, we consider that only the development and the economic conditions in the origin countries of the migrants which can stop the migration flows.

Keywords: Sub-Saharan migrants, Statistical analysis, reasons for migration and Data processing.

1. INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of the 1990, various economic and political factors led to an unprecedented increase and diversification of trans-Saharan migration flows. Migrants from all over sub-Saharan Africa travel by land to North Africa and Europe [1].

Trans-Saharan migrations have been part of the long-term, but they have always evolved and continue to change in their ways according to obstacles or opportunities. From the Sahelian regions, various routes are woven and reprogrammed. Trans-Saharan migration is characterized by the rapidity and efficiency with which migratory trajectories have been deployed over thousands of kilometers of tracks and roads, crossing several states and linking Sahelian and North African capitals, but also small Saharan cities in what looks like a transnational urban network.

The choice of Morocco to join Europe often relies, even if it combines with other dimensions' previous migratory experiences, contacts and networks, etc.), on the geographical proximity between Morocco and Spain: a few kilometers (14Km) separating the Moroccan coasts of the Spanish peninsula at the Strait of Gibraltar, the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the northern coast of Morocco, literally represent "Europe in Africa", and the Canary Islands on the Atlantic coasts. Despite the intensification of border controls with Ceuta and Melilla. Thousands of African nationals manage each year to penetrate a Europe without internal borders. As well as increased restrictive measures by border authorities in the Gibraltar Strait, sub-Saharan migrants were encouraged to use other routes and to explore a new crossing point to Europe, such as the Canary Islands. These islands, are located off the coast of southern Morocco (about 110km between Fuerteventura and Morocco). They constitute an archipelago of the Atlantic Ocean. The Canary Islands are composed of seven different islands (Hierro, La Palma, Gomera, Tenerife, Gran Canaria, Lanzarote, Fuerteventura). In 2006 The Canary Islands route, through Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco, was the main entry point for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, with 32,000 registered arrivals.

In our study, we have been interested first, to sub-Saharan migrants who have passed through the cities of Nouakchott, Nouadhibou, in Mauritania to reach the city of Laayoune in southern Morocco. Second to those who passed through Niger, then Algeria to arrive in Morocco using the cities of Agadez and Tamanrasset. In this article we will study and focus our work to the different routes taken by sub-Saharan migrants from their origin country to the arrival in Morocco. We will also mention the risks of traveling across the Sahara and the borders.

2. FROM SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA TO MOROCCO

This quantitative survey, was between May 2017 and January 2018, aims to better approach, know and understand the migration process of Sub-Saharan Africans in Laayoune.

The 322 people who responded to our questionnaire had traveled for 13 days an average. It took between 2 days and 48 days to reach Morocco. The survey we conducted on sub-Saharan migrants arriving by land in Morocco showed that 82.30% and 16.77% arrived respectively by Mauritania and Algeria.

2.1 The transmigrants of Senegal

In this study 121 samples were asked. For transmigrants originating from Senegal and who represent in our study the majority (37.6%), they borrowed 2 different routes (Table1):

Table 1: The table presents the itinerary of Senegal.

Itinerary of Senegal	1	2
Number of transmigrants	93	28
Total	121	
Percentage (%)	76.86	23.14

As can be seen, the road 1 is the most commonly followed and can be considered the most direct way from Senegal, Mauritania to Morocco. 76.86% of Senegalese migrants have taken this route. Most came from Senegal cities like Saint-Louis, Richard Toll, Dakar, Podor to Nouakchott, Nouadhibou, Dakhla arriving in Laayoune.

Otherwise, the route 2 is the way where 23.14% of sub-Saharan migrants from Senegal enter Morocco via Algeria via Mali, Burkina-Faso and Niger and sometimes without passing through Burkina-Faso (Table 1). For example, migrants from Dakar to Senegal, from Bamako to Mali, Burkina Faso by Ouagadougou, crossing the Sahara from Niger to Agadez, and to Algeria via Abalessa or Ain Sefra to enter Morocco via Oujda.

2.2 The transmigrants of Mali

The table 2 below show that Sub-Saharan migrants from Mali, like those from Senegal, use the same routes. In this study 51 samples were asked. A significant number (78.43%) had come from Mali by Gao, Bamako, Kayes, and from different cities then they had joined the main road at Nouakchott, Nouadhibou, Dakhla arriving at Laayoune (Route 1). A 21.57% of migrants had joined the central trans-Saharan axis (route 2) by joining Niger at Agadez and then back by Algeria and Morocco by Oujda city. Since the route 2 was too long compared to the first, the transmigrants usually chose this path avoiding the risk of crossing the Sahara (risk of looting, accident, exploitation), the risk of "jumping on the mines" while crossing the South from Morocco.

Table 2: The table presents the itinerary of Mali.

Itinerary of Senegal	1	2
Number of transmigrants	40	11
Total	51	
Percentage (%)	78.43	21.57

2.3 The transmigrants of Guinea

The Sub-Saharan migrants from Guinea take three routes through Mauritania. The itinerary 1 is to make the departure of Bafata from Guinea by transiting Matam or Podor of Senegal, crossing Mauritania by Nouakchott, Nouadhibou to enter Morocco by Dakhla to arrive at Laayoune. The itinerary 2 is from Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Morocco. The itinerary 3 is from Guinea, Gambia, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco. In this study 38 samples were asked. The table 3 below show the differences in percentages of each itinerary.

Table 3: The table presents the itinerary of Guinea.

Itinerary of Guinea	1	2	3
Number of transmigrants	26	7	5
Total	38		
Percentage (%)	68.42	18.42	13.16

2.4 The transmigrants of Ivory Coast

In this study 24 samples were asked. The Ivorian nationals have traveled three routes, still passing through Mauritania. The route 1 from the Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania arriving in Morocco.

The Route 2 is from Ivory Coast, Guinea, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco and the route 3 is from Ivory Coast, Guinea, Gambia, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco (Table 4).

Table 4: The table presents the itinerary of Ivory Coast.

Itinerary of Ivory Coast	1	2	3
Number of transmigrants	10	12	2
Total	24		
Percentage (%)	41.67	50.00	8.33

2.5 The transmigrants of Gambia

In this study 19 samples were asked. For migrants from The Gambia, most of them 89.47% followed Route 2 through Senegal, Mauritania, arriving in Morocco. Only one migrant who came directly from Gambia, by plane from Senegal to Morocco (route 1) and another who passed through Gambia, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Algeria and Morocco (route 3) (Table 5).

Table 5: The table presents the itinerary of Gambia.

Itinerary of Ivory Coast	1	2	3
Number of transmigrants	1	17	1
Total	19		
Percentage (%)	5.26	89.47	5.26

2.6 The transmigrants of Congo

The Sub-Saharan migrants from Congo travel on three routes. In this study 15 samples were asked. The first (53.33%) is from Congo, followed by Cameroon, Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco. Route 2 is to go from Mali to Mauritania and then Morocco. And route 3 is from Congo, Cameroon, Nigeria, Niger, Algeria and Morocco (Table 6).

Table 6: The table presents the itinerary of Congo.

Itinerary of Congo	1	2	3
Number of transmigrants	8	2	5
Total	15		
Percentage (%)	53.33	13.33	33.33

2.7 The transmigrants of Cameroon

In this study 15 samples were asked. The route 1 is from Cameroon, Nigeria, Niger, Algeria and Morocco (33.33%). The route 2 (26.67%) is from Cameroon, Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Guinea, Gambia, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco. And the most adopted route 3 is from Cameroon, Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Mauritania and Morocco. The last is the most adopted (40% of migrants take this route) (Table 7).

Table 7: The table presents the itinerary of Cameroon.

Itinerary of Cameroon	1	2	3
Number of transmigrants	5	4	6
Total	15		
Percentage (%)	33.33	26.67	40.00

2.8 The transmigrants of Ghana:

In this study 16 samples were asked. The migrants from Ghana have traveled 3 routes. The route 1 with 75% of the migrants who use it coming from Ghana, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Gambia, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco. The route 2 (12.5%) is from Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania and Morocco. Finally, the route 3 (12.5%) is from Ghana, Burkina-Faso, Mali, Mauritania and Morocco (Table 8).

Table 8: The table presents the itinerary of Ghana.

Itinerary of Ghana	1	2	3
Number of transmigrants	12	2	2
Total	16		
Percentage (%)	75.00	12.50	12.50

2.9 The transmigrants of Nigeria:

In this study 15 samples were asked. The Sub-Saharan migrants from Nigeria travel 3 routes equally. The Route 1 (33.3%) is Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco. The Route 2 (33.3%) is from Nigeria, Niger, Algeria and Morocco. The route 3 (33.3%) is from Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Mauritania and Morocco (Table 9).

Table 9: The table presents the itinerary of Nigeria.

Itinerary of Nigeria	1	2	3
Number of transmigrants	5	5	5
Total	15		
Percentage (%)	33.3	33.3	33.3

2.10 The transmigrants of Burkina-Faso:

In this study 15 samples were asked. For sub-Saharan migrants from Burkina-Faso take two routes: Route 1 is the most frequently followed (75%) from Burkina-Faso, Mali, Mauritania and Morocco and the second crossing Niger to go through Algeria to enter Morocco (Table 10).

Table 10: The table presents the itinerary of Burkina-Faso.

Itinerary of Senegal	1	2
Number of transmigrants	6	2
Total	8	
Percentage (%)	75.00	25.00

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE ITINERARIES

As already mentioned above. If the paths leading to Morocco from sub-Saharan Africa are multiple. In this study, it usually results in two main routes. Sub-Saharan migrants reported having passed through Mali, and / or Senegal, then Mauritania to reach Morocco or crossed the Sahara after passing through Mali and / or Niger, then Algeria before finally reaching the Morocco. Some cities seem to be essential transit points for almost all migrants. These cities are: Bamako, Segou, Gao and Kidal in Mali, Niamey and Agadez in Niger, then Tamanrasset (Abalessa) and Naama (Ain Sefra) in Algeria. And Nouakchott, Nouadhibou for migrants passing through Mauritania.

Mauritania is not a new transit route. The cluster of ancient imperial tracks reminds us of the importance of trade in this region. But instead of the caravaneers, today thousands of sub-Saharans are reactivating these ancient routes and opening them up again. Unlike the central Sahara, which has been widely studied [5, 8, 11, 13] the itineraries that crisscross this space remain poorly known. If the flows are smaller, migrants who want to win Europe do not hesitate to turn away from the central axis that passes through Agadez, Tamanrasset to try the adventure further west. Diversifying the roads, migrants "go back" to Mauritania, making Nouakchott, the capital, and Nouadhibou, the second largest city in the country, new migration hubs.

The "Mauritanian" path is still little known, even though surveys show that more and more Sub-Saharans are borrowing it. The adventure in Mauritania begins at the southern and eastern borders, with more or less difficulty to cross the Senegal River or leave Mali, and is done in stages, along the Mauritanian coastline (Figure 1).

Mauritania is fully involved in the West African migration system through three poles / rebound cities that structure this transit route and are interdependent on each other: Rosso, at the mouth of the river, Nouakchott in the center political capital and Nouadhibou, economic capital located on the southern border of Morocco. Some 200 km of tar separates Rosso from Nouakchott where migrants stop punctually. They try to travel as quickly as 500 km of desert to win Nouadhibou, isolated human island. Until 2004, only a difficult track through the sand provided the link between the two cities: the duration of the trip was then more than random from 12 to 36 hours. Today, a paved road has been completed, placing Nouadhibou 7 hours from the capital [3]. Migrants flock, considering Nouadhibou as one of the gates of Europe, convinced that the Canary Islands are only a stone's throw away. Migrants experience otherness quickly,

through landscapes first as when going from Nouakchott to Nouadhibou, they try to travel as quickly as possible the second Mauritanian city to convince itself that this route is better than the one that crosses the Niger or Mali [4]. Why do not candidates in exile prefer the central route, ie the Agadez, Arlit, Tamanrasset, Reggane, Adrar routes? It seems that the myth is maintained by the few people who manage to win the other side and thus encourage those who remained on the spot. Moreover, migrants who fail in the central Sahara eventually come to Nouadhibou and inform their fellowmen on the difficulties of this route: "There, it is the desert. There is no water and no work ... It's harder. Nouadhibou is not perceived as a cul-de-sac but as an antechamber of Europe. Leaving the city would be for the migrants to turn back.

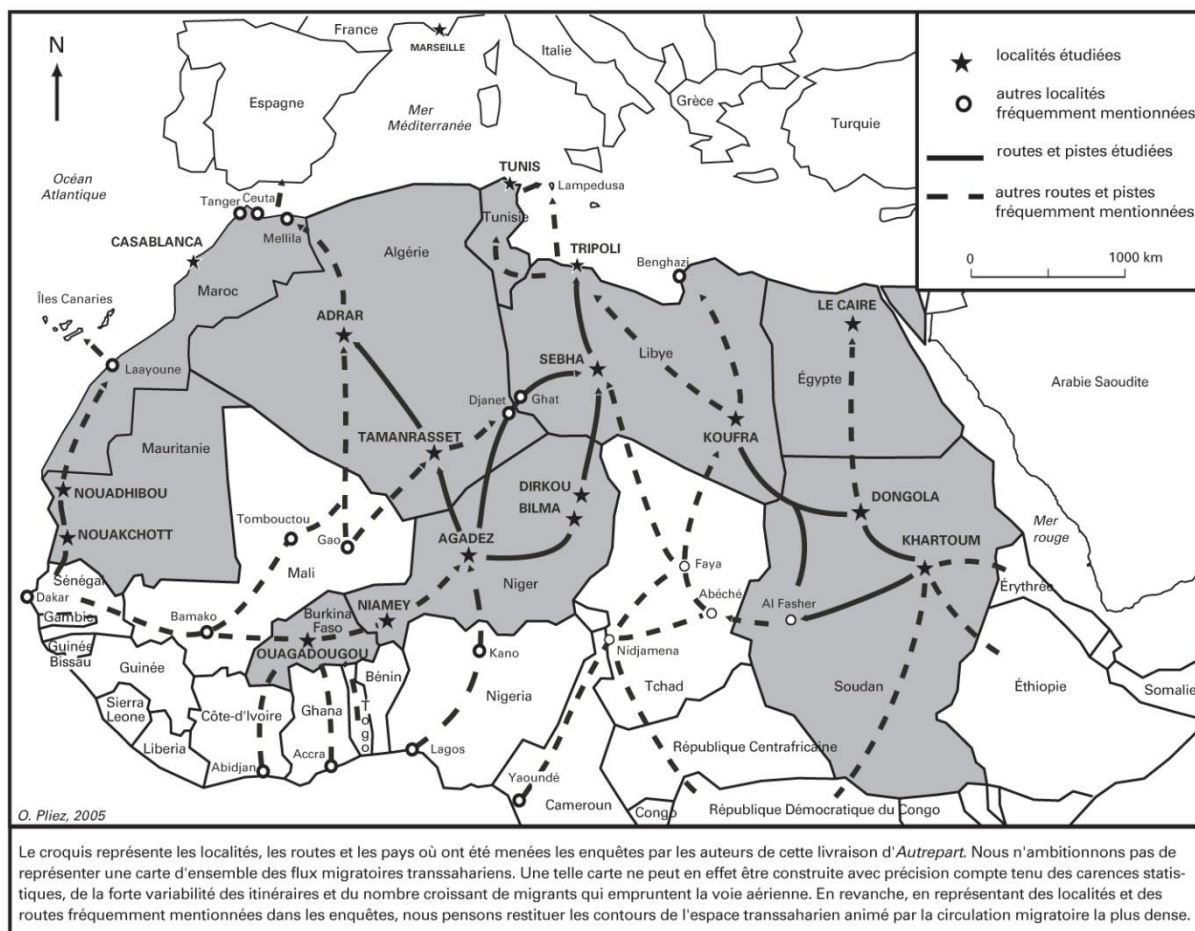


Figure 1: the figure demonstrate the international migration routes through and to the Sahara.

The geographical proximity to the South of Morocco (a few kilometers as the crow flies) opens other perspectives. The pickups leave Nouadhibou at night to cross the border to the north, between the mines scattered along the border that make any escape alone impossible. Some, not having the means to pay the transport, gain Zouerate with the ore train which ensures the connection. From Zouerate, they follow the tracks towards Smara or Laayoune.

However in recent years, a gradual opening up of this region and greater ease of movement. In 2001, Senegal, Morocco and Mauritania signed a tripartite agreement for the construction of the road linking Nouadhibou to Nouakchott. The border between the two countries was reopened in February 2002. The construction of the road linking the Mauritanian capital to the border with Morocco, already allows an increase in trade between the two countries. This reopening of the ocean route was favorable. transmigrants who can now officially cross the border if they are in possession of adequate documents. If they do not have the required documents, the crossing by the road is changing at the border posts and is done at night. The transmigrants are then transported to the beaches of the south of Laayoune (Tarfaya) from where they await departure to the Canaries. But if this new route through the "tar" has become more accessible since the reopening of the borders, the old caravan tracks are still used by those who want to reach the Canaries and who are in an irregular situation. For those who know the right channels, the journey is fast. He joins a group that leaves from Nouakchott and takes the old caravan tracks. He then passes by Atar, Bir Moghrein and joins the Atlantic coast.

Transport is provided by local drivers with good control of the terrain and its dangers. This conveyance is controlled by members of large Moorish tribes who made their fortune in the Sahara [9] during successive crises (famine of 73, war of the sands in 78, speculation due to rapid urbanization etc.) and which provide the all terrain vehicles. These ensure the entire chain of passage from Mauritania to the Canaries through southern Morocco.

The Nigerian way is the other alternative of travel while passing by the city of Agadez. It is a big city in the Niger Sahara, is the migratory crossroads through which most of these flows flow. It records, annually, the passage of at least 65,000 African migrants to the Maghreb, while the latter are already estimated at two and a half million in Libya alone [12] and nearly 300,000 in Algeria (El Khabar, Algiers, 08/01/2001).

Agadez illustrates the relationship of migration flows to socio-spatial changes in the oasis space. Crossroads of African migration to the Maghreb, it captures the vast majority of flows from the Sahel and West Africa including from Nigeria and English-speaking Ghana. With the deterioration, once again, of the security situation in Chad and the closure of the Tibesti road, Agadez asserts even more its role as a crossroads. One can indeed say that it has created a new centrality, strongly structuring and which is not without effects on the city itself, on its region and on all the transnational and continental relational system in a general way. For migrants using the Nigerian route must go through Algeria, the severity of the repression and the drying up of job opportunities in this country make the crossing of the Algerian Sahara is designed primarily as a transit to reach the Moroccan coast.

The survey also showed that travel across Algeria to reach Morocco, from the outset of sub-Saharan countries to the arrival in Mali or Niger, appears to be individual or in the form of small groups of people. People traveling together for security reasons, without using the services of "smugglers". But from the territory of Mali or Niger, the trip begins to organize with the help of networks of "guides", especially to cross the Algerian-Malian or Algerian-Nigerian border. This border crossing is done by Land-Rover vehicles and / or trucks to transport goods and people to Algeria.

The smugglers also accompany the migrants to begin the crossing between Algeria and Morocco. This passage is made during the night between the Algerian city of Tamanrasset (Abalessa) and Naama (Ain Sefra) and the Moroccan city of Oujda. In this case the smugglers are of Algerian or Moroccan nationality, and sometimes even smugglers belonging to the national communities of the Sub-Saharan. Thus, we find that well-articulated networks have been formed along the road from the sub-Saharan to the North, making the phenomenon complex and requiring the collaboration of all the states concerned to remedy it, at the risk of asking more.

4. THE RISKS OF CROSSING THE DESERT

A smuggler offers to cross the desert in a pickup truck, with 20 other people, "sitting on top of each other, piled up" in "the position of a fetus". They know that if they fall out of the vehicle, the driver will not stop and they will be left on their own. For the journey, each passenger has 10 liters of water, for a journey that can last three days as a month, under the hot sun. Migrants also fear the Tuareg, who, according to Kaoumé, would leave them "in the middle of the desert, under the sun that takes care of you", after stealing the pickup.

Several stories and dramas. The migrants recount his journey of crossing the Sahara. They had escaped death several times. They adopted the riskiest conduits to ensure a passage at a lower cost. During which the degree of financial precariousness of the individual determines the temporality of the journey as well as its dangerousness.

It's the desert that takes care of it. Characterized by an unbearable heat and a security vacuum, this vast sandy strip particularly fond of criminals of all kinds offers the opportunity to cynical couriers to ransom poor migrants whose naivete they exploit before leaving them in the harbor, at the mercy of thirst, hunger and all other forms of danger. It is also about the unaccountable attitude of these smugglers, who, after having conveyed migrants whom they have carefully taken care to strip before, leave them in the middle of the desert. It is a cynical and abject behavior, insofar as, between the migrants and the smugglers, a contract is established under which the latter have the duty to guarantee a minimum of security to the former. Even though a smuggler is not a reliable partner.

Transmigrants use forbidden tracks, cross disputed territories, cross mined borders and militarized areas. These itineraries are dangerous, sometimes fatal, but it is paradoxically because of their dangerousness and because of the opacity [7] of these Saharan borders that these Trans-Saharan routes are now essential routes on the way to the Europe. Migration is a rewarding act for Sub-Saharan migrants, it is named by all "adventure", this theme represents the sense of acceptance of the risk inherent in it. The word "chance", another key word of self-representation designates as much the voluntary character (to try his luck) as the random one (to have or not to have luck). The migratory project is for them a deliberate choice of intentional actor but in response to constraints suffered: those of the impasse of development: this tension between constraint and voluntary choice is best illustrated by the extreme danger of the itineraries that are , despite this, borrowed [6].

Also, as Georg Simmel (2002) points out, "when two things are lived, whose contents are not very different, one is experienced as an" adventure ", while the other is not [10]. it is in the difference of the relation to the totality of life that the cause must be sought. «This difference emerges clearly when we define the adventure as a "movement in the unknown". Here lies the foundation of this conduct: he who throws himself into the adventure is the one who braves the unknown. He loses his bearings by isolating himself from his networks of social belonging. Far from home, the adventurer cannot count on his own. Stripped clean of his individuality, he evolves in the unknown; he is an unknown, a stranger

who is out of the norm, out of the ordinary law of humans. Its existence is based on the loss of a place, to which attributes of identity, relationship and memory were attached, and on the absence of a new social place [2].

Nevertheless, suffering is not exclusive to the practice of adventure. Expressed differently, going on an adventure is putting oneself into pain, standing up to risk is living dangerously, but daily life within the original social contexts sports, to a certain extent, similar suffering potentialities. The possible daily urgency to assume primary needs, the specter of unemployment, illness, death and the anxiety of tomorrow may, for example, anchor the actor in a fixed temporality which thus destroys any desire to project in the future.

5. CONCLUSION

This study shows that the Trans-Saharan migration to Morocco possesses a lot of difficulties and problems particularly the risks of crossing the desert and the borders. Thus, we consider that only the development and the economic conditions in the origin countries of the migrants which can stop the migration flows.

Recently Morocco has invested in several Sub-Saharan cities so as to increase the chance and opportunities of jobs for young people.

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