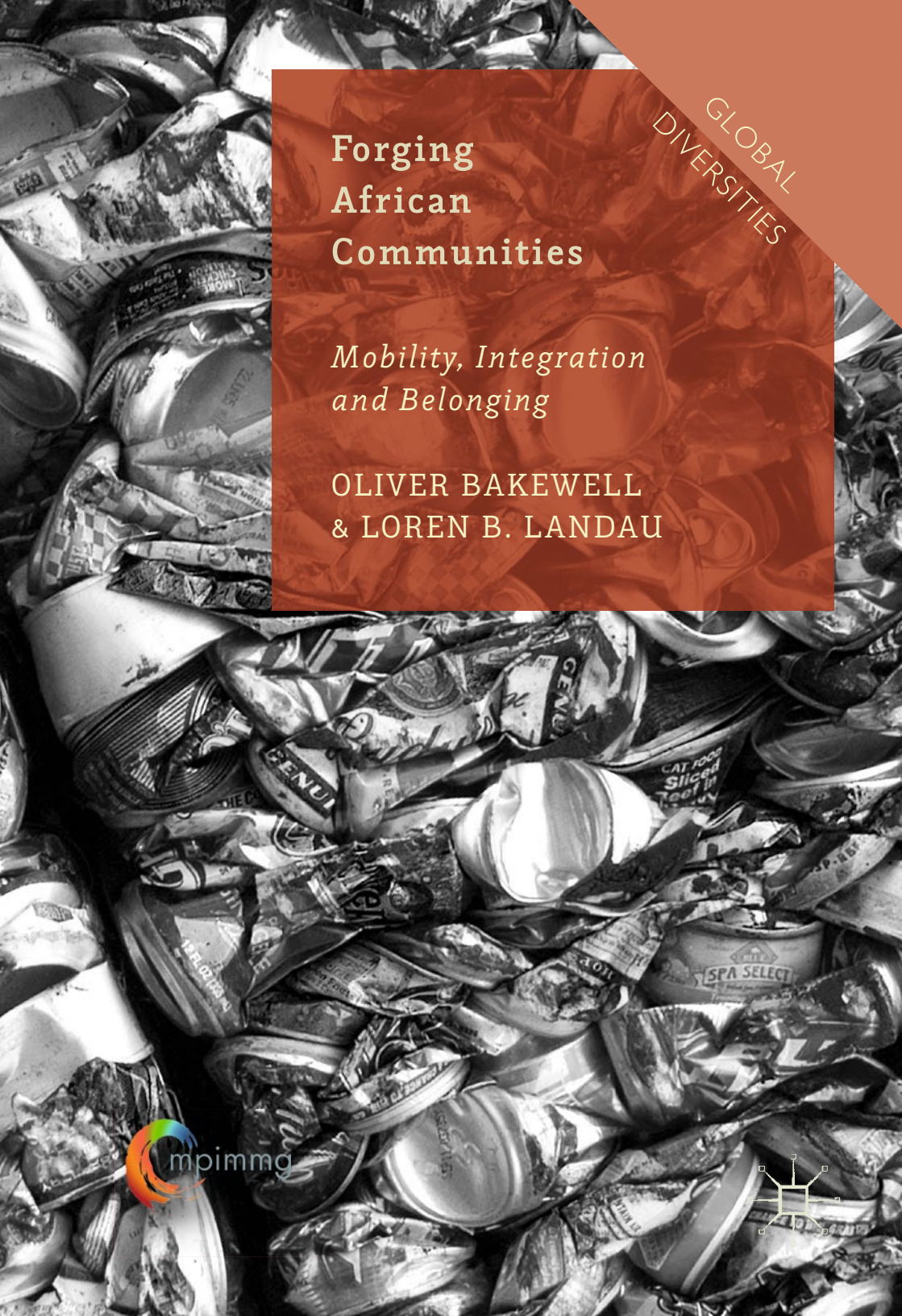
GLOBAL DIVERSITIES
Forging African Communities
Mobility, Integration and Belonging
OLIVER BAKEWELL & LOREN B. LANDAU
mpimmg

Global Diversities

Over the past decade, the concept of 'diversity' has gained a leading place in academic thought, business practice, politics and public policy across the world. However, local conditions and meanings of 'diversity' are highly dissimilar and changing. For these reasons, deeper and more comparative understandings of pertinent concepts, processes and phenomena are in great demand. This series will examine multiple forms and configurations of diversity, how these have been conceived, imagined, and represented, how they have been or could be regulated or governed, how different processes of inter-ethnic or inter-religious encounter unfold, how conflicts arise and how political solutions are negotiated and practiced, and what truly convivial societies might actually look like. By comparatively examining a range of conditions, processes and cases revealing the contemporary meanings and dynamics of 'diversity', this series will be a key resource for students and professional social scientists. It will represent a landmark within a field that has become, and will continue to be, one of the foremost topics of global concern throughout the twenty-first century. Reflecting this multi-disciplinary field, the series will include works from Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, Law, Geography and Religious Studies. While drawing on an international field of scholarship, the series will include works by current and former staff members, by visiting fellows and from events of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. Relevant manuscripts submitted from outside the Max Planck Institute network will also be considered.

More information about this series at
http://www.palgrave.com/series/15009

Oliver Bakewell
Loren B. Landau
Editors

Forging African Communities

Mobility, Integration and Belonging

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Oliver Bakewell
Global Development Institute
University of Manchester
Manchester, UK

Loren B. Landau
African Centre for Migration & Society
University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg, South Africa

Global Diversities
ISBN 978-1-137-58193-8 ISBN 978-1-137-58194-5 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58194-5

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017958006

Cover Credit line: Michael Plotczyk / Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Acknowledgements

Books' gestation times and processes vary widely. As the product of a dozen people spread across continents and countries, it is perhaps not surprising that this one took longer than many to reach fruition. As editors, we wish to thank each of the contributors for their extraordinary patience in seeing this process through. We are also grateful to them for tolerating our repeated rounds of sometimes niggling editorial comments. Although it may not always have seemed this way, our greatest pleasure was in watching their chapters and the conversations among them take shape as we moved forward from our initial workshop in late 2013. While some may regret starting this adventure, we are delighted they are with us at its conclusion.

Beyond the authors, we would like to express our gratitude to a number of people and institutions whose support may be less evident but no less important. These include Steve Vertovec of the Max Planck Institute for Ethnic and Religious diversity for investing in the initial workshop and including this text in its book series. Further financial support came from South Africa's National Research Foundation, which co-sponsored the initial workshop through its incentive funding scheme and enabled continued engagements and investments through its South African Research Chair Programme. The Oxford Martin School also provided funding for the workshop. Further support for the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford enabled it to be a

home base for much of the work that went into the book. In particular we are grateful to Ingrid Locatelli at IMI, whose indefatigable cajoling and coordinating of the authors (and editors) kept us all in line. In Johannesburg, the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS) at the University of the Witwatersrand offered a southern home for the work. Its administrator, Lenore Longwe, provided extraordinary logistical support for our initial gathering. Kabiri Bule braved intense boredom to bang all the authors' citations into their proper form. Although now a distant memory to them, we fondly recall the staff at the River Place who allowed us the run of their facilities while we debated, deliberated, and surreptitiously drank our smuggled wine. Solange Guo Chatelard and Miriam de Bruijn contributed invaluably at the initial gathering but were unable to continue on this journey with us. Lastly, we are grateful to Robin Cohen who, in addition to contributing an afterword to this volume, served as an invaluable interlocutor and mentor to our group and individual discussions.

Contents

1

Introduction: Forging a Study of Mobility, Integration and Belonging in Africa

Loren B. Landau and Oliver Bakewell

Framing: Metaphors of Integration

Ours is an era in which varied forms of human mobility—across towns, countries and political borders—are redefining the meanings of home, community and belonging. Across the world, public and scholarly debates continue over the nature of the societies such movements are generating. With the official 'death' of multiculturalism and the rise of populist parties in Europe and North America, the language of old-school assimilation has resurfaced as a mobilising principle for some. In practice this has translated into renewed and sometimes violent nativism, not just in Europe and North America, but across Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

L.B. Landau (✉)
African Centre for Migration & Society, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

O. Bakewell
Global Development Institute, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK

O. Bakewell, L.B. Landau (eds.), *Forging African Communities*, Global Diversities,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58194-5_1

Global campaigns to promote the rights of refugees and migrants in the Middle East, Africa and the 'West' are the political counterweight to such hostile exclusion. Philosophical discussions over the rights of others are the scholarly adjunct to such tensions and campaigns. Perhaps never have the echoes of Kant, Rawls, Arendt, Walzer, Appiah and Derrida (among others) rung so loudly across the public sphere.

But beyond political imperatives and debates, people are moving and fashioning novel forms of membership in sites around the world. The results—some enduring, some as fluid as the populations creating them—are the product of individual and collective priorities and their engendered practices. In some instances, these patterns conform closely to the incremental processes of integration and assimilation described by much contemporary integration scholarship. Yet across, Africa economic precarity, varied forms of mobility and socio-political allegiances, and frail or fragmented formal institutions mean that the individual and collective relations people forge are unlikely to follow these familiar scripts. This book documents, describes, and begins to theorise these dynamic and often poorly understood forms of membership and the practical and ethical foundations on which they rest.

Read individually or as a set of interlinked conversations, the book's chapters analyse the multiple ways migrants in Africa contribute to processes of social change within the places in which they reside, those they move through and—albeit to a lesser extent—those which they have left but to which many remain closely connected through material exchange and imagination. Our hope is that the following pages will contribute to and challenge scholarly debates within human geography, sociology and ancillary fields over the nature of migrant integration; debates largely shaped by research in the world's wealthy regions. The volume's empirical accounts introduce novel case studies from across Africa while marshalling these examples to question the concepts, actors and social trajectories dominant in the contemporary literature. The result is a book bringing together a diverse set of scholars, perspectives and case studies in ways that draw renewed attention to migration into and within Africa and to the socio-political consequences of these movements. But the lessons here should not be for Africa or Africanists alone. Indeed, many of the factors that define African socio-economic life—heightening diversity, weakening

states, precarious work, translocalism and mobility—are increasingly hallmarks of countries and communities worldwide. One need not embrace the Comaroffs' (2012) assertion that Africa represents the future of global capitalism to recognise the potentially narrowing distinctions between Africa and the wealthy West. Moreover, given current global concerns with migration out of the continent, this book serves as a reminder that millions of people's lives across the continent are shaped by aspirations and interactions that are more decidedly local.

Our approach stems from a primary concern with human agency and values that are often simultaneously exercised and enacted on multiple scales and across multiple sites. Rather than approach human migration primarily as outcomes of broader structural forces, we draw attention to migrants, hosts, politicians and others as active, strategic and tactical actors at play within structural constraints and opportunities. Whether Burundians in Tanzania or Nigerian pastors in Johannesburg, everyone—migrants, hosts, officials—is working toward individual or collective ends. In many instances this may be only to create opportunities to move again or help others to stay put. The dynamic socialities and political configurations they help generate are consequences—whether as the primary objective or by-product—of their varied actions, and reactions to them. These forms may not fit neatly with our normative aspirations. Indeed, they may be just as likely to reinforce patterns of patriarchy and social marginalisation as they are to challenge them. Some will be illegal, morally dubious and physically precarious. Some others may embrace norms of rights and tolerance, while others reject the moral and political foundations of space-based political community. Yet as scholars our work is not to celebrate the universal power of the subaltern or blindly condemn the constraints imposed by capitalism or the coercive state, but rather to document and theorise these outcomes and their determinants. These tasks are at the centre of our analysis.

The authors' empirical accounts evoke the forge as a dual metaphor. Many discuss how human mobility engenders socio-political interactions—some highly localised, others spread across great distances—that form and reshape the meaning and boundaries of community. For them, forging emphasises the transformation of existing material into new, potentially unrecognizable forms that nonetheless build on past histories.

Unlike stitching the social fabric of a cultural tapestry, something forged can (within limits and with energy) be melted down again, welded to something else or broken apart. In its second sense, the forge draws attention to processes of dissimulation, fraud, reinvention, re-presentation and other forms of fakery and fabrication that are so often central to migrants' experiences and strategies. Drawing attention to the macro and micro practices of representation, invisibility and performance, we offer insights into forms of recognition, of coming to know or understand the 'other' while remaking oneself.

Throughout this text the authors point to a broad range of factors that confront, avert, or potentially circumvent varied forms of regulation and solidarity. These include multiple modes of affective connection: religious and political diasporas to micro, street or household level relationships. Some of these ties are a response to economic precarity; others are forms of social discipline and disconnection. Yet all ultimately rely on building mutually understood—if delimited—rules of engagement premised on bases of inherited or emergent ethics (see Ye 2016). In recounting these, the authors speak to questions of space and scale. Some reference global trends and processes while others focus on regional, national, municipal or even neighbourhood dynamics. As the more micro speaks to spaces far away, we add to our understanding of the networked society and the archipelagos forged by people and processes.

Filling Empirical and Conceptual Gaps

This volume begins to address two related weaknesses in the existing literature. First, there is the paucity of empirical research into the settlement of migrants within African countries and communities. While the extent of African migration is relatively modest by global standards—less than ten per cent of the world's international migrants are African born—more than half of those Africans who do move do so within the continent. South of the Sahara, only about a quarter of international migrants leave the continent.[1] These numbers pale in comparison to the millions moving within their countries. Considering the significant ethnic, linguistic, climactic and political boundaries within many African states,

these combined movements suggest we should be seeing a continent increasingly characterised by people apparently 'out of place.' Yet despite this oddity, intracontinental migration remains remarkably poorly researched. Indeed, with the exception of research on displacement or other forms of 'forced migration', research on African international migration is skewed towards those leaving Africa (Flahaux and de Haas 2016; Bakewell and de Haas 2007). Where mobility within the continent is discussed, it is often considered in terms of material drivers and consequences (economic and health status, demands for services, promoting trade) with little concern for its socio-political consequences. When it comes to researching the actors and processes associated with migrant integration within contemporary African communities, there is precious little work, some driven by this volume's contributors (Whitehouse 2012 is one notable exception; for comparison with other regions, see, Gagnon and Khoudour-Castéras 2012; de Haas 2008).

Second, the frailty of empirical research from Africa (and other regions of the developing world) has reinforced more fundamental, conceptual shortcomings in the literature that tend to universalise the American and European processes of immigrant integration. The results are forms that often replicate a kind of 'methodological nationalism' (Glick Schiller 2009). This is not only in the scale of the communities which they consider, but in their emphasis on state law and formal institutions. As such, the literature often remains concerned with legal status and citizenship, accessing rights to state resources or labour markets. Elsewhere scholars explore socio-cultural integration where people are enabled to be accepted and part of the society through policies of non-discrimination, anti-racism and social inclusion (Portes 2007; Schneider and Crul 2012; Sadiq 2009). This results in large volumes of research measuring and evaluating integration against various formulaic indices and indicators of integration—comparing migrants to non-migrants and integration policies (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011; Niessen et al. 2007; Schneider and Crul 2012). Much of this work is infused with normative assumptions about the nature of host communities and their responsibilities to outsiders or a vision of state-centred political representation and membership. Moreover, this research more or less explicitly relies on teleological presumptions about integration's

outcomes and the mechanisms enhancing conviviality that may resonate poorly with Africans' experiences, interests, institutions and incentives. There is a need to complement such perspectives with ones less ontologically prescriptive, to decentre the state and analytically incorporate the informal, local, and deeply socio-political processes associated with joining a new community.

Making sense of mobility's socio-political consequences in Africa means moving past discussions of the formal policy regimes that often frame Euro-American analyses. Beyond the general weakness of many African legal systems, few countries have overt integration policies and the term is rarely used (Gagnon and Khoudour-Castéras 2012). Rather, questions of social cohesion and inclusive membership are often overshadowed by rights-claims founded on autochthony and historical links to particular territory (Bøås 2009; Jackson 2007; Bøås and Dunn 2013; Lochery 2012; Riester 2011). Instead of promoting integration among immigrants, migrants and hosts, policies surrounding citizenship and nationality are becoming more restrictive while elites manipulate citizenship laws to undermine political and economic competitors (Jenkins 2012; Bøås and Dunn 2013; Manby 2010). Moreover, social reactions to in-migrants (old and new) have often led to patterns of violent exclusion against even those with legal rights to residence (Ngoie Tshibambe and Kabunda 2010). Elsewhere, people find relative peace with new neighbours even when they have few legally determined rights (Landau and Freemantle 2016). Nationalism, tribalism and ethnic conflict have been mainstays of African studies, but it too has often overlooked the less policy-driven forms of conviviality and exclusion that occur among the citizenry and between citizens and those from elsewhere.

In many ways this book seeks to bridge the gap between the well-established literature on the settlement of rural migrants in African cities (Epstein 1967; Skinner 1963; Schildkrout 1970; Agier 1983; Schildkrout 1978; Shack and Skinner 1979; Rouch 1956; Ferguson 1999) and contemporary global debates about migrant-host relations. Recent scholarship on growing African cities has recognised the value in exploring global and translocal connections, but has rarely framed this in debates about

foreigners and other outsiders establishing new, often multi-sited lives amongst these urban sites (Simone 2004; Locatelli and Nugent 2009; Bekker and Therborn 2012). While such literature tells us little about the experiences of international migrants, it highlights the growing complexity of the urban environment, raising the critical questions about the nature of the society into which migrants in African cities become integrated (Landau 2013; De Boek 2012; Landau and Freemantle 2009). These cities are not always characterised by strong social coherence but instead, ethnic heterogeneity, economic disparity, and cultural pastiche making it difficult to identify longstanding, dominant host community and political order with identifiable values and institutions, into which migrants become included (or excluded). This may result in the migrants themselves negotiating alternative forms of inclusion, which may be rather strategic and partial rather than constituting wholesale 'urban citizenship'. If the literature on migrant integration in urban settings remains undeveloped, discussions of migrant settlement in rural areas has barely been conceived.

The scale of movement across Africa and the fact that there are distinctive 'foreign' populations to be found in every part of the continent—whether we consider West Africans in Kenya or Somalis in South Africa—suggests that people must be finding a place in foreign lands, even if they remain strangers (Simmel 1950). Hence, despite, or perhaps as a result of, having no policy, 'integration' is taking place: people are becoming part of new societies. It is this transformative process of settlement that this volume examines. Exploring the process of integration in Africa opens up the possibility of ensuring greater communication between research contexts. Understanding how integration—in terms of its socio-cultural (belonging) *and* legal/political aspects—unfolds in varied African contexts in the absence of policy may provide new insights into how the process is working in Europe in the presence of, and perhaps despite, policy. Through a focus on the processes and contexts of community redefinition, we hope to speak more broadly to those concerned with immigration and integration elsewhere in the world.

Approach and Key Themes

Complementing its rich, multi-scaled and multi-method empirical contributions, this volume marks a departure from the existing literature in at least four ways. First, and most importantly, *it breaks from policy focused conceptions of integration to consider the myriad ways migrants and hosts forge forms of belonging*. Our purpose here is not to evaluate migrant success or the material, health or social costs and benefits of sending and receiving community (concerns that occupied much of the African migration literature; Docquier et al. 2007; Ratha and Shaw 2007; Sander and Maimbo 2003; Potts 2009). Moreover, building on a growing understanding of translocal social engagements and subjectivities (Levitt 2011; Glick Schiller 2009; Simone 2004; Greiner 2011) we work from a position that moving may extend as much as rupture people's social worlds. Migration may fragment relations, but people also sustain connections to places of origin, with those along the journey or with migrants and kin living in places they have never been. Nonetheless mobility brings changes: people who move are subject to different laws and regulatory mechanisms; they have different neighbours; they take on new customs; learn new skills and tools; and reshape relations with their own history, values, families and the places from which they have come. This suite of relations serves as resources and constraints, conditioning their immediate, proximate connections and modes of belonging.

Yet it is not only the migrants whose transformation matters. Rather, their novel and reconfigured relations assemble people and processes that might otherwise remain largely distinct. In doing so, the values and resources they exchange create possibilities of innovation and unexpected outcomes in migrants 'multiple elsewheres' (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004). Migrants not only leave their homes and find ways in new spaces; they reshape themselves along with the institutions, relations and values of those in sending sites, destinations and along the way. With migrants' arrival, host communities can be fundamentally transformed as they organise to embrace, accommodate or exclude new arrivals or those otherwise labelled outsiders. As many African societies are themselves in deep flux due to their recent histories of national liberation and economic

liberalization, host communities are often in the process of self-definition as they confront arrivals. As noted earlier, in many of the urban spaces we discuss in this volume, it is all but impossible to identify clearly defined host populations. In such spaces, the mixing of disparate elements: citizens, long term residents, new arrivals, transit migrants and others are giving rise to varied and novel socialities.

Throughout the volume, we highlight the various forms of membership and belonging being forged across contemporary Africa. These are rarely the consequence of the kind of grand political imagination that helped establish the nation-states of the past but build on past state initiatives, collective projects and individual agency. At one extreme, we see people engaging in forms of collaboration and conviviality that are fragile and potentially fleeting (exemplified by Berriane's case of sub-Saharan Africans in Morocco, Chap. 4). They may be just an instrumental means of people reaching an end but such relationships can, potentially, harden or crystallise to emerge as more durable identifications. At the very least, they are important to understand as for those involved they may be more significant than other forms of belonging. At the other end of the spectrum are the strategic engagements by institutions, such as the churches which are overtly working to forge a transnational or anti-national political/social subjectivity to further their evangelical (and money making) enterprise (see Kankonde, Chap. 6; Cazarin, Chap. 11). Here too, though, they must adapt to highly local and contextual environments. In all cases, the emergence of the new community is not an end in itself, but a by-product or outcome of efforts to achieve other objectives.

The importance of context and the diversity of processes described points to the book's second primary contribution, *an elaboration and expansion of the actors involved in migrant integration and the forging of new communities.* As noted above, much of the literature focuses on the impacts policies have on integration as measured by a range of subjective and objective indicators (e.g., education and health status, political participation, public attitudes). While recognising that policy and legal frameworks can be significant, the book illustrates that they are by no means determinative (for example see the chapters by Bakewell, 5, and

Tati, 3). It also suggests that the significance of policies framed as 'migration' are often less determinative that those developed in other fields: housing, trade; or policing. That said, in the loosely legalized and poorly institutionalised environments in which many migrants live, formal regulations of all kinds may be decidedly less important than familial, religious, ethnic or trade associations. Where policy and law matters, it may be in indirect and often distant ways, as in Chinese state initiatives to promote trade with Africa or how Zimbabwean land reform initiatives shape migrant livelihood strategies elsewhere.

Our third contribution relates to *conceptualisations of space as a social construct and unit of analysis.* Lefebvre's (1991, 2003) pioneering work on the making of urban space has informed a growing body of scholarship on how the interactions of the material and political create divergent forms of social life that are at once highly localised while remaining nodes in translocal networks of exchange (Castells 2010; Keith 2005; Davis and Libertun de Duren 2011). With few exceptions, much of this work has focused on urban settlements that are deeply entrenched in global circuits of capital circulation. While some have begun to focus on the 'worlding' of cities in Africa and elsewhere (Simone 2004), we are only beginning to understand the important transformatory power of migration, ideas, and relatively small-scale patterns of material and social exchange (as Ngoie illustrates in his discussion of migrants in Lubumbashi, Chap. 8). Moreover, precious little work considers the power and agency of displaced populations or movements to or through rural areas. By explicitly including chapters (Hovil, Chap. 2, Bakewell, Chap. 5) exploring rural and village transformations, this collection will add considerable depth to our understanding of the means through which the movements of people, ideas and material resources help to constitute and connect varied forms of social life.

From a more methodological perspective, this collection questions the utility of 'Africa' or 'African' as an analytical construct. We make no claim to be speaking of Africa as a whole but the volume draws together case studies from across the continent, giving some indication of both the rich variation and commonalities to be found. That said one of the key themes running through the volume is the specificity of scale and space. We examine how various processes of forging community are shaped by the

particular places in which they take place and the varied connections participants have with spaces elsewhere. For long distance migrants, this may be due to the imagination or connections to places beyond the continent (see Binaisa, Chap. 9, Berriane, Chap. 4; Kankonde, Chap. 6). For those moving more locally, it may be social networks and ideas from the region that they throw into the mix (Tati, Chap. 3). The product is a dynamic output of specific spaces (socially constructed but also physically configured) and times. In all cases, this is something primarily negotiated at the local, social level although with institutional and trans-local evocations and resources (real and normative).

While the volume draws together African case studies and draws attention to the importance of place in shaping the communities observed, it rejects African exceptionalism. We argue that the processes and actors involved have relevance or draw directly from elsewhere in the world. Obviously in the case of international migrants from outside of Africa (the Chinese come to mind—see Ngoie, Chap. 8), their movements help to bind Asia and Africa in ways that also corrode analytical distinctions between the two. More subtly, we argue that in many of the fluid and hyper diverse communities in which immigrants live everywhere—Europe, North America, Asia—the kind of extra-legal, socially determined and often trans-local processes that we describe are equally at play. While they may compete with older, national forms of membership and state policies, they remain critically important.

Lastly, it *questions the teleological and normative assumptions informing much of the literature on migrant integration.* Apart from simply documenting multiple transformations in membership and space, the volume interrogates people's aspirations of citizenship and belonging and the range of strategies adopted to meet them. Across many of the chapters, people strive for or select from a repertoire of forms of citizenship (Tati, Chap. 3, Cazarin, Chap. 11, Landau and Freemantle, Chap. 12). In many ways, the absence of substantive political citizenship across much of Africa has meant that a form of de-ethnicised civic belonging remains an untested myth or dream. This is seen perhaps most starkly in some discussions of the Congolese or others who have been through state collapse or failure. In such cases, migrants can make claims on the law and rights as a source of belonging in ways that resonate with almost no-one's

experience: neither their own nor their hosts. Here, the ideals of citizenship take on an emergent quality—something that is created as a goal in contrast to the precariousness and marginalisation migrants face.

Again, while this may be seen as a distinctive aspect of African experiences, this interaction between migrants and the legal process is one which is addressed in a growing body of work on mobility in Europe and other regions of the world (Kubal 2012; Barrett and Sigona 2014). In doing so, it echoes Simmel's long-standing recognition that strangerness—being in but not of a place—is a distinct mode of being in the contemporary world. From these cases, we build on this powerful insight, suggesting that citizenship and strangerness must be understood in ways that are deeply historicised and spatialised on multiple scales and locales.

Process and Politics

Social research is by definition co-produced by authors and the objects/subjects of their research. Processes of knowledge generation and publication can range from exploitation and coercion to ones that are explicitly empowering and collaborative. Some will criticise this book for not explicitly engaging in policy debates or profiling the compromised rights and welfare of refugees, migrants and other marginalised communities. Others will undoubtedly note the limited voices of refugee and migrants among our contributors. These are fair concerns and we recognise that the text—as is the case with all books—remains incomplete and the perspectives limited. We hope that the substantive and theoretical provocations the book engenders can at least partially compensate for these oversights and stimulate others' corrective and complementary work.

Although the book is not oriented towards policy reform or rights promotion, it should nonetheless be seen as a progressive political effort. If nothing else, the analytical insights included here can help problematise many of the presumptions informing policy recommendations and aid efforts. Understanding the dynamics of Africa's diverse communities should be, we suggest, a prerequisite for anyone wishing to engage with them. While proud of our efforts on this front, for us the book represents an explicit engagement in a kind of scholarly politics: more specifically

the spatialised inequality associated with knowledge production. This volume is the product of an extended collaboration that, if imperfect, nonetheless helps challenge multiple implicit biases and hierarchies within the academy. It is true, as Zingerli (2010, 222) suggests, that "research partnerships are not an easy remedy for inherent asymmetries and inequalities." Yet as a collaboration between European and African-based universities that actively incorporated a diverse set of scholars working in varied institutions at varied levels of their careers, this effort represents a firm if incremental step to remedying some of the fundamental imbalances and oversights within the global academy.

Indeed, we take it as self-evident that the relative absence of voices from Africa and about what are often informal and subterranean processes within Africa not only diminishes our understanding of the world but allows a relatively privileged, geographically concentrated group of scholars to set global academic agendas. So while we know that the majority of Africa's refugees and migrants are located in Africa, African-based scholars are hard to find in the leading (i.e., most broadly cited) scholarly journals. Where they appear, it is usually through country case studies or as secondary authors. While the chapters included here are case-studies, by working together we are able to offer a theoretical and comparative perspective that draws attention to places and processes that are largely absent in the global literature.

Beyond the inclusion of a diverse pool of authors, the text's explicitly non-normative orientation reflects a conscious break from much of the African-oriented literature on migration and displacement. For many, one of African migration scholarship's most compelling facets is its close ties to a practitioner community dedicated to humanitarian action and social justice. Although there is a history of African migration scholarship engaging with broader theoretical concerns (see, for example, the works described in Cohen's afterword), many African-based scholars are only able to afford research explicitly oriented towards policy processes. Indeed, for those working in under-resourced African universities, funding pipelines effectively reinforce a dependence on policy actors and external partners. This book is in part an attempt to challenge this status quo by providing the resources—time and space and encouragement, if not money—for scholars working on or in Africa to translate their rich

empirical insights into rich, theoretically provocative case studies. For scholars to offer critical reflection on the societies of which they are part, simple description and policy recommendations are inadequate; they must also reserve distinct space for non-policy oriented research, theorisation and provocation (see Rodgers 2004; Bakewell 2008). We hope that this book can be part of that process.

In the interest of developing the field's intellectual and human resources, this book attempts to enact a set of collaborative principles that, while perhaps not revolutionary, can nonetheless set the parameters for future initiatives. This kind of 'meddling on the margins' is one of the few weapons a weak, relatively marginalised field can call upon. The first of these was to ensure that the project's primary South-North partnership—between the International Migration Institute at Oxford University and the African Centre for Migration & Society at the University of the Witwatersrand—was not only a marriage of convenience, but one between equals. Both parties had equal influence on the project's intellectual direction and design. They were jointly responsible for raising funds and selecting the participants for the writing workshop held just outside Johannesburg in December 2013 that launched the project. That this relationship could build on a trusting, collegial connection itself forged through prior joint efforts provided the necessary social capital to pull this off.

Perhaps most importantly, this project has sought to open the gates to a diverse set of authors. While we knew a number of the authors included here before this project, the majority were only casual contacts or effectively strangers. This presented a higher level of risk, but also offered the potential—realised in the pages that follow—of fresh perspectives on places, themes and events that were relatively unknown to us and, we presume, to most of this book's readers. In attempting to move beyond our collegial cohort, we have also worked to counter a tendency to monopolise the field with our own work or that of our students. By incorporating newly graduated doctorates and scholars at various career stages we hope to multiply the voices being heard both in and out of their respective countries.

More concretely, preparation of the text has involved elaborate and extended exchange among the book's contributors. This began in the

run-up to the December 2013 workshop and ended only in the final editorial stages. Given the disciplinary, linguistic and geographic diversity of the authors included, the chapters went through multiple iterations and incarnations. Some bear only the faintest resemblance to the papers presented at the initial workshop just outside Johannesburg. Others bear clear imprints of those original drafts but have become far more lucid and generative in their insights, moving beyond descriptive empiricism to theoretical provocation. Undoubtedly some of the contributors chafe at what was anything but an invisible hand shaping the collection, but all have been willing co-conspirators in the collective enterprise which lies behind any edited collection.

Structure of the Book

The themes outlined above weave together case studies gathered into three primary sections. The first directly interrogates the state and policy-centrism informing much of the literature on migrant and immigrant integration by exploring migrants' perceptions and the often unintentional by-products of policies' interactions with more powerful social and economic forces. We start at one extreme with Hovil's chapter demonstrating how the manner in which the Tanzanian state attempted to formally integrate Burundian refugees was subverted by the socialities already enacted by refugees and their long-time host communities. She highlights a sharp disconnect between the perspective of government and those of the refugees. The former understood it was making a major concession in granting citizenship but made this conditional on refugees relocating from the area of Tanzania where many had been living for over twenty years. The latter desired formal citizenship but not at the expense of the homes and livelihoods they had built up. Eventually their resistance prevailed and the condition was relaxed, but this illustrates the potential gap between the ideas of integration based on formal rights and local forms of belonging worked out at the level of communities over many years.

At the other extreme, in Congo Brazzaville, Tati recounts how the almost total absence of implemented policies has created spaces for localised engagements on the beaches of Pointe Noire as west-African

fishermen find ways into the city via professional associations akin to mediaeval professional guilds. These provide a platform for creating alliances with local residents to fight against their relocation away from the beach proposed by oil companies working in collaboration with the local authorities. On the one hand, this has resulted in a gradual acknowledgement of the fishermen's claims on space and the contribution of their economic activity; on the other hand, this formal recognition of artisanal fishermen brings with it the potential liability of paying taxes. In this single case we see the intersections of professional, political and space-based solidarities negotiated on the edge of legality and economic formality.

The third chapter of this section takes us to Morocco where the arrival of sub-Saharan Africans is predominantly discussed in terms of irregular movements and transit migration. Berriane argues that while many of the sub-Saharan Africans settling in the city of Fes may see it as a place of sojourn on their journey heading towards Europe, they find ways of establishing a place in the neighbourhoods and making their mark on the city streets. This remains limited as their economic activity is often rather marginal petty trading and their contacts with Moroccans are circumscribed by suspicion, especially when it comes to personal contact with families. In contrast to this subordinate behaviour in the streets, the sub-Saharan African migrants are growing more confident in their interactions with the state in the face of its attempts to control irregular migration. As migrants claim their rights they are also contributing to growing Moroccan debates about racism and human rights, including the right to travel.

The section's final chapter illustrates locally negotiated forms of belonging effectively supplanting formal government policy and delivering the exact opposite of the government's stated intent. Bakewell's longitudinal study reveals how many Angolans who initially came into rural Zambia as refugees over the last three decades have been able to settle themselves in border villages with the support of the local population. Zambian government policy has promoted their repatriation and does not offer any route to citizenship to those arriving as refugees (in contrast to the Tanzanian case discussed by Hovil). However, in these border villages its impact has been to cement the integration of those

from Angola, who have secured effective citizenship. Such an account not only questions state power, but speaks to the role of localised interests and solidarities in forging communities at varied scales on political and economic margins.

The way in which migrants negotiate spaces of belonging is taken forward in the second section, which collates cases documenting how this forges social change across multiple registers. From South Africa, Kankonde reveals how migrant Pentecostal churches provide familiar spaces echoing cultural and spiritual practices from their country of origin, thereby easing migrants' transitions. At the same time, the pastors and church members selectively engage with South African society to draw in new South African members and create a creole church culture, or over time to move away from the churches' migrant roots. Intertwined with a missionary project, these faith communities reshape beliefs and the patterns of belonging of preachers and parishioners. These intersections of religion, social aspiration and entrepreneurialism speak to the drivers of belonging, the transnationalism of rhetoric and ethics and the means through which socio-economic aspirations are channelled, shaped and institutionalised.

Churches as a theatre for the enactment of integration recur in Mangezvo's chapter that examines how Nigerian men establish their place in Harare. Alongside the church, he considers informal flea markets and residential areas as other sites of negotiation, exclusion, and integration. The obstacles and resources migrants face vary across these settings, some materially or politically defined, others mediated by social mores and ambitions. In the markets, they are beset by accusations of witchcraft and drug dealing as explanations for their success in business. In the residential streets, they face similar accusations alongside complaints that they inflate rents. In the churches, their pathways seem eased by the popularity of Nigerian preachers and their contribution to worship, bringing a cosmopolitan air to the services in ways that resonate with Landau and Freemantle's later chapter. Mangezvo's Nigerian migrants forge 'communities of convenience' across these spaces to construct their right to the city. At the same time they create transnational connections that challenge perceptions of the other, nationality and the nature of urban membership. Again here are questions of scale and the diverse rhetorical and

practical idioms migrants mobilise to negotiate their ways through material and temporal uncertainty.

Ngoie analyses similar processes of mixing that are embedding Nigerian and Chinese migrants in Lubumbashi in the south of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The account draws attention to the way their presence is made manifest in the city's cultural and economic landscape, for example, through the influence of Nollywood films and the growth in Chinese clinics. He traces the various ways both communities seek to build bridges with the Congolese population while both maintain an interest in sustaining their difference. This story of grasping others while holding them at arm's length resonates with Simmel's 'stranger', albeit under conditions far less structured by modernization and industrially driven urbanisation.

In her study on Ugandans' returning 'home' to Kampala from London, Binaisa draws explicitly on Simmel to examine how return migrants who we might expect to integrate silently and completely into their country of origin remain marginalised and self-alienated. Their subjective differences and isolation are, she argues, rooted in the colonial experience and encounters with imperial categories of difference. She traces out the way that the British institutionalised racialised hierarchies find their echo in the ethnicised identifications that fracture Kampala today. Ironically, Ugandan migrants returning from the UK with experiences of struggles against racism and inequality find themselves cast as strangers back home. Having learned to be 'black', they return to Uganda seeking multi-ethnic socialities that challenge ethnic and class discrimination in a space that remains deeply polarised along economic and ethnic lines.

The final section considers socialities engendered by the co-mingling of migrant and host strategies of negotiation: patterns of regulation and membership that are simultaneously precarious and stable. Gordon draws on survey data from South Africa to call into question assumptions that migrant integration depends on high levels of social trust. Instead he argues that social fragmentation and distrust create spaces of permeability that migrants can exploit to secure places in amongst a splintered citizenry.

A comparative example of African churches in South Africa and Spain explores the various strategies that pastors adopt to help migrants find ontological security amidst the social and legal precarity in which they live. Cazarin's study shows how the pastors aim to create a new diasporic consciousness around their shared faith in a hostile world and marked out from the surrounding society by their adherence to the values and behaviours ordained by the gospel. This is seen most clearly in family relationships where the ideal harmony and mutual respect of church family is contrasted to the fragmented relationships among South Africans and Europeans, where divorce is common and children pay no respect to elders.

In our final empirical chapter, Landau and Freemantle's findings from Johannesburg and Nairobi openly challenge the desirability of space-bound belonging by demonstrating how migrants instrumentally use urban spaces as a means to an end without seeking social or political recognition within them. Whether it is the internal migrants in Nairobi, or the migrants from other African countries in Johannesburg, they argue that the precarious co-existence that emerges is shaped by pragmatic concern to maximise their material benefit from the city more than any ethics of conviviality. Likewise, when claims of ethnic solidarity are made they are often orientated more towards excluding competition rather than expressions of belonging.

The book concludes with an afterword by Robin Cohen reminding us of scholarship's trajectory on processes of inclusion and exclusion across Africa. He notes that the while many of the chapters suggest that the dominant ideology promulgated by states is one of exclusion, they demonstrate the multiple forms of accommodation that migrants secure at the level of the neighbourhoods and streets. However, as he cautions, it is not simply a question of states exclude, communities include. As many of the chapters show, different levels of the state are implicated in processes of inclusion, whether by contributing to the socio-political environment in which people can find their place, or as a site of contestation in which people can claim their rights to belong. In this way, through the agency of both migrants and 'hosts' and their interactions with broader social structures, new forms of society are continually forged.

Notes

1. Figures based on World Bank migration stock estimates.

References

Agier, Michel. 1983. *Commerce et sociabilité. Les négociants soudanais du quartier Zongo de Lomé (Togo)*. Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM.

Bakewell, Oliver. 2008. Research Beyond the Categories: The Importance of Policy Irrelevant Research into Forced Migration. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21 (4): 432–453.

Bakewell, Oliver, and Hein de Haas. 2007. African Migrations: Continuities, Discontinuities and Recent Transformations. In *African Alternatives*, ed. Leo de Haan, Ulf Engel, and Patrick Chabal, 95–117. Leiden: Brill.

Barrett, Jenny, and Nando Sigona. 2014. The Citizen and the Other: New Directions in Research on the Migration and Citizenship Nexus. *Migration Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnu039.

Bekker, S.B., and Göran Therborn. 2012. *Capital Cities in Africa: Power and Powerlessness*. Cape Town, South Africa and Dakar, Senegal: HSRC Press; CODESRIA.

Bøås, Morten. 2009. "New" Nationalism and Autochthony: Tales of Origin as Political Cleavage. *Africa Spectrum* 44 (1): 19–38.

Bøås, Morten, and Kevin C. Dunn. 2013. *Politics of Origin in Africa: Autochthony, Citizenship and Conflict*. London: Zed Books.

Castells, Manuel. 2010. *The Rise of the Network Society. Information Age, Economy, Society, and Culture*. 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. 2012. Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving Toward Africa. *Anthropological Forum* 22 (2): 113–131. https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2012.694169.

Davis, Diane E., and Nora Libertun de Duren, eds. 2011. *Cities & Sovereignty: Identity Politics in Urban Spaces*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

De Boek, F. 2012. Spectral Kinshasa: Building the City Through and Architecture of Words. In *Urban Theory Beyond the West*, ed. T. Edensor and M. Jayne, 311–328. London: Routledge.

de Haas, Hein. 2008. The Myth of Invasion – The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe. *Third World Quarterly* 7: 1305–1322.