

The Center for African Studies presents
the
2008 Gwendolen M. Carter Conference



February 15-16, 2008
282 Reitz Union
University of Florida
Gainesville

The Center for African Studies - Gwendolen M. Carter Conference

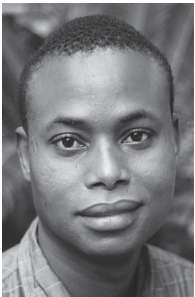


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This year marks the 24th year that the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida has organized annual lectures or a conference in honor of the late distinguished Africanist scholar, Gwendolen M. Carter. Gwendolen Carter devoted her career to scholarship and advocacy concerning the politics of inequality and injustice, especially in southern Africa. She also worked hard to foster the development of African Studies as an academic enterprise. She was perhaps best known for her pioneering study *The Politics of Inequality: Sounce Africa Since 1948* and the co-edited four-volume *History of African Politics in South Africa, From Protest to Challenge (1972-1977)*.

In the spirit of her career, the annual Carter lectures offer the university community and the greater public the perspectives of Africanist scholars on issues of pressing importance to the peoples and societies of Africa. Since 2004, the Center has (with the generous support of the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences) appointed a Carter Faculty Fellow to serve as convener of the conference. Dr. Abdoulaye Kane, an assistant professor in the Center for African Studies and the Department of Anthropology is the 2008 Carter Conference Fellow and Todd Leedy, the Associate Director and Lecturer in the Center for African Studies is co-convener. Please check the back over of this program for a complete list of the Carter conference themes since its inception in 1985.

2008 Carter Conference Conveners



ABDOULAYE KANE is an assistant professor in anthropology and the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida. He completed a Ph. D. on social and financial networks in a transnational perspective at the Amsterdam's School for Social Science Research (University of Amsterdam) in 2001. He has done extensive research on the Haalpulaar migrants in France, Central Africa and the United

States. His recent research interests includes issues of diasporic identity formation, remittances, return migration and social change, religious transnational movements, border crossings and immigration policies. He recently published «De Medina Gounass à Fez: mobilité, sociabilité et échanges autour de la Tijaniyya » [From Medina Gounass to Fez: mobility, sociability and exchange around the Tijaniyya Sufi Order] in Elisabeth Boesen & Laurence Marfaing (ss la Dir.): *Les nouveaux urbains dans l'espace Sahara-Sahel. Un cosmopolitisme par le bas*, 2007, and "Senegalese Sufi Orders in the transnational space: Moving Religious Activities from Home to Host countries and creating Diasporic Identities", in *Migrations and Creativity in Africa and the African Diaspora*, edited by Toyin Falola, Niyi Afolabi, & Aderonke Adesanya, Carolina Academic Press.



TODD LEEDY (Ph.D., University of Florida) is Associate Director and Lecturer in the Center for African Studies. During his undergraduate training at Michigan State University, he spent an academic year at the University of Zimbabwe. Leedy later received a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad grant from the U.S. Department of Education to support his dissertation fieldwork in Zimbabwe during

1997-98. In 2006, he convened the annual meeting of the Southeast Africanist Network (SEAN) themed "The African Experience in Europe through Cinema." His recent publications include "The World the Students Made: Agriculture and Education at American Methodist Missions in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1930-60," *History of Education Quarterly* 47:4 (2007); and "History with a Mission: Abraham Kawadza and Narratives of Agrarian Change in Zimbabwe," *History in Africa* 33 (2006).

2008 Gwendolen M. Carter Conference
Migrations In & Out of Africa: Old Patterns & New Perspectives

Keynote Address by

Ndioro Ndiaye, Deputy Director-General
International Organization for Migration (IOM)

“Diaspora in the Concept of Migration and Development”



Professor Ndioro Ndiaye is the Deputy Director-General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

In 1988, Mrs. Ndiaye was appointed by the President of the Republic to the post of Minister for Social Development. On behalf of the Senegalese government, she coordinated humanitarian activities during the crisis between Senegal and Mauritania in 1989. As the supervising minister, Mrs. Ndiaye devised and implemented practical solutions to assist both Senegalese and Mauritanian migrants displaced by the conflict.

She has also been responsible for dealing with population movements arising from the situation in Casamance, where there has been a conflict for over 15 years.

From 1990 to 1995, Mrs. Ndiaye was Minister for Women’s, Children’s and Family Affairs. Thereafter, and until her appointment as Deputy Director-General of IOM, she resumed her numerous activities at the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, where she was highly instrumental in reforming tertiary education in Senegal.

A founding member of the Comité scientifique pour les femmes et le développement, (Scientific Commission for Women and Development), Mrs. Ndiaye founded an NGO around the mid-1990s called “Reseau de femmes africaines leaders pour la paix et le développement” (Network of African Women Leaders for Peace and Development), which she coordinated until her appointment to IOM.

Mrs. Ndiaye has published numerous scientific papers and has written several works and studies on social and political issues. She is Commandeur des Palmes académiques and Chevalier dans l’ordre de la Légion d’Honneur in France, and Commandeur de l’Ordre du Lion du Sénégal.

Friday, 15 February 2008
7pm - Harn Museum Auditorium

Friday 15 February – Reitz Union Room 282

- 8:30-8:45a **Coffee & Tea**
- 8:45-9:00a **Opening remarks**
- 9:00-11:00a **I- Border Crossing and Immigration Policies**
Chair: **Abdoulaye Kane** (University of Florida)
Donald Carter (Hamilton College)
Navigating Diaspora: Shipwrecks, Identity and the Nation
Rubin Patterson (University of Toledo)
Strategic African Brain Circulation: Where Transformative Development Begins
Isaie Dougnon (University of Bamako)
Migration as Coping with Risk: African Migrants' Conception of Being Far from Home and States' Policy of Barriers
- 11:00 -11:30a **Break**
- 11:30-1:30p **II- Feminization of African Migrations and Changes in Gender Roles: Prospects and Problems**
Chair: **Julie Silva** (University of Florida)
Awa Ba (Uppsala University)
These Women Who Wear Trousers: Senegalese Women Immigrants in New York City
Jane Freedman (University of Paris - Sorbonne)
The Feminisation of Asylum Migration from Africa: Problems and Perspectives
Cheikh Babou (University of Pennsylvania)
Migration as Factor of Cultural Change Abroad and at Home: Senegalese Female Hair Braiders in the United States.
- 1:30 – 3:30p **Lunch**
- 3:30-5:30p **III- African Internal Migrants and Refugees: Being Abroad at Home**
Chair: **Brenda Chalfin** (University of Florida)
Loren Landau (University of the Witwatersrand)
Belonging Amidst Shifting Sands: Insertion, Self-Exclusion, and the Remaking of African Urbanism
Bruce Whitehouse (Brown University)
Social Determinants of Voluntary Migration: Evidence from Research on Inter-African Migrants in Brazzaville, Congo
Hansjoerg Dilger (Free University of Berlin)
Securing Wealth and Managing Social Relations: Kinship, Gender, and Rural-Urban Migration in Neoliberal Tanzania
- 7:00p **Keynote address:** [Harn Museum Auditorium]
Ms. Ndioro Ndiaye, Deputy Director General - International Organization for Migration
Diaspora in the Concept of Migration and Development

Saturday 16 February – Reitz Union Room 282

- 8:30-9am **Coffee & Tea**
- 9-11am **IV- Claiming Spaces and Creating Identities: The Role of Religion and Religious Groups**
Chair: **Roman Loimeier** (University of Florida)
Afe Adogame (University of Edinburgh)
Towards a 'Christian Disneyland'? Negotiating Space and Identity in the New African Religious Diaspora
Beth Buggenhagen (Indiana University)
Global Circuits of Senegalese Muslims and Women's Search for Religious Merit
JoAnn D'Alisera (University of Arkansas)
Sanctifying City Space: The Making of Diasporic Urban Selves Among Sierra Leonean Muslims in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area
- 11:00-11:30a **Break**
- 11:30-1:30p **V- African Migrants and People Left Behind: Transnational and/or Translocal Processes**
Chair: **Maria Stoilkova** (University of Florida)
Rachel Reynolds (Drexel University)
Towards Understanding a Culture of Migration Among Elite African Youth: Igbo College Students in the United States.
Paul Stoller (West Chester University)
Strangers are the Mist: The Push and Pull of the African Diaspora
Scott Youngstedt (Saginaw Valley State University)
Voluntary and Involuntary Homebodies: Adaptations and Lived Experiences of Hausa Left Behind in Niamey, Niger by Migrant Family and Friends
Discussant: **Catherine Coe** (Rutgers University)
- 1:30-3:30pm **Lunch**
- 3:30-5:30p **VII- Remittances from and to Home Communities: Forms of Exchanges between the Local and the Global**
Chair: **Renata Serra** (University of Florida)
Cindy Horst (PRIO, Norway)
Somali Assistance Networks: The Social Dynamics of Sending Remittances
Ebenezer Obadare (University of Kansas)
Between the State and 'Western Union': Transnational Resource Flow and the Antinomies of Citizenship in Nigeria
Valentina Mazzucato (University of Amsterdam)
Reverse Remittances in the Migration – Development Nexus

ABSTRACTS



ADOGAME, AFE

Towards a 'Christian Disneyland'? Negotiating Space and Identity in the new African religious diaspora

The notion of sacred space represents one prominent geographical dimension of religious expression. Landscape bears the imprint of religion through the duplication of facilities and sacred spaces. Religious place-making processes and ritual space re-production, appropriation rarely operate in social vacuum; they are often entangled in intricate politics of negotiation by different social groups, minorities, and new arrivals – immigrants. Such negotiations are enacted via layers of economics, culture, religion and identity. The dynamics, such as of power and identity, that often shape these emplacements and invention of new ritual places is quintessential to understanding the politics of belonging, place-making and translocality. Religious structures dominate the appearance and character of localities, and serve as valuable indications of both religio-cultural changes through time and space. Drawing upon recent religious ethnography, this paper maps the growth dynamics, mobility of African churches in Europe and North America, and their gradual insertion within religious maps of the universe, discernible in

their construction of religious geographies. We explore how and to what extent they are creating new identities through sacred space reproduction and religious place-making processes.

Afe Adogame holds a Ph.D in History of Religions from Bayreuth University, Germany. He teaches Religious Studies/World Christianity at the University of Edinburgh, UK. His teaching and research expertise include: Religion and the new African Diaspora; Religion, Migration and Globalization; African religions; African new religious movements (African initiated churches, Pentecostal/charismatic); and method and theory in the study of religion. Dr. Adogame has ethnographical expertise in African Christian communities in continental Europe (especially in Germany and the UK) and in the USA.



BA, AWA

These Women Who Wear Trousers: Senegalese Women Immigrants in New York City

This paper deals with Senegalese women immigrants in New York City and their quest for economic emancipation, and by the same token of a new social status both in their new country of residence and back home. The last two decades have seen large numbers of Senegalese women migrating to the United States either to join their husbands or as individual economic migrants. The Senegalese community in New York City has become quite large. The men work as taxi drivers, traders, security guards, office employees and the like. As for women, they work mainly in the hairbraiding, trading and catering sectors and it is believed that they make more money than their male compatriots. The increasing economic power of women, seen against backdrop of the American cultural context in which women are supposed to be empowered, gives the latter strength, psychologically, and encourages them to explore legal ways of challenging traditional gender relations that disfavour them.

The questions and conflicts over the control of women's economic means and social life demonstrate that migration is fundamentally a gendered phenomenon.

Awa Ba is a Ph.D Candidate at the Department of Religious Studies in Uppsala University (Sweden). Her dissertation is titled: "Reproducing Home, Producing Locality: Senegalese Female Immigrants in New York." She has carried out extensive fieldwork in Senegal and in New York City. Awa Ba is a graduate of Gaston Berger University, in Saint-Louis, Senegal, where she obtained a BA and an MA in Sociology. She also holds a Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies (DEA) in Anthropology from Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar (Senegal), and a degree in journalism obtained at ISSIC (High Institute of Information and Communication Sciences), in Dakar, Senegal. She has carried out research on gender, religion, media and migration.



BABOU, CHEIKH ANTA

Migration as Factor of Cultural Change Abroad and at Home: Senegalese Female Hair Braiders in the United States

This research uses the business of hair braiding among Senegalese immigrants in the United States as a lens to explore the shifting foundations of social hierarchies and gender roles in Wolof-Muslim Society. The article is based on multi-sited field research among Senegalese female hair braiders and ordinary women in Senegal, Anderson (S.C.), Atlanta, New York, and Philadelphia. It has revealed that even though most Senegalese immigrants continue to acknowledge the strong influence of 'traditions' on their marital and social relations, this influence is rather symbolic. The research

suggests that money is gradually displacing non-material sources of prestige and authority such as blood and 'caste' status. Business practices and social interactions in the diaspora are increasingly defined by economic considerations and the changes that are taking place in the United States are also affecting the population left behind in Senegal.

Cheikh Anta Babou holds a doctoral degree in African History from Michigan State University. He joined the History Department of the University of Pennsylvania in July 2002. Dr. Babou teaches African History and the History of Islam in Africa. His research focuses on francophone West Africa from the 19th century and on the contemporary African diasporas in France and the United States. Professor Babou has published academic articles on the history of the Muridiyya and the development of the Murid immigrant community in New York.



BUGGENHAGEN, BETH A.

Global Circuits of Senegalese Muslims and Women's Search for Religious Merit

In this paper I analyze women's search for religious merit through feasting, offerings to the religious hierarchy and beauty and dress practices in Senegal and in its North American diaspora in New York City. These exchange practices characterize Murid women's participation in a number of public gatherings central to their devotional practices including meetings of religious associations, family ceremonies, and pilgrimages to the tombs of Sufi figures. I focus on women's financial and religious practices in the context of the annual visit of religious leaders during Shaykh Amadou Bamba Day and other Murid conferences throughout the

year (such as the visit by Serign Modou Kara Mbacke) and the way in which women's financial practices have caught the eye of the Murid clergy seeking to expand its moral and material might.

Beth Buggenhagen is an assistant professor of sociocultural anthropology at Indiana University, Bloomington. Her research interests include circulation and value; diaspora and transnationalism; neoliberal global capital; gender; Islam and visibility. She is currently working on a book manuscript, *Prophets and Profits: Gender and Islam in Global Senegal*, on the global circuits of Senegalese Muslims and the politics of social production.



CARTER, DONALD

Navigating Diaspora: Shipwrecks, Identity and the Nation

African migrants set out in small boats each year destined to make landfall in parts of Europe. Many disappear leaving no trace. Their disappearance marks a silent crisis punctuated by news of shipwrecks of migrant craft in the waterways between Africa and Europe. Contemporary practices of incorporation in European democratic sovereign states have often been at odds with the claims and expressions of universalistic human rights. In recent years there has been a pronounced trend toward militarization in an efforts to stem the flow of migrants testing relatively porous European borders. The failure largely of the European Union to clarify distinctions between admittance to member Nations and membership or to render transparent the procedures and processes by which permanent residence, asylum, refugee status and permission to stay are attained and contested in the case of appeal raises serious ethical concerns in the realm of political incorporation, immigration and human rights. The paper explores both the consequences of militarization and the loss of an African generation in its wake.

Donald Martin Carter is visiting associate professor of Africana Studies at Hamilton College. Carter is author of *States of Grace: Senegalese in Italy and the New European Immigration* (1997) and the forthcoming *Navigating Diaspora* (University of Minnesota Press). His research interests include culture theory, racial formation, visual culture, Diaspora, invisibility and transnational cultural politics.



D'ALISERA, JOANN

Sanctifying City Space: The Making of Diasporic Urban Selves among Sierra Leonean Muslims in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area

In this paper I explore the way in which scared space is produced in public venues to become a tangible medium through which Sierra Leonean Muslims living in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area reflect upon the harmonies and tensions of life in the diaspora. I ask how sites such as work spaces, street corners, sidewalks, and public parks, understood as within the realm of the ordinary, are reproduced as

extraordinary. Through an exploration of both formal ritual and informal practices that anchor Sierra Leonean transnational worldview in the material world, I examine how a multiplicity of sanctifying patterns of action are performed in conscious tension with the way American public spaces are normally perceived. I challenge the notion that people experience sacred space as a radical and bounded place, separate from the profane spaces of everyday life. As such, I point to the complex ways that spacial practices that emplace the sacred onto mundane sites create a habitus through which Sierra Leonean transnationals negotiate the social relations and practical knowledges of their world. In so doing, I show that sacred meaning and significance, holy awe and desire, can coalesce in any place that becomes, even if only temporally, a site for intensive religious interpretation and thus essential locations of self-reflection and self-constitution in cities.

JoAnn D'Alisera is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Arkansas. She is the author of *An Imagined Geography: Sierra Leonean Muslims in America* (2004).



DILGER, HANSJOERG

Securing wealth and managing social relations: kinship, gender, and rural-urban migration in neoliberal Tanzania

In this paper I explore how kinship-based relations of support and solidarity in Tanzania – which have been established in the context of rural-urban migration over the last few decades – have been affected by the introduction of structural adjustment programs and the HIV/AIDS epidemic from the mid-1980s onwards. Drawing on the case study of a man who died from HIV/AIDS in Dar es Salaam in 1999, I show that the conflicts and tensions that have evolved around the illnesses and deaths of migrating family members are deeply gendered and reflect on the ambiguity of categories like “home”, “belonging” and “wealth” in the context of social and economic mobility. This becomes obvious not only with regard to the involved families’ multiple endeavors and strategies to find a cure for their relative’s illness and/or to provide a proper burial for the deceased family member. Kinship-based systems of care and support

are also challenged by the situation of widows who may oppose to their in-law’s strategies of wealth containment and their endeavors to manage the future well-being of their own and the deceased’s family.

Hansjörg Dilger is a Junior Professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the Freie Universität Berlin. He is also an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and African Studies at the University of Florida (on leave in 2007/08). Between 1995 and 2006 he has carried out extensive fieldwork on HIV/AIDS and social relationships in Tanzania, focusing on the dynamics of kinship and Neo-Pentecostalism in the context of rural-urban migration, as well as on the responses of national and non-governmental actors to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Dilger is current chair of the work group “Medical Anthropology” within the German Anthropological Association. He is also author of numerous publications, e.g. “We Are All Going to Die’: Kinship, Belonging and the Morality of HIV/AIDS-Related Illnesses and Deaths in Rural Tanzania,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 81 (1) 2.



DOUGNON, ISAIE

Migration as Coping with Risk: African Migrants’ Conception of Being far from Home and States’ Policy of Barriers

Death, starvation, overexploitation, poverty, life sans papiers, unemployment--just to name a few--are the most frequently used words to describe the risks of migration in order to discourage young African from undertaking dangerous trips towards Europe or to big African cities. What, however, is the real impact of this communication strategy, even coupled with setting up legal and physical barriers to migration? In fact, we see that in spite of the discursive campaign against migration and the establishment of small scale rural development projects to create job opportunities, youth migration from rural Africa is actually intensifying, and the destinations are more diverse. This paper aims to demonstrate that the discourse by policy makers on the danger of migration is, in fact, at the core of Africans’ own conception of travelling

outside of their community. In most West African societies the word “migration” means a pilgrim into the wilderness. From an African point of view, coping with risk is the objective condition of migration. How then, using the grassroots’ understanding of migration, can State policies stop rural movement towards European and African cities? Using the material collected among Malian Dogon migrant in Ghana, I shall discuss the meaning of migration and migrants’ discourse of crossing borders in the colonial and the post colonial periods, as well as show how current migrants’ strategies to overcome all types of barriers, even at the risk of their lives, is rooted in their very definition of migration to seek work or to discover the outside world.

Isaie Dougnon is assistant professor in the Department of Social Sciences, University of Bamako. He obtained his doctorate at the University of Bayreuth in 2003 with a dissertation entitled “Travail de Blanc, Travail de Noir: La migration paysanne du Pays Dogon à l’Office du Niger et au Ghana 1910-1980.”



FREEDMAN, JANE

The Feminisation of Asylum Migration from Africa: Problems and Perspectives

The flows of asylum migrants to Europe, as to other countries of the global North, have become increasingly feminised in the past decade, with women now making up over one third of total asylum claimants in the European Union. This is particularly true with regard to asylum seekers from Africa. This feminization has raised new problems with regard to asylum notably concerning the recognition of some forms of gender-related persecution, and the implementation of gender-sensitive policies during the refugee status determination process. This paper will examine the feminization of asylum flows from Africa to Europe, analyzing the causes of this feminization, including the increasing numbers of women fleeing from gender-specific types of persecution such as female genital mutilation and forced marriage. The paper will engage with policy responses to these developments both in

Europe and in Africa as well as examining the experiences of women asylum seekers. Finally, the paper will highlight the problem of the non-recognition of refugee status to women victims of human trafficking – a problem which is becoming central to the policy-making agenda in Europe.

Jane Freedman is Marie Curie Chair of Politics at the Université de Paris 1, Sorbonne. Her research has focused on issues of gender in migration. Recent publications include *Gendering the International Asylum and Refugee Debate* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), and *Persécutions des femmes: savoirs, mobilisations, protections* (Editions du Croquant, 2007).



HORST, CINDY

Somali Assistance Networks: The Social Dynamics of Sending Remittances

This paper builds on research on transnational practices amongst Somali refugees in Kenya, the US, and Norway from 1995. It tries to bring together some of the many insights gained over time and in different locations, by focusing on the social dynamics of sending and receiving remittances. The paper will first explore the reasons for the immense importance of remittances for Somalia and regional refugees both historically and when observing the current situation. It will then go into some of the human dimensions of remittance sending patterns, and their geographical complexity (illustrated with a number of ‘remittance trajectories’). Furthermore, individual motivations will be discussed in terms of remittance sending obligations; responsibilities; and strategies. In conclusion, the question is addressed of whether it is likely that there are differences between the social dynamics of remittance sending depending on the original reasons for why a migrant left her/his country of origin.

Cindy Horst works as a Senior Researcher at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO). She is a social anthropologist with a specialization in Forced Migration Studies. Horst has extensive fieldwork experience among Somalis in Kenya and the wider diaspora. Her current research interests focus on assistance practices; cultures of migration; interactions between forced migrants and the refugee regime; political transnational practices; and participatory methods. Her most recent publications include the monograph *Transnational Nomads. How Somalis Cope with Refugee Life in the Dadaab Camps of Kenya* (Berghahn Books 2006) an edited volume of the *Refugee Survey Quarterly* on refugee livelihoods (2006) and an article in the *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19(2), entitled “Buufis amongst Somalis in Dadaab: The Transnational and Historical Logics Behind Resettlement Dreams.”



LANDAU, LOREN B.

Belonging Amidst Shifting Sands: Insertion, Self-Exclusion, and the Remaking of African Urbanism

Accelerating levels of urbanization and transit mobility are remaking Africa's cities. Given the speed with which new social formations are being challenged, forged, and refashioned, little is known about what forms of inclusion, solidarity, and mutual recognition are taking shape in these ever expanding conurbations. By exploring various immigrant groups in Johannesburg and data from Maputo, Nairobi, and Lubumbashi, this paper points to the emergence of distinctive ways of negotiating inclusion and belonging that transcend ethnic, national or transnational paradigms. Confronted with virulent nativism coupled with restrictive immigration and anti-urbanisation regimes, foreigners have reacted with a kind of 'tactical cosmopolitanism'

that negotiates partial inclusion in transforming societies without becoming bounded by them. Rather than a coherent philosophy, this is a mish-mash of rhetorical and organizational tools drawing on a diversity of more established discourses and value systems. In doing so, they capitalise on cosmopolitanism's power without being bound by its responsibilities. This paper attempts to contribute to the emerging literature on cosmopolitanism 'from below', conceptualised not as a philosophy but as a practice and form of experiential culture.

Loren B. Landau is Director of Wits University's Forced Migration Studies Programme in Johannesburg, South Africa and is executive committee chair for the Consortium of Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CRMSA). A political scientist by training, his research explores migration, belonging, and sovereignty in Africa. He has published widely in Africanist, Refugee Studies, and Political Science journals and edited volumes. He is also author of the *The Humanitarian Hangover: Displacement, Aid, and Transformation in Western Tanzania* published by the Nordic Africa Institute and Wits University Press.



MAZZUCATO, VALENTINA

Reverse Remittances in the Migration - Development Nexus

Remittances have been the focus of research on the relationship between migration and development. Economic studies focus on the effects of economic remittances on poverty alleviation for households and on business investments. Transnationalism studies have highlighted that home communities are affected by migration also through social remittances, that is, the norms that guide the ways things are done in home communities such as fashion, housing styles and family structures. These studies have in common that they focus on the flow of money, goods, ideas and communications from migrants to their home communities. This paper introduces the concept of reverse remittances, or remittances that flow from home communities to migrants. The study focuses on a case of migration from the global South to the global North: Ghanaian

migrants in the Netherlands. We find that most remittances from home communities to migrants are in the form of services conducted for the migrant. Some of these reverse remittances, such as childcare, managing businesses and taking care of housing construction and the newly built structures have been covered in transnationalism studies but only in an anecdotal way. Here we systematically analyze these reverse remittances with data from a matched sample of 115 migrants in the Netherlands and network members in Ghana. Furthermore, we elaborate on another type of reverse remittance that is missing in the literature: that of services conducted to help migrants obtain documents to regularize their stays in the host country. Finally, we give attention to the methodology used to study these services, which are difficult to detect and therefore remain largely under researched. We conclude by arguing that reverse remittances affect the resource allocation between migrant sending and receiving countries and as such are an important element to consider in the migration - development nexus.

Valentina Mazzucato is senior researcher at the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies at the University of Amsterdam. She has worked on issues related to transnationalism, development and migration since 2000. Between 2001 and 2007 she headed an interdisciplinary research program on Ghanaian migrants' transnational networks (<http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/ghanatransnet/>) funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). She is currently one of the three Scientific Coordinators of a European 7th Framework research program on Migrations between Africa and Europe (MAFE), and serves on the 15-member, international expert committee on migration and development research of the Social Science Research Council of the United States. She has published papers in numerous journals including *International Migration* (2008), *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2008) and *Development and Change* (35:5, 2006; 31:4, 2000).



OBADARE, EBENEZER BABATUNDE

Between the State and 'Western Union': Transnational Resource Flow and the Antinomies of Citizenship in Nigeria

Using Nigeria and its people as the focus, this study examines the civic implications for a society in which the source of private economic provisioning for a significant proportion of the population lies outside the borders of the state. It postulates that, as the volume of remittances increases and new social groups gain access to greater resources, a nascent 'remittance elite' may emerge that will have little reason to engage with the state. In the last 20 years the volume and rate of emigration from Africa to countries of the global North have more than doubled. Scholars expect this trend to continue, not just in Africa but across most of the global South. This wave of migration has already had serious consequences for both the receiving and sending countries.

The results of the proposed research will have implications not only for Nigeria, but for all countries where a growing percentage of the remaining population is dependent on remittances.

Ebenezer Obadare is assistant professor of sociology and earned his PhD at the London School of Economics. His recent publications include "Playing Politics with the Mobile Phone in Nigeria: Civil Society, Big Business and the State," *Review of African Political Economy* (2006); and "Second Thoughts on Civil Society: The State, Civic Associations and the Antinomies of the Public Sphere in Nigeria," *Journal of Civil Society* (2005). He was formerly an investigative reporter for TEMPO magazine in Nigeria.



PATTERSON, RUBIN

Strategic African Brain Circulation: Where Transformative Development Begins

The brain drain vs. brain gain debate is in flux. The debate has largely shifted from debating whether the emigration of African technical talent constitutes a drain or not for the sending society to debating the conditions under which the systematic emigration of such talent can be a net gain for the sending African nation (i.e., brain circulation). The shift is reflected in the AU and NEPAD's recognition of the African Diaspora as the continent's 6th region. Growing numbers of Africans in rich countries and enhanced strategic collaboration between the Diasporic community and the African homelands can potentially make a transformative developmental impact across Africa. Since all development strategies have downsides and potential for failure, this paper sorts out the issues by addressing potential payoffs and pitfalls.

Rubin Patterson is the interim director of Africana Studies and professor of Sociology at the University of Toledo. His present and recent research interests include brain circulation, transnational societies, technology and development in Southern Africa, and comparative African-Asian development. He has a master's degree in engineering from George Washington University and a doctorate in sociology from Howard University.



REYNOLDS, RACHEL R.

Towards Understanding a Culture of Migration Among Elite African Youth: Igbo College Students in the United States

Igbo immigrant communities in North America now number at least 25,000 individuals principally in cities like Houston, Chicago and Baltimore-D.C. These communities differ from many other African-immigrant groups in that their members are frequently from the elite classes of Nigeria who elected to come abroad for purposes of education or professional advancement (Reynolds 2002). As the Igbo brain drain continues to expand and consolidate community and family interests, there are both continuities and changes in African responses to the disruptions of social and biological reproduction created by migration and movements. Such evolving cultural forms include international fostering, where mother's brother (and others) have met

the obligations to teach, to guide, and to sponsor financially sponsor young relatives living abroad. Additionally, there are continuities in the 'been to' experience of elites who move abroad for education/enculturation at the metropolises, whereas 1950's education migrants to the U.K. are the cultural forebears of today's educational migrants to the north. After discussing how fostering practice and enculturation to education in the Western university affects an Igbo culture of migration, this paper concludes by asking how older immigrant children experience the social process of establishing and living within transnational elite circuits of human and financial capital. I pay particular attention to how these children's positionality in the reproduction of elite or brain-drain communities abroad has relevance to their sense of a future self who is actively (re)producing a social order. Data for this paper comes from fieldwork and interview data with Igbo speakers living in the United States and Canada from 1997 to 2002, as well as 2006 data on Igbo language learners at a U.S. university.

Rachel R. Reynolds is an ethnographer and linguist who studies Nigerian immigration to the U.S. A co-founder of the Working Group on Childhood and Migration, she has recently expanded her work from ethnographic studies with adult (im)migrants to questions of how to research, interpret, and express children's experiences of migration. She is currently an assistant professor and director of graduate programs in the Department of Culture & Communication at Drexel University in Philadelphia.



STOLLER, PAUL

Strangers are the Mist: The Push and Pull of the African Diaspora

For almost 15 years I have followed a group of West African immigrants, mostly Songhay-Zarma and Hausa men from Niger, as they migrated, settled and worked in New York City as taxi drivers, security guards, grocery delivery men, and, like Issifi Mayaki, street vendors. Like most immigrants, these men are liminal figures. Although of them call themselves, "Les New Yorkais," they remain, for the most part alienated. They say that they miss the quality of life in Niger, the smells, tastes and sounds of their homeland. They say that "next year" they will return home. And yet they remain in New York City. Some have returned definitively to Niger only to return one year after their "permanent" departure. Many are now raising families in America. Their children, who know little about the cultural life of West Africa,

speak English rather than Songhay or Hausa. Some want their children to visit Niger so they might be introduced to their ancestral language and culture, so they might be exposed to social codes of "respect" for their elders. Given the pervasive power of American culture, they realize that these visits are no solution to the problem of language loss and cultural erosion. In the end, they all say that they want to return home. Considering their economic and social entanglements in America, can they simply return to Africa?

It is clear that African immigrants are becoming more and more woven into the social and economic fabric of life in the United States and that the push and pull of immigrant life constructs a degree of socio-cultural and linguistic alienation. In this essay, I discuss the linguistic, social and cultural ramifications of this alienation and then suggest ways that academic institutions might reach out to African immigrants to ease the burden of continuous liminality and enrich the cultural life in their increasingly multi-generational communities.

Paul Stoller is Professor of Anthropology at West Chester University. The recipient of number grants and fellowships, including awards from the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation. Stoller has conducted research among the Songhay people, both in Niger and in New York City, for more than 30 years. This research has resulted in the publication of numerous essays and 11 books--three ethnographies, one biography, three memoirs, two collections of essay, and two works of fiction. In 2002, Stoller won the American Anthropological Association's Robert B. Textor Prize for *Money Has No Smell*. His forthcoming book, *The Power of the Between: An Anthropological Memoir* will be published by The University of Chicago Press in November 2008.



WHITEHOUSE, BRUCE

Social Determinants of Voluntary Migration: Evidence from Research on Inter-African Migrants in Brazzaville, Congo

Prevailing models for the determinants of human spatial mobility are overwhelmingly economic in nature. Push factors, pull factors, and wage differentials, for example, are among the most common explanations for migrants' choices to leave home. While such material factors are important in efforts to understand migration, they obscure the ways migrants make decisions not as isolated "homo economicus" but as actors in a social milieu. This paper, based on ethnographic research conducted among migrants in Brazzaville, Congo, explores some of the overlooked social forces and cultural constructions which influence migration within Africa, paying particular attention to social networks and to imaginaries of status, honor, and shame.

It seeks to demonstrate that social science research can and should take social and cultural factors into account in the study of migration without resorting to culturalist arguments.

Bruce Whitehouse is currently a postdoctoral research associate at Brown University, where he received his PhD in anthropology in 2007. He conducted dissertation fieldwork on transnational migration in Brazzaville, Congo from 2005 to 2006, and has also done field research in Mali and Nigeria. Prior to undertaking his graduate studies, he worked for the Peace Corps in Mali (1997-2000) and the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC (1993-1996).



YOUNGSTEDT, SCOTT M.

Voluntary and Involuntary Homebodies: Adaptations and Lived Experiences of Hausa Left Behind in Niamey, Niger by Migrant Family and Friends

This paper explores the important roles played by Hausa communities in Niamey, Niger in the ongoing creation of the global Hausa diaspora. Nigerien Hausa have been a traveling culture for centuries. Most Hausa of Niger eke out a living through circular migration, focusing on raising crops under difficult Sahelian conditions during three to four month rainy seasons, and on labor or trade in the informal economies of Niamey and dozens of other West African cities – many of which have long-standing diaspora communities of Hausa settlers – during long dry seasons. During the past 50 years, Hausa have creatively adapted to postcolonial conditions and global neoliberalism through accelerating rural exodus and permanent

outmigration within West African and to more distant locations in Europe and North America. An impressive body of literature examines the culturally specific ways Nigerien Hausa experience and navigate transnational processes while establishing communities in Ibadan, Accra, Kumasi, Lome, Paris, and New York among other places.

This paper aims to make an original ethnographic contribution to globalization studies and the understanding of the global Hausa diaspora by focusing on people left behind in Niamey – a heretofore virtually unstudied place. Niamey is both a destination and the central staging ground where Hausa prepare for international migration. The paper considers four key themes: (1) decision making processes about who should migrate and who should remain at home; (2) debates about how to invest remittances; (3) the varied experiences of women left behind by their migratory husbands; and (4) the ways by which the money, ideas, fashions, and skills of returning migrants are transforming local urban culture.

Scott M. Youngstedt is Professor of Anthropology at Saginaw Valley State University. His primary work in Niger explores the ways by which migrant Hausa use street corner conversation groups--their most important institution of public culture--to create modernities, construct communities in diaspora, and negotiate personal identities in the context of neoliberal globalization. Youngstedt is also examining the dynamics of the global Hausa diaspora through research in and between communities in Niger, Ghana, Senegal, the U.S., and in cyberspace. He has recently conducted analyses of tourism and festivals--including the 5th Francophonie Sports and Arts Festival hosted by Niger, tourism in Morocco, and Pan-African tourism and festivals in Ghana and Senegal--considering issues such as cultural representation, authenticity, development, and intercultural communication.

Notes

Gwendolen M. Carter Conference Themes 1984-2008

1984-85	SADCC's Bid for Independence from South Africa: Will it Succeed?
1986	The African Food Crisis: Prospects for a Solution
1987	The Exploding Crisis in Southern Africa
1988	Human Rights in Africa
1989	Structural Adjustment and Transformation: Impacts on African Women Farmers
1990	Health Issues in Africa
1991	Involuntary Migration and Resettlement in Africa
1992	Sustainability in Africa: Integrating Concepts
1993	Africa's Disappearing Past: The Erasure of Cultural Patrimony
1994	Transition in South Africa
1995	African Entrepreneurship
1997	Communication and Democratization in Africa
1998	Africa on Film and Video
1999	Aquatic Conservation and Management in Africa
2000	Renegotiating Nation and Political Community in Africa at the Dawn of the New Millennium
2001	Governance and Higher Education In Africa
2002	Zimbabwe in Transition: Resolving Land and Constitutional Crisis
2003	Dynamics of Islam in Contemporary Africa
2004	Movement (R)evolution: Contemporary African Dance
2005	States of Violence: The Conduct of War in Africa
2006	Law, Politics, and Society in South Africa: The Politics of Inequality Then and Now
2007	African Visual Cultures: Crossing Disciplines, Crossing Regions
2008	Migrations In and Out of Africa: Old Patterns and New Perspectives

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