



**African Migrations Workshop:
“The Contribution of African Research to Migration Theory”
Dakar, Senegal
16th – 19th November 2010**

Report on the workshop

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Disclaimer

This is a very rough summary of the main points raised during the discussion sessions at the workshop. Please read it in conjunction with the papers (www.imi.ox.ac.uk/themes/african-migration/papers-from-the-african-migrations-workshop-2010-dakar). A more developed and structured analytical piece is being prepared, and is likely to appear as the introduction to a special issue of an academic journal. Visit www.imi.ox.ac.uk for up to date information.

Introduction

The International Migration Institute (IMI), University of Oxford, and L'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, Cheikh Anta Diop University, organised the third African Migrations Workshop in Dakar, Senegal. Funding was provided by the MacArthur Foundation, The Oxford Martin School, and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). The workshop aimed to further strengthen migration research within Africa by bringing together scholars from across the continent and beyond and discussing the contribution of African research to mainstream migration theory. It also provided a unique opportunity for participants from Africa and elsewhere to strengthen their scientific networks within and outside the continent, across the boundaries of linguistic and scholarly traditions.

The workshop was attended by approximately fifty people (see appendix for the full list of participants). Twenty-four papers were given, in addition to a keynote on theory and the study of migration in Africa, as well as four “mini lectures” introducing the theoretical theme of the day. The workshop concluded with a roundtable where four senior migration experts discussed their reflections and impression from the workshop. Presentations were made in both French and English, and simultaneous translation was provided throughout the event. The workshop also included a break-out session, where mentors provided direct feedback to authors on their workshop papers. Four of the workshop papers were presented by

partners working on the *African Perspectives on Human Mobility* programme. This is a three year research programme that is being conducted by the IMI in partnership with universities in Ghana, Morocco, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Nigeria. The programme aims to explore alternative conceptions of human mobility based on empirical research in these four countries, and is also designed to help develop the capacity of African institutions to undertake state-of-the-art migration research.

The Workshop Programme is included as an appendix.

Theory and the Study of Migration in Africa

The nature of theory:

- Theories should be convincing – to ourselves mainly; but who else?
- Theories sometimes become alibis to justify certain policies. The theories developed by researchers are chosen selectively to support certain policies, and the criticisms of those theories are ignored.
- We tend to apply theory in a routine way, instead of using grounded theory, which is more revolutionising
- Differences in how Franco- and Anglophone researchers' approach theory: idealist (talks to researchers); pragmatist (talks to politicians); militant/engaged (tackles social issues and addresses inequality)
- What can we learn from the theoretical traditions in the African continent?
- We need to understand the role of theory in social sciences before talking about migration theory.
- At what level should we develop theory? Consider theories of the middle range.

The politics of theory production:

- Consider the hegemony of knowledge production: Knowledge is produced outside Africa and theories are formed in other settings. We have largely been following northern-based agendas. We need a southern perspective.
- How can we change political ideas with theory?
- African researchers often don't have the means conduct research that develops theory. But should knowledge production in Africa merely derive from the political agenda?

Power and Migration

Social transformation and paradigm shifts:

- Migration is a field surrounded by myth and distortion – there's a need for information to change public opinion. Migration is often linked to social transformation. Social movements are important; to change them from defensive and reactive to proactive and strategic requires an alliance between social movements and academics.
- It seems we're in the middle of a paradigm shift: the study of migration informs us of how to see society differently, with mobility as the starting point for analysis. If flexibility and mobility informs our structures then we'll have to reform our theories.
- We should not just look at migrants separate from society, but use this to change our paradigms.
- We also have to include an historical perspective and theorise by standing outside current debates and see how society is changing over history.

The role of migration theory in the social sciences:

- We should follow migrants into society, to understand *both* migrants *and* society
- We need to build on the theory from our disciplines, in order to say what's new.
- In political science you take migration as pretext and deal with migration *within* it.
- Power comes up in every discipline, but can it provide a unified theory of migration and socioeconomic transformation. Should we at all look for a theory of migration? Or is that not a waste of time?
- Why do we need these very accurate models of migration? Or of society? Studying migration at a social level helps us understand taken-for-granted theories.
- Studying migration contributes to our greater understanding of society, not necessarily of migration per se; but we also a need to understand migration processes better.
- We can learn by re-embedding our studies in broader social theory. Need to understand global socio-economic transformations in order to understand migration and embed migration studies in broader social science. Migration has been an applied science with frameworks borrowed from legal and policy frameworks. We need to re-embed in more general social science.
- Power is an element of social transformation. Studying migration dynamics will help us understand social transformation.

Power, resistance and immobility:

- We need a strategic analysis of the various levels at which power works, incl. decentred systems and broader structures.
- We should not always look at normative value-based power but also decentralised power, for example in African countries where there is no state power
- Power should not be regarded as an external element, but as consubstantial in social relations. We need to look at the relationship between power and knowledge.
- Mobility is not accessible for everybody – how does that fit into power definitions?
- Power works both in positive and negative ways, enabling and disabling. Why don't some people move: is it a choice? Or are they not able to move?

- Consider resistance; not moving can be a form of resistance, eg. in the face of property developers. Resistance is also something migrants do by not registering or not claiming rights and remaining invisible to the police - these are “weapons of the weak”.
- Power and resistance analysis can add a lot to refugee analysis. Consider refugees and performance, how people mobilise their own vulnerability.
- How can you as a researcher question your *own* paradigms in what you’re producing in a discourse, in order to determine whether you’re with the dominant or dominated?
- Hopefully academics are dominant and not dominated...but our position as academics in society is an important question, especially vis à vis vulnerable groups: who are we serving; those we think we’re serving?

Discussions specifically related to the four papers on power and migration:

- There are many more theories relevant to migration than that those presented in the state-of-the-art paper by Douglas Massey et al (1993); consider what’s relevant to your particular study, and contextualise the study regionally
- What is the relationship between living and dead people? Has repatriation anything to do with the dead, do their wishes matter – or are they just vehicles for the living, a way to exercise their power?
- Why talk of closed and open borders – is there a dichotomy? Or only more or less open borders. Have borders ever been closed, and is this feasible
- Female migration is not necessarily a strategy to fight poverty but rather a quest for autonomy.
- How do you make the connection between your local observations and global power relations?
- There’s a slope of who has the right to be developer and who doesn’t; these are intimately linked to space: from speaking about to being acted upon by development. Migrants’ associations tend to be considered second-range developers with less expertise.
- Social success is not necessarily the same for men and women. In Senegal women have a procreative and family cohesion role and measure success against number of children, and in poor areas women who cannot satisfy their in-laws will go elsewhere to work to buy a status within their family. Some women get married in town but that’s not necessarily sign of emancipation; this could be arranged by relatives. It is her choice of her own spouse that shows emancipation and not the space where it occurs.
- Borders can be closed in different ways - to particular groups of people, or to trade.

Revisiting Migration Theories

Approaches to theorising:

- Our objective is not to leave this workshop with new theories but to reflect on the relation between theories and empirics and whether the theories help us understand specific phenomena related to migration in Africa.
- The theories on determinants are based on a mechanistic and simplistic vision which needs to be revised. The reasons are not fixed and definitive.
- It's necessary to include the historical perspective and to do literature reviews in order to compare different experiences and thus, theorise
- There are new trends whereby migrants struggle to become transformative agents. We should consider this in order to analyse the *evolution* of networks and link our studies to global dynamics.

Bias and categorisations:

- Movements North to South are often ignored, for example in North Africa. This aspect of categorisation needs to be thought through and our current categorisations need to be revised.
- The perception of migration to Europe ignores most other types of migration.
- There is more research on the receiving end than the sending side
- Categories of immigration and emigration have already been questioned, in particular in the African context, and we now generally refer to 'migration' instead.
- Internal and regional migration is sometimes ignored and hence, contemporary migration chains, particularly in Africa, are ignored.

Transitions and social transformation:

- Question the idea that there is a link between the development of technologies and the *decrease* of mobility.
- Sometimes technologies may spur other kind of movements. They may affect not only the movement of people, but movements at a broader level.
- Concerning the point about transition of migration, only looking at international dynamics is too simplistic and we need to question what the relation is with internal migration. Internal migration is often linked to poverty.
- First, I do not agree with your classification on functionalist vs. structuralist. Missing is modernisation-functionalism. Sometimes in the depiction of structuralism there is an assumption that there is no agency; but Marxism contains agency.
- We need to study migration as part of a broad social transformation perspective. Here it is fundamental to understand in a deeper way the new global order and how capitalism has been restructured and what the key issues are in that reconstruction.
- Why is the work of anthropologists writing on migration in the 60s ignored in overviews on migration theory?
- Which level of analysis should we adopt when we talk about migration and development? Which are our independent variables? Are we aware of the key uncertainties? What data shall we use and what are its limitations?
- We need to look at migration both as an independent and dependent variable. This is the whole point of embedding migration in broader social processes.
- In terms of statistics, this is a big problem; we cannot be sure that what we see today is a new process.

Migration systems and networks:

- Sometimes there is no clear beginning and an end to migration. Why don't we start with the analysis of processes rather than systems? Why should we start with systems rather than more complex dynamics? Let us start on a different angle when we start theorising people who move.
- Sometimes the individual experience matters a lot. Hence, there are patterns of solidarity that are created and re-created. Often these networks do not depend on pre-existing knowledge. Hence sometimes we should be aware and detach ourselves from mythical concepts. Sometime social networks do not explain reasons to migrate.
- On migration systems: in Morocco, there is a tendency of autonomy towards established patterns. The epicentre has moved somewhere else. Now people disperse themselves around the world. Therefore Morocco is being relocated within a changing migration system.
- Sometimes there is not such a clear distinction between clandestine/non-clandestine migrants. The status of a person may change over time. Sometimes there are people that arrive as students and then become clandestine. So it is in constant evolution. The same applies to Europeans who discover Morocco. This means that the analysis of the system is constantly changing.
- How can we distinguish the effects of social capital from other capitals such as cultural and financial? These are also important.
- The analyses emphasise more the nature rather than *resources* of networks. What is the role of resources? The existence of networks as such does not help people to migrate.
- How do you measure the *intensity* of a network?
- Even if we do not know the intensity of relations, we can still use strong and weak ties as a proxy. A friend may be a strong tie. For Senegal it is a strong tie whereas in DR-Congo is both. This may be related to resources available.
- In social capital theory we argue that weak ties are more useful; strong ties provide established and fixed information. But is there evidence to suggest that stronger ties are better than weaker ties? What is the role of weaker ties in migration?
- There are certain networks that facilitate mobility from the onset. But there are also people who move overland through many different countries and meet people they never met before and receive help from people they do not know in advance. How far are we talking about networks or about social linkages across societies?
- Why do networks cease to exist? Can we argue that once the person moves, the network ceases to exist? Sometimes networks dissolve not just because of saturation, but because other dynamics have changed.
- With time networks get weaker. They are organic in so far as new networks develop in the process by responding to negative externalities.
- Sometimes there seem to be more pioneers of migration, than there are migrants using networks to move. How can we define and identify pioneers of migration?
- Even in cases where a lot of people go to places where there were no other people we can still speculate that network still play a role. There may be a different use of network. Maybe there is saturation in one place and this determines the choice of the migrant to choose another destination. So networks may still play a role when migrants chose a new location.
- Networks do not just work on potential migrants. They also create transit points along the routes. In the process the motivations of migrants change. These may divert their original routes and they may find themselves in different points from those initially imagined. So if the network organises, we can find people in different locations and in different countries. This may diffuse established networks.

- What is the particular content of feminine networks? Can we clearly distinguish between networks of men and women? “Women” is a very heterogeneous category. What about single women, not linked to close family? Does gender determine the kind of resources that one gets from the network? Do women use these networks differently from men? Are these “women networks”?
- In Senegal it seems that most women migrate because of families; but how does this change? In Morocco there are men who migrate because their wives had already left. The point being that these structural effects change over time
- Networks are not only related to family; there are other variables such as ethnic, religious, jobs which could be used.
- There are many different types of networks. How do they evolve over time?

Definitions and forms of migration:

- The duration of 6 months used by demographers to define who is a migrant is useful to distinguish migrants from tourists and other people passing through a country.
- Certain studies show that numerous migrants only stay up until six months due to the agricultural seasons and therefore, they are lost in the statistics.
- The 6 month threshold is a problem of perception: measurement is already difficult.
- What is the situation of left behinds: are they mobile in other contexts, eg. internal migration?
- It is true that even those who remain are still moving (internal migration, etc.). Some may decide to stay, this is not incompatible with the project of leaving later on,

Structure and agency:

- Concerning the definition of security, there are two different insecurities: political unrest and social insecurity (lack of education, shelter, etc.). One must take into account the structural context which creates this insecurity.
- Theoretical questions about security and migration only relate to intercontinental migration, but this is minor compared to intra-continental movements in Africa.
- What is the theoretical difference if we simply put security in the place of utility - aren't we back to neoclassical theory?
- Where is the boundary between choice and constraint (*la contrainte et le choix*) in being ‘left behind’? The difference between choice and constraint is subjective.
- Concerning the relation between institutional constraints and the decisions of actors to migrate or stay, i.e. the structure-agency effects (Giddens): Do those who have resources chose to migrate or not?
- To use a family as the unit of analysis is too narrow; other structural scales are important such as the regional scale. A broader view allows highlighting when the structural equilibrium is disrupted.
- But focusing on the family in the analysis of migration and immobility may help us revisit the push and pull framework: it is the family that decides who will migrate.

Evolution of migration dynamics:

- Mobile traders occupy a niche; is ethnic business a transitory phenomenon disappearing when big shopping enterprises arrive?
- We need to look into what the future of these traders is. Migration to China is producing an emerging settlement of Nigerians in China.

When the rise of “circumstantial” solidarities informs the decline or transformation of migration networks

Solidarity and individualism:

- Social networks of migrants may evolve into social movements and umbrella organisations – they do not just exist to facilitate migration but to fight against adverse conditions in countries of settlement.
- Growing restrictions on migration especially in receiving countries, leading to criminalisation, poses new threats to solidarity.
- Toughening borders opens up doors to a new ‘market’ but there limited research on this in Africa

- Short term migrants tend to only identify with networks during journeys and then withdraw on return, so they differ from longer term migrants.
- Question whether individual motivations are indeed displacing solidarities –community structures give room for ideas of self-fulfilment.
- Migrants may change their status, eg. from irregular to student – but not free of charge. Does this imply a breakdown in solidarity?
- Is the “adventurer” an irregular migrant, a migrant without a project in mind? Is the individualisation of migrants opposed to solidarity? When migrants are subject to social precarity, is this form of individualisation opposed to solidarity?
- Africa is plural – processes of individualisation do not assume the same form in the different places.
- More and more migrants claim to be adventurers, not to denote someone without a project, but they use it to show risk taking, which has gained more significance today than in the past. If someone is an adventurer, it means a migrant who will take care of him or herself.

Types of connections and the nature of networks:

- Clarify the distinction between network and connection in the context of migration. Networks and connections are different.
- The distinction between *filiere* and *reseau* is made in French but lost in English.
- Is there a causal relation between the diversification of migrant profiles and fatigue in networks?
- We can find examples of networks running out of steam and weakening, but what examples are there of networks that have proven to be sustainable?
- We should not oppose networks to individuals, nor traditional to new solidarity – these things are fluid and constantly changing, not a dichotomy. The migrant is an actor and the network is a range of opportunities.
- We should not be talking of a failure of networks, but of processes and dynamics changing.

Perceptions:

- Consider the long-term perspective on the changing meanings of migration. Look at history, the changing nature of citizenship and perceptions of migrants by those who stay at home
- An historical perspective is needed – we need to work in broader timescales.

- When we carry out interviews with migrants we may perceive structural solidarities are running out of steam; but they are still vivid. Researchers look for what they want to see – so has individualism always been there and now we look for it?

Migration Processes and Network Dynamics

Religion and family in networks:

- Importance of distinguishing kinship from social capital – “kin-work” is a process, fluid and flexible.
- Network is sometimes too broad a term, it includes too many ties, so kinship may be used as a way of focusing.
- Social capital is not social capital until it is realised – you may have a relationship with someone but until you reflect on its value, we cannot think of it as capital.
- Is the role of religion in networks specific to Islam, or could we see the same with different religions or cosmologies?
- Too much emphasis on *integration* (in France) when discussing religion and migration.
- All religions bring a symbolic and material framework that enables migrants to reconstruct or even help migration. In Islam it is seen as the migration of the prophet. In case of evangelical churches, there are reverse missions to the North. All religions bring migration but some religious institutions are more strongly conducive for migration.
- At times religions themselves are moving – through training, religious NGOs, etc. Migrants intervene on issues of religion – to revamp existing institutions or so they can develop their own.
- We need to do more work to understand (changing) the role of religion in migration.

Context:

- Important to search for a middle ground between agency and structure – but problematic to approach this only from the perspective of actors.
- Consider your level of analysis of decision-making of migrants. If you only look at the migrants themselves, you cannot make any useful statement about macro factors.
- Need to look at transnationalism, need longitudinal approach.
- Take account of the political context

Terminology:

- Need to clarify vocabulary – eg. voluntary return, or repatriation; in French we speak of “chosen return”.
- We may distinguish between voluntary repatriation and accepted repatriation
- May want to agree between Francophone and Anglophone terms – in France we talk of ‘family relationships’ as distinct from kinship.

Assumptions:

- Discussing theories needs to take account of the *assumptions* behind those theories (for example when adopting a neo-classical approach).

- Question the assumption that decision making in relation to return is different from other migration decisions.

Integration in labour and housing markets:

- Research on ethnic economy shows that migrants do not benefit equally from it: some are trapped and exploited. Is it good or bad jobs which attract migrants?
- Determining whether these migrants have good or bad jobs depends on the level of analysis and job status. For example, those who have just arrived tend to have bad jobs but they see it as a learning process at the end of which they will have their own business.
- How does migrants' appropriation of space actually work - is it only physical or also symbolic? Does it involve a network of long-standing migrants or also of new migrants?
- The appropriation of space may be looked at as a process through which migrants take their space and express their identity. It is a multifaceted concept which involves material and cultural aspects.

Circulation and mobility vs. migration:

- Are certain migrations more circular than previously, or are we just seeing a circularity that has always been there?
- One can criticise the recourse to the concept of migration to describe circular migrations (in West Africa). Circular migration is a very ancient practice favoured by colonisation. But today many people do not circulate in order to look for work but to manage their investments; this type of circulation is therefore not a pre-colonial or ethnic phenomenon: they no longer leave to look for work but to collect the fruits of their investments, and they return to their countries to invest in real estate.
- Is the observation of mobile traders from Ghana inscribed into a broader trend in terms of migration toward the Middle East and Asia and as a shift from long to short term migration within the continent? To what extent can the observations be generalised to the whole country, eg. traders in the north of Ghana as opposed to those observed in the south.
- The trend of transnational traders to China is likely to increase. But we should also consider that the establishment of networks results in immobility because of the networks' efficiency and because of ICT. Contrary to Kumasi in the south, the share of traders in the north of Ghana who go to China is very small.
- Do these transnational traders see themselves as migrants? If not, what are the implications for migration theory? The migrants consider themselves as traders and not as migrants. By the frequency and length of their stay, they do not fit to the pattern of migrants.

Identity and Belonging

Mobility paradigm:

- Discussions focused on concepts of "culture of mobility", "travel culture", "culture of migration", and "access to mobility", as well as how notions of identity and belonging adapt to different contexts.
- Need to examine how people define themselves, how they negotiate with the outside world and create new relationships based on their mobility. Here we must insist on a notion of belonging which takes into account the issue of flexibility, process, power and hegemony in the understanding of mobility.

Mobile cultures:

- The concept of the culture of travel should not be confused with mobility - the first refers to nomads, the second describes certain forms of seasonal and international migration.
- We should not overestimate mobility and pretend that mobility is accessible to everyone.
- There might be some confusion between the concepts of culture of travel and mobile culture or an impression that the two terms can be used interchangeably. But the culture of travel concept can help us grasp mobile cultures. For example, European peasants have long been considered as not moving, until studies showed otherwise, a misconception related to the fact that mobility was seen as a negative.
- Settled nomads still remain mobile in their way of doing things and in their livelihoods, because of their belonging to this culture of mobility. Their expectations and how they build their future are related to their mobile culture.
- There are sometimes tensions between mobile and immobile populations, particularly between mobile populations and their hosts; an example being land conflicts. Can the causes of these conflicts be ascribed to cultures of mobility?

Connectedness and forms of mobility:

- Mobility appears in different forms, whether by foot, by the image, the mind, or by other means such as mobile phones - the differentiation between them lies in the degree of mobility.
- The use of technology (eg. mobile phones) belies the preconceived idea of the nomadic Fulani as resistant to modernity.
- Consider the question of mobility in the imagination and the imagination of immobile people. The manner in which these sedentary people would use the mobile phone would be different from that of people who belong to a culture of mobility. The mobile phone makes those who are immobile more mobile and more connected to others and it allows transcending spatial, political and social boundaries.

Integration:

- We should avoid essentialism, for example suggesting that some national groups of migrants are closed and others more open. Migrants' level of openness and adaptation to a place is related to the duration of time they've been settled in that place.
- Migrants marrying locals may not necessarily signify integration and openness; for example, traders may use marriage as a strategy to get access to the local markets, and then divorce the local wife before returning home
- Integration from above (by the state) should also be considered in our analyses, and should not only be seen as an aspect of exclusion. We shouldn't simply have a negative vision of integration

from above, as opposed to integration from below. For example, in Sweden there is the welfare state which allows for a better integration, from above.

- The time dimension should be considered when discussing integration. Sub-Saharan migrants are pioneers in Argentina; they haven't had sufficient time to root themselves and position themselves. We cannot easily compare Malians and Chinese in the DRC, because there is such a big difference in the time of their arrival. The circumstances of the arrival of pioneer migrants must be analysed.
- Integration from below concerns those for whom integration is difficult, particularly in contexts dominated by *informality*.

Globalisation:

- We need to be critical about the idea that migration constitutes a globalisation from below. Some migrants remain attached to their own culture and do not embrace other cultural forms.
- Globalisation from below emerges from the awareness of ethnic businesses. They defy the transnational and state monopoly on trade and thus oppose globalisation from above and multiplying economic activities.
- What explains the diversification of new destinations for African migrants, including Latin America?
- We need to take account of the asymmetrical integration of South America into globalisation. South America is undergoing profound transformations and looking for alternatives to globalisation. The countries have adopted a more advanced approach to migration and have signed the UN convention on the rights of labour migrants and their families. This needs to be taken into account, because this space is different to other arenas of migration.
- There are African asylum seekers in Latin America. The legislation is more lenient and allows them access to health care while their application for asylum is being processed. They are tolerated and are not excluded after the refusal of asylum. Legislation varies in Latin America, but generally the countries are favourable to immigration.
- We might question whether the wealthy migrants adapt more than the poorer ones. The wealthy Senegalese migrants in Morocco tend to bring along their own ingredients from their country of origin and do not eat the local foods.
- It is when people cannot handle the otherness that they fold back on themselves. But identity changes as people scramble for their future and this is what is involved in the emergence of new identities.

Identity:

- How does the change in identities play out amongst the "hosts" (eg. in Argentina)? How do the new entrants change the situation?
- Changes in migrants' diet in are not necessarily related to changes in migrants' identities. Dietary changes are dictated by the economic situation of migrants and do not necessarily reflect changing identities.
- Consider different registers of identities which change depending on the audience. Is there a pan-African identity or other identities that are being put forward when the migrant is faced with a different audience (in Latin America)?

- For Senegalese migrants in Argentina, they will develop a kind of mestizo (mixed) identity, marked by their attachment to Touba and to their place and culture of origin. These migrants may globalise themselves geographically, but not necessarily at the cultural and social level.
- There is a black protest movement and the new immigrants legitimise debates around blackness and race. The question about the origins of African descendants in Latin America is reinvigorated because of the visibility of the Senegalese who participate in this movement.

Home and belonging:

- We have moved from a discussion on identity to integration, and now we are beginning think of both at the same time: migration not just as mobility but as a dialectic process.
- Diaspora is a contested notion - how does it relate to the notion of ‘multi-sited village’ (developed by Dia)? Diaspora is controversial and understood in many different ways. Sometimes we have stigmatised migration and the notion of diaspora allows us to go beyond simplistic understandings of migrants. It also allows us to trace multiple relations and changing relations of power.
- Considering notions of home, is the idea of belonging to a multi-sited village recognised by a group of people? Would different people relate to this? Does it work as a unit of analysis for our research?
- People do not define themselves as part of a multi-sited village. They do not necessarily conceptualise this.
- “Community” is a controversial concept
- Looking at diasporic landscapes: at what point can we say that non-migrants are *not* engaged in trans-national activities? What makes you engage and what not?
- The transnational social space also includes non-migrants.
- In Europe we feel that multiculturalism is failing. What about in the UK: how does this discourse relate to the Ugandan community? If they are isolated in Europe, I would have thought that they want to have a sense to belonging to home, but they are not at home and in the UK they are also rejected. Where do they belong?
- Reflecting on the ideas of place and belonging – why do migrants negotiate belonging with their origin country rather than people in the destination country?
- Belonging is about jobs and papers but it is also about class and status
- How can we apply political and economic theories to an African context when they have mainly been applied to the Western world?

Closing session: Roundtable with Raúl Delgado Wise, Mirjam de Bruijn, Mohamed Berriane, and Papa Demba Fall

Africa and migrations:

- African migrations are ever-changing processes and at every point we must revisit our concepts.
- African migrations are not specific but can be analysed against other migrations – the phenomena is the universal and similar dynamics are found in many places; Africans are participating in their own way in this. We need to account for the plural Africa: Behind common denominators there are specificities to point out.
- Question what Africa is – how do we define Africa? Migration studies help us to get away from a very rigid definition/characterisation of Africa, away from a “continent in need”. James Ferguson says Africa is like a window through which we can understand the world.

Approaches to theorising:

- Need for comparison: How are current migrations different from past migrations? Most migrations at this workshop were observed at a local territorial level and we ignored the global or regional level.
- We need to agree on the definitions and meanings we give to words. Sometimes we put different meaning in one concept, depending on our linguistic tradition and discipline.
- We need to understand processes and not outcomes.
- Also consider the time dimension. Some are at the beginning of processes – eg sub-Saharan in Morocco or Argentina.
- We even do theory without knowing it. Need to work with a theoretical framework, but sometimes we should not use theory at any cost, just for the sake of it. Doing theory is not being pedantic, showing you know all of the theories; theory should be part and parcel of our demonstration/study.
- Methodology is about theory, not just methods. The choice of methodology is a theoretically informed choice.
- We need to get our questions right. For some, theory is about what drives migration. But there's also a question about how migration drives society and reverse, this dialectic is a good way to phrase our questions as a common group. So what shapes rather than causes migration.
- Disciplines have no borders. There are different approaches, and some questions need more quantitative or qualitative answers, but most of us combine them. We need an open atmosphere which is important in academia to be able to communicate.
- Most colleagues tend to apply in a mechanic way the theories designed in the North, in the receiving countries. There's often not a clear consciousness of this. This limits our possibility of developing agendas that follow our interests, as Southern scholars. Theories are not neutral. We need an alternative research agenda.
- Not to be trapped in an ivory tower, but to be actors of social transformation processes, which implies an alliance with social movements and progressive governments. Create incentives for innovative collective work and research.

Developing migration theory:

- People define belonging in different ways. We should not ask people where home is or where they went, but should instead discover it through our engagements with people.
- Migration/mobility are not neutral terms so we have to include power, both as a system of strategies, but also in discussions on borders that in-/exclude.
- From mobility to integration, to in-between: Mobility and settlement are continuously fluctuating, we work within them all the time. There's a dialectic relationship.
- The concept of migration has never been under pressure as it is now - to the extent that some propose we replace it with mobility or circulation.
- In the African context the migration concept is not always under pressure. The shift to mobility and circulation brings us a lot in terms of analysis, but the concern is that there is no question about settlement. And it appears as if people are forever moving and never settle; but they have to stop/pause at some point, even if temporarily. It would be interesting to reflect on settlement, circulation and mobility.
- The idea of migration theory may not take us far. Just because people move is not enough to think that it's a study of migration. We should not isolate migration.
- Migration theory is about understanding the nature of the processes, but also the drivers. How migration shapes society, contextualising it and using it as a lens to understand broader processes of social transformation will broaden our understanding of both society and migration. Migration theory must be embedded in wider social theory.

Migration and social transformations:

- Migration can provide us with the possibility to study various aspects of society; it's an entry point.
- Individualisation in migration is a process that is not separate from the evolution of society.
- There's a necessity to take into account the time lag between the complexification and fast-evolving migration phenomenon and an understanding by the researchers of what happens there. Reality is changing fast and the processes are evolving but we are still looking at it through those lenses we developed at the beginning of those phenomena. As a researcher, you hardly know which categories to use, because they are constantly changing. Hence there is a need to regularly question and review preconceived ideas and not take them as gospel.
- Need to embed our analysis in a broader social transformations analysis:
 1. To understand the root causes of migration: The nature of the context of neoliberal globalisation, asymmetries and social inequalities must be made visible. Contribution of migrants to our societies, the cost of migration for our societies, and the implications of migration for migrants and their families.
 2. Interrelationships between internal and south-north migrations: This implies revisiting migration and development theories.
- The value of theory is not understood. It's a tool, a prism that makes things clearer, helps us connect the dots and analyse. Without theory, migration research is handicapped and we should push it.

Research gaps:

- We often ignore what the migrants are bringing to the host and origin country; perhaps we should consider the mobility of cultures.
- There is work to be done on relationship between migratory systems identified at a global level and an African migratory system.
- An historical approach should be studied. But what about futures? Imaginations, people's ideas, mental maps, ideas of what the future should be about.

The African Migrations Workshops:

- This workshop initiative is partly about building partnerships with African teams in an equal partnership relationship. Often there is not equality in such relationships between North and South researchers.
- 90 young researchers have joined in these African Migrations Workshops. Both Franco- and Anglophone. We bring together people who are used to working completely differently.
- Not just the topics at this workshop were new, but also the attempt to bring franco- and anglophones together. And to bring young researchers doing their first work together with older experts was a great opportunity.
- Last year's conclusion was that we need to integrate theory. But now, we need to come back to methodologies again. I'm not at ease with this disconnect between methodology and theories. On the ground, your theory goes with certain methods when you collect data.
- We need to come back to the issues, and not to methodologies. What is our role as scholars - being disconnected from practical issues and moving towards theories?
- I am happy we kept it theoretical. This is not to divorce things from the ground. Theory is vitally important for understanding how we see the world and can change it. We need to be clear about what lenses we wear. There's a problem with people's notion of migration theory. We wanted to relate the study of migration to social theory, i.e. understand the theoretical underpinnings of people's work. Then we can speak to a wider audience and make wider connections. There's no suggestion that people are not using theory - you have to in order to do research, but we want that brought to the foreground. This was a time to speak about abstract things.

**African Migrations Workshop:
 “The Contribution of African Research to Migration Theory”
 Dakar, Senegal
 16th – 19th November 2010**

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African Migrations Workshop

The Contribution of African Research to Migration Theory

16–19 November 2010, Dakar, Senegal

Programme

Time	Monday 15 November
17.30	Evening reception, L'Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire (University Campus)
Time	Tuesday 16 November
9.00-10.30	Registration/welcome
10.30-11.00	Tea/coffee break
11.00-13.00	Keynote: 'Theory and the Study of Migration in Africa', by Oliver Bakewell (Chair: Papa Demba Fall)
13.00-14.00	Lunch
14.00-15.30	Mini lecture: 'Power and Migration', by Loren Landau (Chair: Germain Ngoie Tshibambe)
15.30-16.00	Tea/coffee break
16.00-17.30	Panel 1: Power and Migration (Chair: Emanuela Paoletti) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brittany Wheeler: 'Earning Remains through Repatriation: The Interaction of the Agents that Speak for the Human Remains of Africans' • Matthew Dell: 'Mining the "Local": Migration, Development and Gold in Kayes' • Dulo Nyaoro: 'Management of Cross Border Migration in Africa: Open Versus Closed Systems' • Fanta Cissé: 'Migration and Changes in Power Relationships within Families'

Time	Wednesday 17 November
9.00-10.30	Mini lecture: 'Revisiting Migrations Theories', by Hein de Haas (Chair : Mohamed Berriane)
10.30-11.00	Tea/coffee break
11.00-13.00	Panel 2: Revisiting Migrations Theories, Part I (Chair: Florence Boyer) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tesfalem T. Araia: 'Migration Networks and the African Experience: Appraisal of Migration Systems and Patterns' • Sorana Toma: 'Gender Differences in the Role of Migrant Networks: A Comparison between Congo and Senegal' • Mohamed Aderghal: 'Immigration to Fès: the Direction of the New Dynamics of the Euro-African Migration System'
13.00-14.00	Lunch
14.00-15.30	Panel 2: Revisiting Migrations Theories, Part II (Chair: Loren Landau) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John Akokpari: 'Rethinking the Analytical Utility of Traditional Migration Theories in Africa' • Alioune Diagne and Nathalie Mondain: "'Those Who Remain": Choice or Constraint? The Case of Senegalese Migrants to Europe' • Godwin Ikwuyatum: 'Conceptualizing Dynamics of Mobility and Migration of Internal and International Traders in Nigeria'
15.30-16.00	Tea/coffee break
16.00-17.30	Excursion to the city for the Tabaski festival
Time	Thursday 18 November
9.00-10.30	Mini lecture: 'When the rise of "circumstantial" solidarities informs the decline or transformation of migration networks', by Sylvie Bredeloup (Chair: Hein de Haas)
10.30-11.00	Tea/coffee break
11.00-13.00	Panel 3: Migration Process and Network Dynamics, Part I (Chair: Sorana Toma) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sophie Bava: 'Religious Authorities and African Migration to Cairo: a Reflection on the Role of Religion in the Understanding of Migration Processes' • Khangelani Moyo: 'Networks Matter: The Value of Social Networks and Kinship Ties in the Zimbabwean Migration Landscape' • Clement de Senarclens: 'An analysis of reasons why rejected asylum seekers return'
13.00-14.00	Lunch
14.00-15.30	Panel 3: Migration Process and Network Dynamics, Part II (Chair: Gunvor Jónsson) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sihé Neya: 'Between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, from Migration to Circulation: the Case of Migrants Shared Between These Two Countries' • Jean Roger Abessolo Nguema: 'Process and "non process" migration in the region of the Far North of Cameroon: what are the theoretical issues?' • Gabriel Tati: 'Appropriation of Space for Livelihoods as a Driver of Intra-African Migration in the Context of Social Transformation' • Cynthia Addoquaye Tagoe: 'Conceptualising Mobility as a Livelihood Strategy for Transnational Traders in Ghana'
15.30-16.00	Tea/coffee break

16.00-17.30	Break-out sessions
Time	Friday 19 November
9.00-10.30	Mini lecture: 'Identity and Belonging', by Mirjam de Bruijn (Chair: Oliver Bakewell)
10.30-11.00	Tea/coffee break
11.00-13.00	Panel 4: Identity and Belonging, Part I (Chair: Thomas Lacroix) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regis Minvielle: 'African Migration to Buenos Aires and its Role in Re-composing the Identity of Argentine Society' • Jalal Ouirari: 'The Lifestyle, Food Habits and Identity of Senegalese Immigrants in Morocco' • Germain Ngoie Tshibambe: 'Maliens and Chinese in a Postcolonial City: an Essay on (non-) Social Mixing and Ethnic Entrepreneurship. Case study of Lubumbashi (DRC)'
13.00-14.00	Lunch
14.00-15.30	Panel 4: Identity and Belonging, Part II (Chair: Cynthia Tagoe) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Habibou Ouedraogo: 'Migration and Identity Dynamics: Political Conflict and Community in Cote d'Ivoire' • Adebusuyi Isaac Adeniran: 'Social Networking and Identity Integration within ECOWAS: An Exploratory Study of the Ejjigbo-Yoruba in Cote d'Ivoire' • Naluwembe Binaiisa: 'African Migrations: Contouring the Diasporic Landscape through Everyday Practices of "Belonging"' • Hamidou Dia: 'From Field to Concept: The Example of Multi-Sited Senegalese Villages'
15.30-16.00	Tea/coffee break
16.00-17.30	Closing session: Roundtable with Papa Demba Fall, Mohamed Berriane, Mirjam de Bruijn and Raul Delgado Wise (Chair: Hein de Haas)
	Closing dinner

