

THINKING MIGRATION

*10 Years of the International
Migration Institute*



Elmina, Ghana, May 2010
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RETHINKING MIGRATION:

10 Years of the International Migration Institute

Oliver Bakewell, Director, IMI
Hein de Haas, Professor of Sociology, University of Amsterdam
and former IMI Co-Director



Oliver Bakewell

The International Migration Institute (IMI) was established in 2006 and as we complete our first decade, we wanted to find a way to document the anniversary and reflect on the achievements of these ten years. The standard approach for an academic research institute might have been to produce an academic tome capturing our research findings over the years. However, much of IMI's research has already been published in the IMI working paper series, journal articles, books and other forms. To focus exclusively on this intellectual output would also neglect another critical element of IMI's work: the incredibly productive social relationships among our immediate team and with partners across the world, including the so-called 'Global South'.

Therefore, in this publication, we have set out to celebrate both the intellectual and the social trajectory of IMI, which has generated new knowledge and relationships over the last decade. In this introduction, we start by briefly outlining a personal history of IMI up to the present day and reflecting on its future directions. In the second section, we have asked some of our current and former staff to reflect on their experience of working in the institute and how it has helped shape

their research. In the third section, we cast the net wider to include short articles from research collaborators that have worked with us on various research initiatives over the years. In the final section, past and present IMI team members give brief summaries of the research findings of a range of IMI projects. A growing element of our work has been teaching, with the start of the new MSc in Migration Studies (run jointly with the Centre for Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS)) and a growing number of doctoral students, one of whom reflects on her experience attached to IMI. For us, it has been exciting and often moving to read these pieces, most written by others, that help to capture the wealth of research activity that has taken place since we first joined IMI back in January 2006. It has also been a great privilege to work with such a talented set of researchers over the years and play a part in building up a network of former colleagues and research partners from around the world.

IMI was created as one of the first research institutes within the new James Martin School for the 21st Century (which has since become the Oxford Martin School). It was the product of the collaboration between the directors of the other two major migration research centres in Oxford, the Refugee Studies Centre (RSC), directed by Stephen Castles, and COMPAS, led by Steven Vertovec. In line with the ambition of the School, IMI was set up with a very broad research agenda to address the challenges and opportunities of migration in the 21st century. Throughout this decade, IMI has benefitted enormously from the support of the Oxford Martin School in terms of funding, communications, the excellent facilities at the School's hub on Broad Street, and the continual encouragement from its Director and staff.



The generous support offered by the Oxford Martin School has enabled IMI to develop a unique research agenda that aimed to steer away from Eurocentric ways of perceiving, by rethinking migration as an intrinsic part of development and social transformation. IMI's institutional embedding within the Oxford Department of International Development (ODID) facilitated the elaboration of a research agenda in which the perspective of societies in the 'Global South' took a central place.

We were appointed as the first researchers for the new institute in January 2006, initially working with Stephen and Steven as co-directors alongside their day jobs in RSC and COMPAS. The lure of IMI soon became too great for Stephen Castles and he stepped down as director of RSC to take the helm of the new institute full-time. This was a fantastic opportunity for us as relatively junior researchers to work closely with one of the most highly respected professors in the field. More than any reputational advantage that Stephen brought, we perhaps gained most from his open approach to building up IMI. Far from dictating the directions for research, Stephen encouraged us to bring forward our own ideas and supported their development. This culture of collaboration and encouragement is one we have tried to sustain; in doing so, we also follow the lead of Robin Cohen, who stepped into IMI's directorship from 2009 to 2011, after which we took over as co-directors between 2011 and 2015.

In the first paper produced at IMI, *Towards a New Agenda for Migration Research* (May 2006), we laid out what we saw as the current state of global migration research and identified a number of gaps in the theorisation of migration, the characterisation of linkages between migration and development, the lack of research on migration processes (as opposed to initial decisions and integration), the reliance on relatively rigid policy categorisations of migrants and migrations, a static approach to the analysis of migration systems and the focus of research on wealthier regions of the world. In response



Hein de Haas

to this critique, we identified four broad themes for research:

- Looking at migration as an integral part of global processes of change rather than as a problem to be solved;
- Relating current migration patterns to historical trends by analysing continuities and discontinuities;
- Linking micro-level understanding of migration to macro-level trends;
- Looking to the future by developing scenarios for migration trends, taking account of political, economic and demographic change.

We outlined an innovative research agenda based on these themes that addresses questions around three interrelated areas of enquiry: (i) lives in transit, (ii) migration transitions, and (iii) migration and transformation. A key aim of IMI's research agenda has always been to move beyond the 'receiving country bias' in migration studies. While European and North American concerns about immigration and integration



have traditionally dominated theoretical and empirical research agendas this coincided with a general neglect of migration processes as well as the causes and consequences of migration from non-Western and origin country perspectives.

Furthermore, we set out first to explore these issues in the context of the African continent as a region where empirical research had been limited or fragmented and the capacity for research was also weak. This set out our starting point for IMI's research, and we put considerable effort into developing a network of researchers in Africa (and beyond) and establishing new collaborative research projects with them (see pp26–27). In these efforts, we deliberately sought to build bridges between Francophone and Anglophone research traditions, and by synthesising research on North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, thereby going beyond largely colonial divisions of work.

From this start, we sought to develop innovative research projects – building an empirical basis for significant advances in theory, challenging the existing discourses of migration research (for example, dissecting ideas of diaspora and debates around migration and development) and always trying to ensure that our analysis looks beyond Europe or so-called 'receiving' countries. The latter focus on conceiving migration also from the perspective of non-European and so-called origin societies also fits well with our institutional home in the Oxford Department of International Development. Geographically the scope of the work has moved beyond Africa, with research conducted in Latin America, the Caribbean and Eastern Europe as well as the EU.

In 2010, this strategy resulted in a number of successful grant applications for a set of four major research projects: DEMIG, EUMAGINE, Global Migration Futures and THEMIS. This success was compounded by the additional support of the Oxford Martin School under its matched funding scheme in the same year, which has made it possible to undertake additional research, expand the coverage of unique new databases, and to

disseminate findings more widely, as well as to develop new research initiatives. Altogether, these new projects and vital continued support by the Oxford Martin School has provided a fertile ground for the acquisition of many other research projects, some of which are discussed below.

In these projects we have undertaken ambitious primary data collection, developing expertise on quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis in both origin and destination areas – with all the challenges of sampling and data access and availability which that entails. We have also compiled existing macro-data from archives and electronic sources, resulting in the largest migration flow datasets as well as ambitious longitudinal datasets on migration policies and visa policies (see p30).

Our research focus helps to ensure that we are distinctive in the growing crowd of migration research centres as we approach migration from a global development perspective, whereas the bulk of migration research is focused on the implications of migration for wealthy destination countries. From the outset, we have set out to fill in the significant gaps left by most other research. Our projects have been theoretically sophisticated, looking to gather empirical data to develop new theoretical insights rather than focusing on questions of direct concern to policy makers. For example, our projects in Africa have focused not on the themes which dominate popular and policy discourses; rather our aim has been to call into question the concepts used and the assumptions underlying these discourses. Our ambitious aim has not been just to inform policy, nor even change it, but to rethink migration and, hence, help change the terms of the debate. As we look beyond our first decade to our second, we hope to take our achievements forwards into new projects that continue to build on our initial research agenda and cement our role in the migration community as providing an innovative perspective on global migration in the 21st century.



BUILDING THE IMI RESEARCH TEAM

Over its first decade we have been privileged to count among our staff senior researchers and early career scholars, all dedicated to furthering our research agenda. Three staff members, both past and present, reflect on their experiences at IMI.

Gunvor Jónsson, Departmental Lecturer in Migration and Development



Gunvor Jónsson

I first came to IMI in 2008, straight after finishing my Master's degree. I was absolutely thrilled to be working in an intellectual environment that in so many ways resonated with how I had come to think about migration. IMI turns the prevailing popular discourse on its head by insisting that migration should be considered as a normal process; instead of treating it as a problem we should understand it in relation to broader processes of social transformation. I had come to a similar conclusion after five months of fieldwork in a West African village. I had initially set out to find some of the young men who were willing to risk their lives by crossing the Mediterranean in rickety boats to reach Europe – the newspapers were already full of such images at the time. After a while, I realised that the young men migrating from the village did not take those boats – they took aeroplanes if they went to France, and migration from the village was a long-standing tradition, a livelihoods strategy that had resulted in the establishment of transnational networks.

Migration was not a problem for these young men; rather, the problem was that they could not leave because of restrictive immigration policies, and they did not want to risk their lives crossing the sea clandestinely.

I was involved primarily in IMI's African Perspectives on Human Mobilities programme, and the wider African Migrations Programme. This allowed for some exciting opportunities to meet and exchange with researchers from all over the African continent. Most of this work was done in collaboration with Oliver Bakewell, whose patience, friendship and inspiration as a mentor helped me mature into an independent scholar. The collaborative and inter-disciplinary nature of our research at IMI was one of the most exciting aspects of working there – and the fact that my colleagues were such a lovely, open-minded bunch made this all the more enjoyable. In anthropology, my own academic background, research into migration mainly looks at everything that happens after settlement. At IMI the focus is on drivers and dynamics of migration processes themselves. This fitted well with my own interests, such as aspirations, cultures and meanings of migration, immobility, and journeys. IMI's particular focus on Africa was also one of the main reasons I was – and still am – so passionate about its research. Migration studies tend to focus on a few wealthy, receiving societies but we have so much to learn by understanding what goes on elsewhere, in most of the world, most of the time.

In 2011 I started a PhD in anthropology. At that time I had seen IMI grow from a small family consisting of a handful of pioneering researchers led by Stephen Castles, to a community of almost twenty young scholars, captained by Robin Cohen. Robin asked me to co-edit a book on migration and culture, a fun and insightful exercise which also inspired me to develop my PhD proposal. I would have loved to continue my work





*African
Perspectives on
Human Mobility
workshop, Elmina,
Ghana, May 2010
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at IMI but I had been the youngest of the original recruits at IMI and it was time for me to leave the 'parental home' to gain the doctoral training necessary to continue along this path. For my doctoral fieldwork, I returned to West Africa but this time focused on women. IMI's research on Africa has repeatedly emphasised that the numbers of people who make the dangerous crossing by land or sea to Europe constitute but a tiny fraction of African migrants, and that the majority of people are moving within the continent itself. IMI is known for its migration myth-busting, and my research challenged some stereotypical assumptions about women living in patriarchal, Muslim societies as being largely immobile, even secluded, and merely 'anchoring' the transnational households that male migrants leave behind; never actively producing the transnational flows and circuits themselves.

The women I worked with were traders, who travelled independently from their homes in Mali to Dakar, the capital of neighbouring Senegal, where they would sell and buy goods. The other half of my informants were female immigrants from Mali who had pioneered a large Malian market in Dakar.

As the 'lost daughter' of IMI, as Hein de Haas always termed me, I stayed in touch during my PhD, became an Associate Researcher, helped out with casual research, and attended IMI social gatherings. In fact I did not even complete my doctoral 'rite of passage' before I was again 'reincorporated' into IMI: I recently took up a position as Departmental Lecturer in Migration and Development, happy to spread the IMI message to our MSc in Migration Studies students. Happy anniversary IMI!



Agnieszka Kubal, British Academy Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, University of Oxford



Agnieszka Kubal

My first encounter with IMI was during its inaugural 2007 conference, where as a DPhil student researching legal aspects of migration I heard Stephen Castles' seminal statement that migration should be viewed not as 'a problem' but as an inseparable part of global social transformations. At that time I was working on the socio-legal incorporation of Eastern European migrants in the UK after the 2004 enlargement of the European Union (EU). Re-conceptualising these newly arrived migrants not as a 'strain on resources', as much of the tabloid press or some politicians would have it, but as individuals making decisions against the framework of more global changes, such as the enlargement of the EU, was illuminating. It helped me frame my research on the nature of the legal environment – the different laws designed to accommodate these migrants, as well as their enforcement strategies – from a more global perspective.

A few years later I had the privilege to join IMI as a member of its research team. I worked as a Research Assistant on one of the large-scale collaborative projects that defined the early years of IMI. THEMIS (see pp40–41) was jointly designed by Hein de

Haas and Oliver Bakewell to reflect the IMI's research agenda, itself very much in tune with Stephen Castles' paper, the first in the IMI working paper series: understanding the dynamics of formation, decline and stagnation of migration to Europe, conceptualised as part of a broader global change. THEMIS had partners in several European and non-European countries: the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal, as well as in Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine.

My main reflection from working on THEMIS was the incredible richness of the empirical data that the project generated, both qualitative and quantitative. In true collaborative style, together with the research partners we conducted 360 in-depth interviews with migrants in receiving countries, and 270 in-depth interviews with those Moroccans, Brazilians and Ukrainians who returned 'home' (and their family members). The project also included a large-scale survey in the receiving and sending countries. The richness of the data enabled us to see the empirical detail of migration paths, experiences, expectations, aspirations, hopes; but also fears, problems and despairs. These, in turn, shed light on the different complexities around the movement of people. When I approached the data from my socio-legal angle I could see how it challenged the seemingly hard and fast distinctions between legal and 'illegal' migration embedded in law and popularised in everyday discourse. The variety of individual experiences captured by the data helped to see how people's migration statuses and histories do not fit neatly the black and white binary 'legal–illegal' but are rather spread on a continuum with many different shades of grey or 'semi-legalities' in between (Kubal 2013). The data also demonstrated how the migrants, i.e. those whose lives are to a greater or lesser degree shaped by immigration law – which in many European countries is currently en route to criminalisation – reflect upon these



categories and ‘in their own words’ sometimes challenge, and sometimes reproduce these distinctions (Kubal 2014).

The THEMIS project left a memory of a truly engaged, creative and productive collaboration. IMI and its partners in Norway (PRIO), the Netherlands (Erasmus University) and Portugal (IGOT – Lisbon University) fostered networks and relationships that remain strong and fruitful well beyond the project’s completion. The project team had a unique combination of senior and more junior migration scholars, which was beneficial for the ideas to flow across the academic hierarchies and for the concepts to flourish under the careful guidance and gentle leadership of our first principal investigator Robin Cohen and, upon his retirement, Oliver Bakewell.

The strength of the bonds and relationships developed with our THEMIS project partners was something I cherish and will never forget. With the benefit of hindsight I realise that the strength of these relationships is characteristic of the larger IMI team. When I joined IMI I very quickly understood that I had not only joined as an academic to work on a particular project, but had also become a member of a broader collective. Together with other

colleagues who joined IMI at the same time – Evelyn Ersanilli, Mathias Czaika, Olivia Sheringham, Maria Villares-Varela, Kate Prudden, Dominique Jolivet – we had no problems integrating into what now exists as the ‘IMI family’. This ‘family’ represents to me what is best about, but also rarely found in academia: mutual support, team work and collaboration, with tactful appreciation of individual efforts, exchange of ideas, critical though constructive peer review, gentle guidance, and finally – friendship. Having left IMI to pursue another project, and now on maternity leave cradling my newborn son on my lap, I miss the seemingly benign conversations that started around the atrium table with a cup of coffee and unexpectedly developed into a spark of an idea and, later, an argument fit for a paper. It is IMI’s indisputable academic excellence combined with this very sense of friendship and fellowship that should inform its next ten years.

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Casablanca,
February 2012
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Jolivet



Angèle Mendy, Première Assistante (Lecturer), Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lausanne



Angèle Mendy

Thanks to the Swiss National Science Foundation, who funded my time there, I was welcomed by the IMI staff for eighteen months. During that time the staff not only offered me intellectual support but helped me integrate and make useful contacts outside the institution. My stay at IMI allowed me to gain unique experiences of the spirit of teamwork and intellectual generosity in scientific collaboration. The IMI team consists of researchers and collaborators who think differently, yet complement and learn from one another, embracing their inter-disciplinarity. Within the team, discussions generate ideas, which are shared, strengthened and lead to research projects. I have experienced in these core values, in the true sense of the term, an exceptional team spirit.

I could not say exactly what the foundations of this particular team spirit are, but I believe they originate with the founding members and from the human qualities of the people working there. In working at IMI my conviction that the minority thought is not the wrong thought was strengthened. The key is the ability to hold a scientific argument, rigorously conceived and designed, which enhances the knowledge already produced. The Drivers and

Dynamics of High-Skilled Migration project (see pp32–33) to which I was affiliated consists of a multi-disciplinary team who know how to transcend disciplinary boundaries. It was a pleasure working with my colleagues which, in particular, produced in me a new desire to learn how to read the charts produced by my economist counterparts! This for me was an exciting learning experience.

Working with the IMI team gives confidence and at the same time teaches humility. It allowed me to deepen my research on migration as a phenomenon interlinked with the process of international development. I can now say that my research is firmly within the outline of the new Oxford school that analyses, conceptualises and perceives migration as part of the process of international development, and does so from a multi-disciplinary perspective.

After so many experiences there, one of my goals at the University of Lausanne, where I have returned, is to promote the work of IMI. We expect to welcome IMI researchers to present their work, and that we will design joint research project proposals to be submitted to the Swiss National Science Foundation, the Swiss Network for International Studies and to other institutions that fund research. Many working papers produced by IMI are already used in our undergraduate and postgraduate teaching, and while I cannot quite say that IMI has moved to Lausanne with me, I can confidently predict that, through future collaborations, Lausanne will also enjoy the spirit of IMI's teamwork and research.

I wish IMI a happy ten-year anniversary, and a long life to its new school of migration thought.



RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS

Our relationships with external researchers and institutions – and the collaborations, learning and network building that are the result of these relationships – have been an integral part of our development as a leading global research centre. Several of those researchers reflect on their relationships with IMI and the research that has resulted.



Professor Mariama Awumbila, Founding Director, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon



Mariama Awumbila

“On the happy occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of IMI, I congratulate the Institute and its founders.”

In November 2006 the University of Ghana, in response to growing recognition of the significance of migration for Ghana and Africa’s development agenda, established the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) at the University of Ghana, mainly through the efforts of Professor Takyiwa Manuh. Its main objective was to provide a focus for migration research, teaching and learning in the university and to provide regional leadership for capacity building on migration in the West African sub-region and Africa as a whole.

As founding Director of the new Centre, in a relatively ‘new’ area, we sought to make the Centre visible in the global migration arena. Fortunately, IMI was one of the first institutions with whom we developed collaborative links in 2007, and we held the first African Migrations Workshop in collaboration with IMI in Accra, Ghana in September 2007. This workshop brought together African migration researchers from both the Global North and South and helped to focus attention on the changing African migrations landscape and the reciprocal links with economic and social transformation. This was the first major activity undertaken by CMS and the collaboration with IMI helped to enhance the profile of CMS and its visibility amongst migration researchers. Several networks and subsequent CMS research activities materialised as a result of this initial collaboration.



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

The African Perspectives on Human Mobility (APHM) research project, which was funded by the MacArthur Foundation and coordinated by IMI, involved four country research teams based at different African universities, including the University of Ibadan (Nigeria); Université Mohamed V, Agdal, Rabat (Morocco); Université de Lubumbashi (Democratic Republic of Congo) and CMS. As a new Centre, this project provided CMS with the opportunity not only to work with the University of Oxford, but more importantly, opportunity to work with other African researchers in the Global South, thus enabling us to draw attention to the experiences of mobility and migration across Africa, rather than reflecting European preconceptions and concerns. The first African Migrations Workshop was especially useful as it provided networking opportunities with African migration researchers and an added value was the opportunity to work across the linguistic divide with researchers from Francophone countries.

Our relationship with IMI was pleasant and flexible and, particularly with the APHM programme, allowed each research team to develop its own research theme on international migration in Africa within the broader programme framework. This provided us with the opportunity to explore issues which we saw as more important, and more relevant to our individual contexts, rather than following an agenda which

would elsewhere often be set by partners in the Global North or by donors. For us at CMS, this led to a research focus on short-term international mobility patterns (mobility of transnational Ghanaian traders) which are often more significant in the African context and yet often overlooked or under-explored in the literature on African migration.

A key part of our collaboration with IMI was the access it gave us to resources within the University of Oxford. For example, for the duration of our formal collaboration, CMS was provided with Virtual Academic Visitor status at the University of Oxford, which provided us with free access to the online resources of the University libraries. This greatly improved our online access to published material and thus helped to address the problem of the limited capacity

of African university libraries. It also provided us an opportunity to widen access to and dissemination of our research outputs.

In all, our collaboration with IMI was a useful one: at a time when the focus of international migration was on South–North migration, it helped us to focus attention on South–South migration – where the majority of migration streams occur – as well as to highlight African experiences of migration. Through our initial collaboration with IMI in our very first year, CMS has grown and progressed to become a leading institution in migration research in the West Africa region.

As IMI celebrates ten years of inspiring work, I wish it many more vibrant, productive and fruitful years ahead.

*African Perspectives on Human Mobility workshop,
Elmina, Ghana, May 2010 © Oliver Bakewell*



Collaborating with IMI on THEMIS: Agency in Systems?

Cindy Horst, Research Professor in Migration and Refugee Studies, Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO)



Cindy Horst



From 2010 to 2013 PRIO was a research partner in the THEMIS project (see pp40–41). THEMIS aimed to ‘theorize the evolution of European migration systems’, looking at the way in which patterns of migration to Europe develop. Based on field research in destination countries the UK, Norway, the Netherlands and Portugal, and origin countries Brazil, Morocco and Ukraine, the project was set up to bridge the theories on the initiation and continuation of migration. THEMIS also aimed to integrate the concept of agency in the systems theory approach to migration. As with many IMI projects, THEMIS was highly ambitious and at the frontier of migration research.

During the four years of the project, we got to know quite a few IMI researchers; some of whom very well. The three wise men behind IMI – Stephen Castles, Oliver Bakewell and Hein de Haas – played an important role in the initiation of the project. For the continuation of it Robin Cohen and then later Oliver Bakewell played a central role. We must also not forget the immense work that was done on the research and coordination side by two central women: Agnieszka Kubal and Kate Prudden. Working with these individuals – and the rest of the THEMIS team – was inspirational as well as fun. While the project set-up and

ambitions were at times very demanding, we were able to produce a tremendous amount of work that managed to draw on the different competences of those involved.

My personal interest in THEMIS has focused on agency, in the sense of the level of individuals’ power and choice; for example when they make decisions on whether to move or not. As is the case for Oliver Bakewell, this interest was sparked by a firm anchoring of my original research work in the field of Refugee Studies. In a conflict situation, where people have to decide whether to leave their homes or not, where parents have to decide whether to find protection and livelihoods for their children elsewhere or not, what does ‘power’ and ‘choice’ really mean? What does ‘forced’ mean in ‘forced migration’? While THEMIS only to a small extent focused on refugee groups, our debates on agency were coloured by previous work and they inspired and enabled me to move beyond it.

Among those aspects to which the THEMIS project directed my attention is class. We started exploring how social class – conceived of as a relational concept that expresses differentiation in social, cultural as well as economic resources – plays a crucial role in the differential operation of feedback in migration processes. Social and economic



differentiation is a major factor impacting migration processes, and we found that class, for example, was a key marker of difference in the case of Brazilian migration to Europe. Class determines both who is willing and able to move and, importantly, where they are able to go. Class intersects with other elements of a person's identity, and in the Brazilian case class position is also, to a large extent, determined by factors relating to race, place of origin and gender. At the same time, Brazilian material and subjective class realities are not just reproduced but also challenged and transformed in Europe, which impacts upon those local contexts as well as the transnational social field.

In a chapter co-authored with Sonia Pereira and Olivia Sheringham on this topic, we argue that chain migration is more common amongst those in disadvantaged socio-economic positions since they are more interested in migration as an alternative to a disadvantaged class position and face the most restrictions in access to the destinations to which they wish to migrate. Furthermore, our empirical work supports the idea that a national frame for studying the interrelations between class and migration is insufficient because class may be reconstructed and

transformed within transnational social fields. These aspects provide important new angles for exploring the operation of feedback mechanisms in migration systems more fully, and also challenge the idea that the concept of agency can be easily integrated in the systems theory approach to migration.

This is just one example of how collaboration with IMI researchers on THEMIS has led to interesting perspectives and what I hope to be innovative contributions. The project held a very successful final conference, sublimely hosted by IMI. There, I was particularly impressed by the work of the Communications department, which did a very professional job in helping us bring out the relevance of our work using a range of media tools. The most recent output is an edited volume, *Beyond Networks* (Palgrave Macmillan 2015), which brings together core papers on some of the key themes of the project. I congratulate IMI and its researchers for their impressive work both through THEMIS and in many other research engagements.

*Moroccan
Migrations
workshop,
Rabat, Morocco,
November 2008
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My Interaction with IMI

Dr. Richard Jones, Professor and Discipline Coordinator of Geography, University of Texas at San Antonio



Richard Jones

My involvement with IMI began in early spring 2009 with correspondence from Simona Vezzoli inviting me to attend the workshop Transatlantic Dialogues on Migration and Development, held in Zacatecas, Mexico, in March of that year. This workshop was arranged by IMI with the host institution, the Autonomous University of Zacatecas (UAZ), Program in Migration and Development. It was a turning point in my professional career. It brought me back in touch with my research roots in Mexico after an interlude (2006–2009) of research in Bolivia and a book, *Immigrants outside Megalopolis* (2008).

At the workshop I met Hein de Haas. Since Hein was (and still is, current affiliation notwithstanding) a geographer, he attracted special attention from me for his leadership at the workshop and, gratifyingly, as a rare reader of my research, which he was kind enough to cite and invite me to speak about. My conversations with other attendees, most notably Hein, Oliver Bakewell, Raúl Delgado Wise, Rodolfo García Zamora, Oscar Chacon, and Mohamed Aderghal, on those long van trips to sites in the state, apprised



me of new streams of migration research and policy. I co-organised a visit to Cargadero, a pioneer migrant incubator in the region. As a result of the workshop I re-established links with Raúl and Rodolfo at the UAZ, and returned during the summer of 2009 to recruit graduate student interviewers and carry out a re-study of Jerez from fourteen years earlier, with the help of Raúl. That re-study resulted in articles published in the *International Migration Review*, *Social Science Quarterly*, and the *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. IMI was the catalyst for all this ferment.

Hein and I had a rich professional friendship after that. In the autumn of 2009 we corresponded on a conference I was co-organising at UTSA for early March of 2010, Transatlantic Perspectives on International Migration, for which his suggestions resulted in our recruitment of Bridget Anderson, Jeroen Doomernik, and Russell King. Although (of course) I had read his work, I had not met Russell. He was arguably the Pater Familias of the conference, and nothing escaped his observation and commentary. So again IMI was implicated. Subsequently, I invited Russell to an Association of American Geographers session and have kept up a correspondence with him.

Later that same March of 2010, I was invited to attend the second Transatlantic Dialogues on Migration and Development workshop, in Ouarzazate, Morocco. This was another unique event in my life. I had never been to the MENA region save a brief trip to Morocco in 2002 to visit my daughter who



Transatlantic Dialogues study tour, Ouarzazate, Morocco, March 2010 © José Luis

was teaching English in Casablanca. Besides wide-ranging, stimulating sessions in the hotel, and re-engagement with colleagues from the year before, I got to meet Stephen Castles and Thomas Lacroix. On even longer van excursions, I could listen and occasionally contribute to debates involving Stephen and Raúl on whether labour migration is forced or not – Raúl with his charming inclusiveness, not giving an inch, and Stephen, honing in like a knife and then – telling an anecdote... These peregrinations were meticulously planned and directed by Mohamed Berriane who, since we tended to get immersed in such conversations even after disembarking, clapped to get our attention. I will not soon forget the visits to the Migration and Development Headquarters, the saffron and rose water farms, the tourist hotel in the desert, and especially the trip to Hein's beloved Todgha Valley. But to be frank, most memorable were the joke-telling sessions that fourth

evening back at the hotel, including Mohamed Aderghal's tale of the camel and the man lost in the desert. Perhaps this is not appropriate here.

Hein suggested that I be a co-editor of the *Anthology on Remittances and Development*, the brainchild of Josh DeWind of the Social Research Council (USA). As a result I got to work with Josh, Hein, Richard Adams (World Bank), and Una Osili (World Bank).

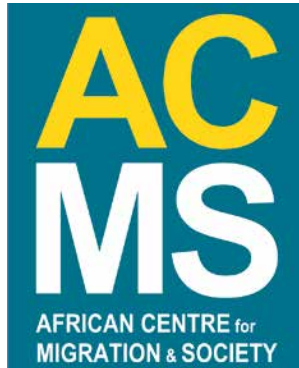
I have followed the progress of IMI and Hein through the excellent IMI newsletter, detailing conferences of IMI, COMPAS, and others, on themes of interest and global relevance. I have accessed streamed presentations, such as that of Douglas Massey whom you convinced to come and speak, a feat few of us have accomplished, and I look forward to reconnecting with IMI at the tenth anniversary conference in January 2016.

Building Equitable Communities of Knowledge: Reflections on a Decade of Collaboration with IMI

Loren B Landau, South African Research Chair for Mobility and the Politics of Difference, African Centre for Migration & Society, University of the Witwatersrand



Loren B
Landau



A decade ago, IMI set out to do things a bit differently. With two other migration-related institutes as neighbours in Oxford (RSC and COMPAS), they needed to set themselves apart. Others will undoubtedly praise its ever growing list of research publications and graduates. I wish to reflect instead on an additional, essential aspect of academic work that receives too little attention. While universities are increasingly judged on the volume of connections, IMI has adopted an approach to partnership that moves beyond instrumentalism and self-aggrandisement (even while recognising that these are necessary evils). Among its main wins, perhaps none are more intellectually and politically significant than through its egalitarian, provocative partnerships in sub-Saharan Africa.

Why do I praise IMI's commitment to enduring, empowering, and potentially high risk partnerships? In the past decade, networks and North–South partnerships have become prerequisites for much migration research funding and to achieve the reach needed for credibility as a global centre. Yet, as Zingerli (2010: 222) notes, 'research partnerships are not an easy remedy for inherent asymmetries and inequalities...' Indeed, partnerships risk

entrenching some of the North–South dichotomies they seek to overcome (see Standing and Taylor 2009). Yet through its partnerships – and its own work – much of what IMI has accomplished can be characterised by what I have previously termed 'meddling on the margins' (Landau 2012). Responding to the need for critical, fresh voices from the Global South – or at least from Africa – means confronting the political economy of knowledge production and recognising the limits on scholarship. This is something that IMI has consciously set out to do. While there are evident limits to what even Oxfordians can accomplish, we can learn much from IMI's endeavours. The following offer a series of areas in which IMI's work has been particularly notable:

- *It has taken small steps wisely.* Research consortia partners are often selected more for their geography and ability to legitimise collaboration than their intellectual interests or endowments. The results include motley crews that lack focus, have little personal rapport, and struggle internally for resources. This is especially the case with ambitious projects run on tight timelines. What we see in IMI's work is that energy spent in selecting partners and greater upfront openness about objectives, resources and expected outcomes has helped ensure more fruitful collaboration. As The Nairobi Report suggests, successful small-scale collaborations can be a ladder for broader projects managed by people who have established functional and productive working relations (British Academy 2006). I trust that in the years to come, that will be the case.
- *It has opened the gates.* Collaborations based on narrow, common interests or people with similar backgrounds tend to reproduce or strengthen existing



knowledge and presuppositions. Given the close connection of policy and the field, this limits the work's audience and its potential scholarly impact. I have been continually impressed by IMI's effort to build partnerships with younger scholars, with those outside the migration field, and with scholars collaborating across borders for the first time. Not all these connections will bear fruit, but the academy must learn from the private sector: without failures, there will be no innovation.

- *Replant and replenish.* Senior scholars across Africa have strong incentives for monopolising fields in their respective countries. It is typically these people who attract international attention and get drawn into global or multi-region partnerships. This both fortifies their dominance of local scholarship and lessens the likelihood of full participation in collaborative initiatives. By insisting

on the independent participation of doctoral students and early career scholars, IMI has helped to multiply the voices being heard both in and out of their respective countries. Were IMI to disappear tomorrow, the growing strength of these voices would be an enduring legacy.

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Contribution of African Research to Migration Theory conference, Dakar, Senegal, November 2010
© Oliver Bakewell

Appreciating IMI's First Decade

Douglas S Massey, Office of Population Research,
Princeton University



*Douglas S
Massey*

The creation of IMI in 2006 was an important landmark of the growing influence of international migration on the world's social, economic, political, and cultural affairs. Although recognition of the extent of migration's importance in global affairs was not yet widely shared in 2006, subsequent events have served to underscore the magnitude of international migration as an agent of change throughout the world, corroborating the original vision of the IMI's founders.

I have followed the work and development of IMI since its inception and have considered myself fortunate to be part of the global conversation it supports through its many scholarly conferences, research publications, data releases, and policy assessments. In my own work, I have personally sought to advance the origination and integration of migration theory across disciplinary boundaries, expand the supply of data publicly available for immigration research, push researchers to look beyond their own national circumstances and think globally about migratory processes, and to bring empirical evidence to bear on the formation and execution of immigration policies throughout the world. Since these are also the goals of the IMI, I have naturally been drawn into its orbit.



I have long followed and greatly appreciated the research and publications of senior staff members such as Stephen Castles, Robin Cohen, Oliver Bakewell, and Hein de Haas, and have greatly benefitted from attending IMI-sponsored symposia in which they also participated, enabling me not only to refresh my knowledge of their ongoing research programmes but also to receive helpful comments and criticisms on my own work. The diversity of national origins, disciplinary backgrounds, and academic ranks at IMI always makes for a lively and productive interchange, and through its conferences and seminars I have been privileged to meet many up-and-coming researchers and learn about their work. I have found the IMI symposia I have attended to date invaluable in keeping me abreast of patterns and trends with respect to international migration, immigrant integration, and policy initiatives throughout the world.

An important contribution of IMI that I very much appreciate is its effort to assemble and disseminate data, including the Database on Immigrants in OECD and Non-OECD Countries, the EUMAGINE database, and new data resources from the DEMIG and THEMIS projects. Ultimately, of course, the lasting contribution of any research centre is its scholarly production, and in this IMI has indeed excelled, with some 30 publications and working papers produced in 2015 alone (and as I write the year is not yet over).

An inspection of recent titles reveals coverage of a remarkable range of world regions, including work on geographic mobility in Africa, the emigration of Indian academics, the diffusion of migratory

knowledge across Moroccan sending areas, the experience of Malian traders in Dakar, the return intentions among Senegalese and Congolese immigrants in Europe, barriers to the integration of immigrant physicians in France, the determinants of being overweight among immigrants in Spain and France, the effects of race on employment in the US, the migratory effects of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, and narratives of statelessness among Kurds in Sweden and the UK.

A key component of IMI's scholarly output is its attention to the determinants and consequences of immigration policies. Among papers published or released in 2015 are an analysis of state policies and migrant organisations in New York and Toronto, a survey of the links between migration and trade practices, a consideration of the ethics of UK policies that promote the emigration of nurses from Africa, an empirical study of the relationship between government political orientation and immigration policies around the world, a reflection on

assessing the effectiveness of immigration policies, and an evaluation of the nature of policy reforms in Morocco.

Across both substantive and policy-oriented works, IMI researchers deploy a diversity of methodological tools and theoretical perspectives, often in very novel ways, such as the application of prospect theory to migrant decision making. All in all, over the course of its first decade IMI has amassed an impressive record of data production and scholarly research directly relevant to understanding the social, economic, and demographic dynamics of today's world. Given the richness of its contributions, the high calibre of its research staff, and the exceptional quality of its seminars and symposia, I certainly look forward to participating in my next IMI-sponsored conference, for attending these events has been my primary avenue of involvement with the institute and has become a valued opportunity for connecting to the wider world of immigration research.

*Dakar, Senegal,
September 2010
© Evelyn Ersanilli*





*Looking over to Maputo, Catembe, Mozambique,
August 2010 © Oliver Bakewell*



PROJECTS

Many projects, of varying scope and significance, constitute our first decade of research. Some have concluded, some are ongoing, and some just beginning; each project, however, has contributed to furthering our founding research agenda, which identifies four broad themes:

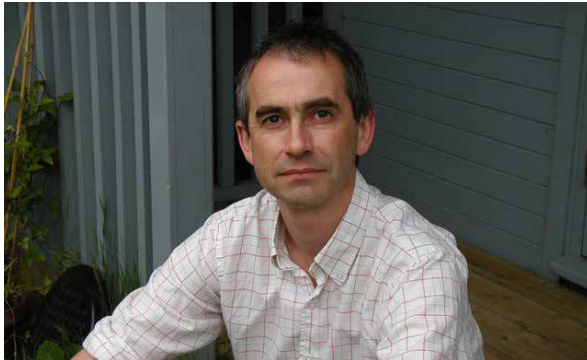
- Looking at migration as an integral part of global transformation processes rather than a problem to be solved;
- Relating current migration patterns with historical trends by analysing continuities and discontinuities;
- Linking micro-level understanding of migration to macro-level trends;
- Looking to the future by developing scenarios for migration trends, taking account of political, economic and demographic change.

As part of this agenda to develop a long-term, comprehensive perspective on global migration processes and to foster a new, empirically-based narrative on migration, we endeavour to make available the data which underpin our research. We hope that, in positioning ourselves as a key source for robust migration data, we can provide the necessary tools to other scholars aiming to correct many of the prevailing myths and inaccuracies surrounding global migration.

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/data

African Migrations Programme Oliver Bakewell, Director, IMI

MacArthur Foundation



Oliver Bakewell

2008–2015

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/african-migrations-programme

Through a wide array of projects and partnerships over the past decade, IMI has built up great expertise and capacity for undertaking innovative research across Africa. This began from the foundation of IMI when the initial geographical focus of our work was on the continent. This gave rise to our ongoing African Migrations Programme which has included a number of projects over the years. Our first initiative was to understand the range of different migration research which was being undertaken across Africa and help build capacity for future work. We initiated a series of African migration workshops held in

Moroccan
Migrations
workshop,
Rabat, Morocco,
November 2008
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Accra (2007), Rabat (2008) and Dakar (2010) that brought together researchers from all regions of the continent, cutting across the Anglophone/Francophone and North/sub-Saharan Africa divisions. We particularly encouraged the participation of early career scholars from African universities and worked with some of them to publish a special issue (*Journal of Intercultural Studies* 35(4), 2013) and an edited volume (Berriane and de Haas 2012).

As a result of the first workshop, we were able to identify partners to work with us on our first major research project – African Perspectives on Human Mobility – funded by the MacArthur Foundation (2008–2011). This was a unique opportunity to work with colleagues from Université Mohamed V in Rabat, the University of Ghana in Legon, Ibadan University in Nigeria and Université de Lubumbashi in DR Congo. Each partner developed their own projects according to their own interests, which enabled them to look at little-explored areas of African mobility – sub-Saharan Africans and Europeans settling in Fes, internationally mobile traders in the markets of Accra and Lagos, Chinese immigration to Lubumbashi. Together these studies helped to show how many African cities are important destinations and hubs for international mobility (see Bakewell and Jónsson 2011).



A further grant from the MacArthur Foundation (2012–2014) allowed us to follow up this study in the Mobility in the African Great Lakes project. This set out to examine the dynamics of mobility in a region of East Africa where all movements tend to be seen as caused by conflict alone, and everyday processes that also stimulate migration, such as employment, education or family formation, tend to be neglected. Working with colleagues in Lubumbashi, Kampala and Eldoret, the research examined the different ways migrants leaving the conflict-prone areas of Eastern DR Congo have settled across the region. It unveiled a rich variation in people's personal migration trajectories and the striking differences from city to city. For example, in Kampala, the Congolese almost all have refugee status, whereas in Eldoret people from the same area are immersed in the transport businesses and seen as migrant workers rather than refugees.

Empirical research in Africa has also been an important component of many of IMI's other projects, including EUMAGINE, THEMIS and the Oxford Diasporas Programme (ODP). In ODP (see pp38–39), the African Diasporas within Africa project looked at the settlement of migrants from West Africa and the Horn of Africa in Kampala and Lusaka to examine the extent to which these groups are sustaining their links with their areas of origin and starting to form diasporas (see Bakewell and Binaisa 2016). This theme of the settlement of migrants in Africa was also pursued at another workshop with African scholars organised by IMI with the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) in South Africa, from which a new edited volume – *Forging African Societies* – is being prepared.

Throughout this decade of research on African migrations, IMI's work has focused on movement within the continent and highlighted the role of mobility in people's lives rather than identifying migration as a problem to be addressed. This challenges the dominant picture of international migration in Africa, which suggests that most migration is outside the continent and

driven by conflict and poverty. This critical stance has helped create a distinctive angle to IMI's African Migrations Programme which has stimulated approaches from different partners to engage in new collaborations and research. In 2014, the West Africa team from the Migration and Development Global Programme of the Swiss Agency for Cooperation and Development (SDC), approached IMI to provide expertise and advice for an SDC project to draw together scholars in a series of workshops on migration and development in West Africa. The first two workshops were held in Benin and Nigeria in 2015. This effectively continues the initiative to stimulate new research and build up young scholars that IMI began in 2008. Moreover, this collaboration has also resulted in SDC funding for a new project investigating the family strategies of migrants in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso, conducted with the University of Ouagadougou (see p51).

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*Traders setting
off for Angola,
Zambia, 2010*
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Database on Immigrants in OECD and Non-OECD Countries

Yasser Moullan, Research Officer, IMI



John Fell Fund

Collaboration with the OECD and World Bank

Collecting migrant stock data for 2005–2014

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/dioc-e



This research project aimed to further our knowledge of international migration in our time. Despite international migration having received increased attention from academics, the media and policy makers, this phenomenon is clearly still largely misunderstood. Although there is a growing literature on international migration, macroeconomic research still suffers from the lack of up-to-date worldwide data on recent immigrants. This research project aimed to fill this gap through a collaboration with the OECD and the World Bank to update the E-DIOC dataset for the year 2010. Based on the new population census round in developed and in developing countries, this project collected aggregate bilateral migrant stocks for 226 origin and 80 destination countries by detailing immigrants’ characteristics, such as their age, gender, country of birth/nationality, education, occupation and labour force status. This new wave will complement the previous E-DIOC data that was available for the year 2000 only. The introduction of this time dimension will be particularly useful to understand the global pattern of migration in the last decade in developed but also in developing countries.

developed countries in the context of competition for attracting the ‘best and brightest’; source countries, on the other hand, have fears about a potential ‘brain drain’ that might undermine their own processes of development and innovation. Moreover these data will make possible research on the mobility patterns of women, who play a key role in the development processes of both origin and destination countries. The Database on Immigrants in OECD and Non-OECD Countries project complements the MIGRASKIL project (see pp32–33) funded by the Sloan Foundation, as well as the DEMIG project (see pp30–31), whose main objective was to understand the drivers of contemporary international migration.

This dataset is used for conducting research on the causes and consequences of international human capital mobility for the period 2000–2010. It allows us to focus our attention on high-skilled migration which is the fastest growing component of international migration. This topic is prominent on the policy agenda of several

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September 2013 © Evelyn Ersanilli



Determinants of International Migration

Simona Vezzoli, Post-doctoral researcher, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam and
Katharina Natter, Doctoral researcher, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam



left: Simona Vezzoli; right: Katharina Natter



2010–2014

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/demig



The five-year Determinants of International Migration (DEMIG) project, which received core-funding from the European Research Council and additional funding from the Oxford Martin School through a matched funding grant, generated new theoretical and empirical insights into the role of states and policies in shaping migration processes in their interaction with other migration determinants. The project aimed to investigate how states and migration policies affect the volume, timing, duration, direction and composition of international migration. It further aimed to investigate the nature, structure and evolution of global migration in the 1950–2010 period, as well as the nature and evolution of immigration and emigration policies over the same period.

A major part of the project was the construction of ground-breaking macro-level databases on migration flows and migration policies. DEMIG TOTAL reports immigration, emigration and net migration flows for up to 161 countries covering various periods of time from the early 1800s to 2011, allowing for quantitative analysis of the long-term evolution of international migration. DEMIG C2C (country-to-

country) contains bilateral migration flow data for 34 reporting countries and from up to 236 countries over the 1946–2011 period, providing a unique opportunity to analyse migration flows from many origin countries to the 34 reporting countries, as well as return flows. These databases represent the most comprehensive collection of international migration flow data to date (see Vezzoli, Villares-Varela and de Haas (2014) for insights into the data). DEMIG POLICY tracks more than 6,500 migration policy changes enacted by 45 countries around the world mostly in the 1945–2014 period, allowing for both quantitative and qualitative research on the long-term evolution and effectiveness of migration policies. DEMIG VISA tracks entry visa and exit permit requirements of 214 countries for travellers of 237 countries over the 1973–2013 period, containing over 4 million data points.

The theoretical and empirical research from DEMIG challenged common assumptions in academia and the public space and contributes to a fundamental rethinking of the nature, causes and consequences of migration processes. DEMIG, which has yielded 29 working papers so far and various spin-off article and chapter publications, has generated the following main research insights:

- Patterns and trends of global migration: While the number of international migrants has almost doubled between 1960 and 2000, the world population has grown at the same pace. Thus, the relative rate of international migration has remained stable on levels of three per cent

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of the world's population. The DEMIG analyses confirm that there has been no acceleration of global migration. Instead, they uncover that the main change in global migration has been directional. After centuries of European emigration to foreign territories, since WWII Europe has evolved into the world's prime migration destination, and immigrant populations in traditional countries of European settlement have become increasingly Asian, Latin American and African. Overall, global migration patterns have become more skewed, with migrants from an increasingly diverse array of origin countries concentrating in a decreasing pool of prime destinations (see Czaika and de Haas 2014).

- *The nature and evolution of migration policies:* Challenging common assumptions of growing restrictiveness, analyses of the DEMIG POLICY database show that since 1945 migration policies have been consistently dominated by less restrictive changes. Instead of a growing restrictiveness, the essence of post-WWII migration policies has been an increasing complexity and selectivity. While policies towards migrant categories such as irregular migrants and asylum seekers have often become more restrictive, a larger number of policies targeting high- and low-skilled workers, students and family members have become less restrictive (see de Haas, Natter and Vezzoli 2014).
- *Impacts and effectiveness of policies:* Migration restrictions tend to reduce immigration of the targeted migrant category, but these effects are limited compared to other migration determinants such as conflict and development in origin and destination regions, as well as 'non-migration policies' such as social, trade or labour market policies. In addition, migration restrictions often have a number of side effects which can undermine their effectiveness, namely (i) spatial substitution through the diversion of migration to or via other countries;

(ii) categorical substitution through a re-orientation to other legal or illegal channels, such as from labour to family migration; (iii) inter-temporal substitution in the form of massive 'now or never migration' in anticipation of future tightening of policies; and (iv) reverse flow substitution through the reduction in return flows, showing that restrictions interrupt circulation, push migrants into permanent settlement, and make migration less responsive to opportunities in origin and destination countries (see de Haas 2011; de Haas and Vezzoli 2011; Czaika and de Haas 2013; Vezzoli 2015).

IMI aims to contribute to redressing a situation in which much evidence has remained biased and partial, omitting crucial sending country and policy variables. In releasing the databases from this cornerstone project, IMI aims to contribute to dispelling some of the myths surrounding migration, facilitate further research, and share evidence-based findings on the determinants of international migration.

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The Drivers and Dynamics of High-Skilled Migration

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Mathias Czaika

2012–2014

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/high-skilled

This project conducts theoretical and empirical research on the drivers and dynamics of high-skilled migration. The overall research objective is to gain insight into the way policies shape high-skilled

migration processes in their interaction with other structural and individual migration determinants. We combine a macro analysis on the determinants of bilateral high-skilled migrant flows with a micro- and meso-level analysis of the drivers of the international mobility of (Indian) academics.

Compilation and exploration of two new and unique macro databases on (i) bilateral immigrant flows by skill for 12 OECD countries (Australia, Canada, Israel, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, the US and the UK), which captures a large fraction of the world's total high-skilled immigrants, and (ii) 23 unilateral and bilateral high-skilled immigration policy instruments for 19 immigration countries, reveal great diversity in the overall size of labour flows, their skill composition, the continued agglomeration of the international mobility of human capital, as well as the increasing diversification of such flows over time. However, we find that the drop in immigration flows into major industrialised countries hit by the financial and economic crisis was rather short-lived and predominantly in the major destinations only. By 2011, numbers of skilled and high-skilled immigrants were largely back to the mid- and long-term trend of increasing high-skilled immigration to major OECD destinations. At the same time,

despite the global economic crisis and its adverse economic impacts, e.g. on labour market outcomes, high-skilled migration policies have not seen a major backlash by becoming more restrictive. Despite some fine-tuning adjustments in shortage lists or credit point configurations in the countries with some sort of points-based systems, no significant policy reversal has occurred. Demand for highly qualified workers has instead intensified in certain occupations and countries continue to become active players in the recruitment of highly skilled migrants (Czaika and Parsons forthcoming).

Quantitative evaluation (see Czaika and Parsons 2015) of the efficacy of skill-specific immigration policy instruments show that points-based systems are much more effective in attracting and selecting high-skilled migrants in comparison to those demand-led policies that include requiring a job offer, clearance through a labour market test or working in a shortage listed occupation. The provision of post-entry rights such as a 'road to permanent residency', seems effective in attracting high-skilled migrants, but overall this is found to reduce the human capital content of labour flows since permanency rights prove more attractive for non-high skilled workers. Some particular policies, however, are more effective when combined with other policy instruments. For example, financial incentives in 'demand-driven' systems yield better outcomes than when combined with points-based systems. We find that bilateral agreements that serve to recognise the credentials of diplomas earned overseas and transfer social security rights between countries, foster greater flows of high-skilled workers in addition to improving the skill selectivity of immigrant flows.

In order to enhance our understanding of the individual-level factors that drive those

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dynamics identified at the cross-national level, we designed and implemented an online survey in order to trace geographical and career mobilities of Indian academics worldwide. This survey targets Indian researchers in particular as they constitute, in many countries, the largest group of foreign students or academics. Based on this survey of 4,600 Indian researchers and 40 in-depth interviews, this study provides evidence on the internationalisation of careers and the diversification of destinations of Indian-born academics. Our survey indicates that about a third of all Indian researchers have some international study or professional experience at some stage of their career. Prime destinations are still the US, Canada, and the UK, but outside these 'academic core' destinations some new European and East Asian destinations are emerging and are expected to play a more prominent role in the future.

Czaika and Toma (2015) illustrate the importance of studying student and academic mobility simultaneously because international academic careers are to a very large extent initiated by the fact of having studied abroad. Student and professional academic career spells are thus inextricably linked and highly path-dependent in geographical terms. This suggests that international academic careers start early at undergraduate levels and usually follow a certain geographical trajectory for multiple subsequent career steps. This usually implies that early study decisions drive the later academic career trajectory. North American or British universities are highly selective in admitting students, which is also reflected in our survey in which only (Indian) academics with the best high school grades had the opportunity and decided to study in these countries. While only very few academics who were able to enter the North American academic market moved to other destinations or even returned after their PhD or first job experience, British universities are more of an 'academic stepping stone' from where graduates or post-docs continued their career either in North America or moved to other destinations either in Europe or prime institutions in

Asia such as Singapore, Japan, Hong Kong, or some newly established institutions in the Gulf. Return to India seems more likely if graduates or academics moved to other destinations outside these Anglo-Saxon scientific core countries as those 'second tier' destinations often offer fewer opportunities for high-quality research and may establish larger cultural or linguistic barriers compared to the English-speaking countries.

This research also sheds some light on the role of destination countries' immigration policies, which seems to play a minor role in the mobility decisions of Indian scientists (Toma and Villares-Varela 2015). However, even if researchers do not really take migration policies into account in their decision making process, we cannot conclude that their international mobility is barrier-free. Immigration policies and rights to work may affect the mobility of scientists rather indirectly by influencing the recruitment decisions of employers and departments in destination countries, without the candidates themselves being aware of these criteria. Overall, mobility of (Indian) researchers is mainly driven by an intrinsic motivation to internationalise their scientific careers, but has also to do with the status quo of the research environment in India. Moving abroad enables researchers to acquire expertise in a field of research that is not sufficiently developed back home, and provides exposure to research facilities and personnel deemed better and more qualified than those left behind.

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EUMAGINE: Imagining Europe from the Outside

Dominique Jolivet, Research Assistant, IMI



Co-funded by the 7th Framework programme of the European Union



Dominique Jolivet

2010–2013

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/eumagine

EUMAGINE was an interdisciplinary European research project funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Programme. The research team was formed by a consortium of eight institutions in seven countries who worked in ‘geographical duo teams’ consisting of one European and one non-European partner. At IMI, we worked in close collaboration with Université Mohamed V – Agdal (UMVA) in Morocco. This non-Eurocentric project studied the impact of perceptions of human rights and democracy on aspirations and decisions towards international migration. Beginning in February 2010 and over the course of three years, within a team of more than 30 researchers we studied people’s perceptions of localities and countries of origin as well as places abroad. We also

investigated how perceptions of human rights and democracy interact with other determinants of migration aspirations, to what extent migration is perceived as a valuable life project, and how potential migrants compare Europe to other migration destinations.

Unlike most migration research projects, the project focused on people who had not migrated at the time of the research, but may or may not have the aspiration to do so. Our main focus was to investigate the impact of perceptions of access to work, education and health care; social protection, corruption, safety and security; equality of opportunities, cultural rights, and freedom of speech on migration aspirations. This served to partly fill some crucial gaps in the migration literature, particularly with regards to how perceptions of democracy and human rights shape migration aspirations and decisions. The focus on perceptions also served to investigate the shaping cultural factors, thereby moving beyond the usual research focus on economic dimensions.

We investigated four localities in each of the following four countries: Senegal, Morocco, Ukraine and Turkey. These countries were selected because they are both sources of substantial emigrations to Europe and elsewhere as well as destinations of migrants from other countries. The localities represented a wide diversity of contexts in terms of economic development, emigration rates, migration destinations, types of migration (regular or irregular), immigration history, and specific human rights situations. We focused our research on people aged between 18 and 40 living in these 16 areas. The respondents either had previous migration experience, or were voluntary or involuntary non migrants (Carling 2002). We combined ethnographic

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Dominique

Jolivet



*Young men near
Mosquée Hassan
II, Casablanca,
Morocco, February
2012 © Dominique
Jolivet*

fieldwork, a large-scale survey and qualitative interviews.

The results showed that perceptions do matter greatly in shaping aspirations and, eventually, decisions towards migration. The research revealed that migration is more than a rational, utility-optimising individual decision making process.

Results showed how cross-country comparisons shape perceptions of the own country and local community. Empirical evidence demonstrated how specific contextual and personal access to human rights- and democracy-related factors shape perceptions of migration. EUMAGINE revealed that past migration experiences do not necessarily lead to higher migration aspirations. In fact, negative experiences of migrants or their family members often lead to lower migration aspirations. In some areas with strong international migration tradition, the project results showed how 'negative information' may flow back and lead to lower migration. This provides a critique of assumptions that networks and

migration system formation will inevitably facilitate more migration.

The EUMAGINE results also indicated that those aspects of human rights and democracy that have a more direct relationship with personal opportunities for advancement play a more important role in shaping migration aspirations than factors less directly related with individual opportunities. EUMAGINE contributed to the understanding of the dynamic interaction of structural factors (changing economies, policies and societies) and agency (changing perceptions and aspirations) from the still under-studied perspective of the countries of origin. Its results encouraged us to keep focusing our research on the interconnections between migration, development, inequality and change.

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Global Migration Futures

Ayla Bonfiglio, Doctoral Fellow, United Nations University-MERIT & Maastricht University



The Hague Process
on Refugees and Migration

Scenarios for: North Africa, Europe, Horn of Africa and Yemen, and the Pacific

In partnership with The Hague Process on Migration and Refugees

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/gmf

Envisaging the future of global migration patterns is a challenging, if not herculean, task. One need only look at the unsuccessful attempts to predict the impact of the EU accession of the A8 countries on migration to the UK or the closing of the guest-worker programme in Germany after 1973 to realise the complexity of migration issues and the difficulties in carrying out futures-oriented research in this field. Difficulties include a lack of data and a significant reliance on extrapolation from other countries and periods in history, a high degree of uncertainty about the multidimensional process of migration, and a lack of attention to factors – i.e. potential migration drivers – for which there is no data.

For this reason, in 2009, IMI started the Global Migration Futures project to develop a scenario methodology that explores future migration patterns at a regional level and draws attention to those factors which are the most uncertain but have a high potential to impact migration. The methodology uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to identify and examine a range of potential migration outcomes. Further, it develops scenarios in collaboration with regional experts and key migration stakeholders from sending and receiving governments, businesses, civil society and international organisations, to gain from first-hand knowledge and to create unique environments wherein decision makers can engage in creative thinking and challenge their assumptions about migration.



Ayla Bonfiglio

The project was first implemented with the support of The Hague Process on Migration and Refugees and with funding from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Boeing Corporation. Initially, the project focused on developing scenarios for Europe and North Africa. It later expanded to the Horn of Africa, with support from the Danish Refugee Council and in partnership with the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, and to the Pacific region, with support from New Zealand's Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment and Australia's Department of Citizenship and Immigration, in partnership with the University of Waikato.

Given the vast differences between the regions for which scenarios were generated, the project identified a wide range of migration insights. For instance, in the Horn of Africa, the research team in collaboration with regional stakeholders identified insights related to the phenomenon of mixed migration, non-state actors, the future of cities and the potential impacts of urbanisation, identity politics, and the role of the environment within the migration process. Overall, in terms of future migration patterns, they saw the potential for Kenya's role as a migration hub to increase; for intra-regional movement, immigration, and emigration to increase, given the relatively

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*Global Migration
Futures second
stakeholders'
workshop, Cairo,
Egypt, May 2011*

small role migration currently played in the region relative to other world regions and given rising education and income rates; and for the proliferation of new and more distant destinations for regional emigrants, linked to the economic development of the region.

In the Pacific, the research team in collaboration with regional stakeholders identified insights related to urban migration and its potential impact on customary land tenure and household gender dynamics; the restructuring of immigrant communities in New Zealand and Australia; the proliferation of migration destinations; the future role of Pacific diaspora populations on political, economic, and social issues within the region, particularly given that in certain countries members of the diaspora outnumber their kin in home countries; the role of the environment on the migration process, and the impact of growing ICT infrastructure in Pacific Islands and Territories on future migration patterns.

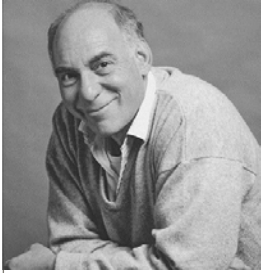
The scenarios for Europe and North Africa identified the need to understand future developments in a few areas, specifically demographic, technological, social and environmental changes. Factors having potentially a strong impact on future changes in migration were: future sources of energy, including alternative energy sources and future centres of energy production; technological shifts, such as continuous developments in robotics,

which may alter production and service provision and significantly determine future labour demand; changing perceptions and desirability of social and cultural diversity, shifts in the identification of the 'other' and xenophobia.

The project's scenario-building activities prompted learning, innovative thinking, and information sharing amongst a select group of migration experts and stakeholders. In this way, the scenarios are not conventional projections; rather, they are tools for envisioning what 'might' take place. This (inter)active and imaginative component of the project filled a large gap in futures-oriented and policy-relevant migration research because participants were more likely to use and directly put into practice what they learned during the exercises and to feel ownership over the project outputs. Moreover, by putting stakeholders in direct contact with each other, the project helped to build a network from which participants could benefit, throughout the duration of the project and in looking to the future.

The Oxford Diasporas Programme: a short biography

Robin Cohen, Professor Emeritus of Development Studies and principal investigator on ODP, 2011–15



Robin Cohen

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/odp

Why ‘a biography’? Simply because, like humans, research projects go through a cycle of conception, birth, development, maturity, death and, perhaps, an afterlife. Our

moment of conception was prompted by a Leverhulme Trust advertisement of a programme grant, worth up to £2 million for five years, on the theme of ‘The impact of diasporas’. The key players in formulating the proposal – Nicholas Van Hear, Alan Gamlen and myself – were established diaspora scholars, so we were rapidly able to sketch a birthing plan for a triplet of questions we called ‘the 3Cs’:

- How did diasporic communities *connect* with others from the same diaspora and with their homes (however loosely ‘home’ was conceived) and how did governments reach out to their diasporas?
- How did diasporas *contest*, i.e. come into conflict with other diasporas, host populations or homeland contenders for political influence?
- How, finally, did diasporas *converge* with adjacent communities and manage the competing tugs of loyalty to home and host?

It was not a perfect formula, but we were able to rehearse our ideas in a series of antenatal seminars convened at COMPAS. We had also to manage the difficult business of birthing partners. We were able through a competitive process at Oxford to identify seven departments and research units capable of undertaking eleven projects.

There were tears of joy as our lusty triplets were born. Those who nurtured them did



The Leverhulme Trust



a commendable job in developing their offspring. Ultimately there were some 44 researchers, visitors and graduate students involved, though some only for short periods. IMI was at the heart of the programme and provided administrative, financial and communications support, the necessary mothers’ milk, soft foods and cuddly toys. The programme commenced with an opening address by Khachig Tölölyan on the state of the art of diaspora studies and was punctuated by a programme-wide theory workshop, a mid-term conference and an ambitious end-of-grant conference in September 2015. Approximately 20 field sites were identified, two in the UK (in Swindon and East London) and the others in a scatter of places – in Africa, the Indian and Atlantic oceans, Europe and the US. Other than our work in Sri Lanka we did not undertake research in Asia – a limitation, of course, but we could not venture everywhere.

Several programme publications emerged, including a special issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (in collaboration with the University of Leicester), and a creative compilation of ideas, photo essays and short articles by everyone associated with the programme. Titled *Diasporas Reimagined*, the book provides a rich pot pourri of the scope of our engagement. The eleven projects have also generated far weightier stuff – six books, and hundreds of articles, conference papers and working papers. Like strapping adolescents our researchers showed no fear in travelling to the unknown and bringing back shedloads of ideas and data. Although impossible to

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 Naluwembe
 Binaisa
 Robin Cohen
 Barzoo Eliassi
 Elena
 Fiddian-
 Qasmiyeh
 Alan Gamlen
 Olivia
 Sheringham



summarise all of this activity in any detail, four broad tendencies emerged:

- The concept of diaspora was massively extended – for example to cover the case of internal African diasporas as well as the long-accepted cross-continental cases;
- The complex arena of how religion and diaspora intersect was addressed in a more sophisticated and more comprehensive way than ever before;
- Agentic perspectives were used to ‘animate’, mobilise and deconstruct the category of diaspora – be these agents governments, elites, social movements or popular practices;

- Forms of convergence and connection between diasporic and other forms of identity were identified, weighted and re-conceptualised.

After five years of development and maturation, we have come to the last few months of our life. It is a sober moment, but we think not so much of death, but of our afterlife – in the books, papers and essays we have published and those forthcoming. In the digital world the influence of our work will sustain, as it will in the students we have taught or supervised.

*Sufi Zikr
in a Roma
encampment,
Florence, Italy,
January 2015*
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Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems

Oliver Bakewell, Director, IMI



Oliver Bakewell

2010–2014

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/themis

It is sometimes suggested that migration patterns evolve following a trajectory where individual pioneer migrants start to move from one country to another, and

over time, more people join them: once a critical mass is reached, that migration flow expands rapidly. Through a theoretically driven inquiry, the Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems (THEMIS) project, funded by NORFACE between 2010 and 2014, set out to examine how and why such systems of expanding migration may (or may not) emerge in different settings and when they may decline. It was a collaborative project led by IMI with partners Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR), the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and the University of Lisbon. The main research questions included: Under what conditions do migration systems become established and under what conditions might they tail off or stagnate? How can migrant networks both facilitate and obstruct further migrants? How does the establishment of migration institutions stimulate further migration? And how do new connections created online through social media shape migration?

The study compared migration flows within different ‘migration corridors’ from a set of origin localities to a set of destination places and investigated the extent to which migration systems dynamics are in evidence within those corridors. Working with national research partners, we made a comparative study of the evolution of migrant groups following different migration trajectories between selected localities in three origin countries (Brazil, Morocco and

Ukraine) and four destination countries (UK, Norway, the Netherlands and Portugal). We focused on three operational concepts: pioneering – examining how migration between destinations begins and the extent to which migrants involve themselves in the migration of others; threshold – the point at which migration seems to develop its own momentum and encourages further movement; and decline – the times at which the migration slows down and possibly reverses.

The results of the extensive semi-structured interviews, qualitative interviews and survey data we carried out have added considerable depth to the notion of the migration system. On the one hand, they provide empirical findings to challenge the simplistic invocation of the migration system based on migrant networks leading to the perpetuation of migration flows once started by pioneer migrants. On the other hand, the project has refined existing concepts (see Bakewell 2014) and elaborated new ones that can help researchers analyse the conditions under which migration flows do become systemic and how these systems, once started, may break down.

For example, it became clear that the concept of a migration pioneer does not stand up very well to empirical enquiry. If people migrate as individuals and do not actively send information to their area of origin, are they pioneers? The first-comers may not act as pioneers. Moreover, some migration systems – such as the post-1990 Ukrainians in the UK – seem to have emerged without any identifiable pioneers. Hence, rather than looking for ‘pioneers’, it is more useful to analyse the process of ‘pioneering’, whereby early migrants encourage the movement of others and establish institutions, such as migrant associations that facilitate subsequent migration (see Bakewell, de Haas and Kubal 2012).

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The project explored many different aspects of the role of social networks in sustaining migration (e.g. van Meeteren and Pereira 2013). Much of the current literature that has adopted cumulative causation as an explanation for migration dynamics tends to conflate feedback with the operation of migrants' social networks. The THEMIS project results showed that it is important to distinguish such 'direct feedback' which is concerned with how migrants may directly shape subsequent migration, perhaps by assisting or hindering those that follow, needs to be carefully distinguished from 'indirect feedback', the latter being concerned with more extended causal processes. For example, the presence of migrants working in a particular sector may stimulate the creation of employment agencies that subsequently start recruiting in the country of origin, encouraging more migration outside social networks.

The rising importance of new connections created by social media and information communication technologies (ICTs) became very evident in all the corridors. This highlighted the importance of distinguishing between the operation of pre-existing social networks of family and friends that may encourage or discourage people's migration and (often virtual) social networks that potential migrants may join in order to migrate.

THEMIS's close examination of feedback mechanisms also showed how migrants' narratives of success and failure are often broadcast through different media far beyond any social network. For example, even in the absence of any personal link, people may become aware of new houses built by migrants in the city or watch the soap opera featuring the lives of migrants – which was an important story line for one Brazilian soap opera. We also explored the operation of negative feedback whereby previous migrants may 'draw up the ladder' to discourage subsequent migrants following the same path.

The extraordinarily rich findings of the THEMIS project resulted in many co-authored, inter-institutional project papers, as well as *Beyond Networks*, a volume recently published by Palgrave Macmillan. The THEMIS survey data has been archived with the UK Data Archive Service and is available to other researchers to continue to elaborate upon THEMIS's pioneering work on migration systems.

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*Training for
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interviews,
Universidade
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Governador
Valadares, Brazil,
July 2011
© Univale*

Diffusion and Contexts of Transnational Migrant Organisations in Europe

Thomas Lacroix, CNRS research fellow, Université de Poitiers

2007–2010

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/tramo



All over Europe, migrants join together in cultural, political, economic and social organisations. These migrant organisations (MOs) play a central role in integrating migrants into host societies. The importance of MOs, however, is not limited to their role in integration. The civic participation of migrants is also crucial for the democratic development of Europe and for the future enhancement of European civil societies.

Diffusion and Contexts of Transnational Migrant Organisations in Europe (TRAMO) was a European comparative research project funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. It was carried out simultaneously in Germany, the UK, Spain and Poland by four national teams and the overall project was directed by Prof. Ludger Pries at the Ruhr-University Bochum. The project aimed to grasp the evolution of contemporary migrant organisations in relation to their transnational linkages. Particularly, it sought to:

- Identify the characteristics of the transnational linkages of migrant organisations;
- Study the contextual factors which influence the emergence of transnational migrant organisations;
- Address the consequences of the transnationalisation of migrant organisations for migrants, receiving societies and societies of origin.

The data collection process was broken down into three main phases. The first step was a comprehensive inventory of existing migrant organisations among the two studied groups in each country. In the UK, with IMI as the research partner, the systematic analysis of national and regional databases led to the



Thomas Lacroix

compilation of a list of 1,210 Indian and 389 Polish organisations. A sample of twenty organisations maintaining cross border activities was then selected for survey. Information about the size, activities, history, sources of funding and assets were gathered through telephone interviews. A subset of four organisations, chosen for their importance and track record of cross border activities, was selected for fieldwork. In the UK, these organisations were the Indian Workers' Association, the Sikh Human Rights Group, the Polish Catholic Mission and the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association.

The analytical framework drew on methodological tools elaborated within the sociology of organisations for the study of transnational corporations and organisations. We built a typology of organisations according to the pattern of resource distribution (centralised or decentralised) and the degree of activity coordination between the different local units (strong or weak). By combining the two values of each of the two dimensions, four ideal types of migrant organisations are defined in the table:

		Coordination	
		<i>Weak</i>	<i>Strong</i>
Distribution	<i>centralised</i>	Focal organisation	Global organisation
	<i>decentralised</i>	Multinational organisation	Transnational organisation

Focal and global organisations mostly focus their activities either in the arrival or sending country. Multinational and transnational organisations are characterised by an even distribution of their activities and resources in the origin and sending countries. They are distinguished by the intensity of their cross-border connections.

Once the forms of cross-border embedding of selected organisations were defined, the research sought to explain them. These factors can be grouped into three main categories: (1) long-term institutional factors; (2) the situational/short-term political and economic factors; and (3) factors pertain to the functioning of migrant organisations.

In contrast with extant literature on Indian migration, which depicts the global diasporisation of social networks, the quantitative mapping of Indian associations in the UK shows that associations have, in general, no commitment whatsoever beyond the national borders. Indian volunteering is structured around places of worships and civic organisations that deliver services to the local community. A closer scrutiny reveals however that a large number of local associations turn out to sometimes be committed to specific, mostly time-limited but sometimes recurrent, activities abroad. The same observation can be made in the Polish case. Both case studies display the same proportion of cross-border orientation: 24 per cent of Polish organisations and 27 per cent of Indian were committed to cross-border activities of some kind.

Beyond this general overview, we found specific sectors of the Polish and Indian associational fields were more intensely engaged in long distance relations. The Polish voluntary sector was initially structured by the Polish government in exile during the Cold War, aiming to maintain a

nationalist and anti-communist ethos within the diaspora. The voluntary sector was organised into key domains (Scouts and schools, ex-combatant organisations, the church, etc.) whose governance was controlled by federal organisations in close connection with exiled political authorities, a pattern maintained until today. In line with the TRAMO taxonomy, this pattern favoured the emergence of global and multinational organisations – the Scouting movement and the Polish Catholic Mission are two cases in point.

The Indian associational field is still marked by the post-war history of the mobilisation of working class and religious organisations in support of local communities. The Indian state's disinterest towards Indians abroad has not fostered long distance connections. The Indian Workers' Association is part of the shrinking Marxist Indian organisational field, which emerged at a time when the local needs of the UK Asian proletariat were the most pressing. However, the surge of nationalist religious movements in India was conducive to the formation of a transcontinental web of politico-religious associations from the early eighties onward. The creation of the Sikh Human Rights Group is rooted in the Khalistani movement, a movement that advocated for the creation of an independent Sikh state in Punjab between 1984 and 1992. Conversely, the acentric Khalistani organisational field, itself a segment of the wider highly fragmented Indian organisational field, is the crucible of transnational organisations such as SHRG.

STUDY

IMI staff, along with colleagues in RSC and COMPAS, form a core of the teaching staff on the interdisciplinary MSc in Migration Studies, which is jointly offered by the School of Anthropology and the Oxford Department of International Development. The Masters allows students to explore human mobility as an intrinsic part of the broader processes of development and global change, and to address the causes and consequences of migration and how these are shaped by governments, societies, and migrants themselves.

IMI staff also supervise and co-supervise candidates undertaking DPhil degrees across a full range of departments and disciplines.

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/study



*Sahrawi women contemplate their refugee camp home,
South-West Algeria, April 2007 © Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh*



A former DPhil student's perspective on IMI

Carolin Fischer, Post-Doctoral Researcher,
Université de Neuchâtel

It was 2006 when I first heard about IMI. Hein de Haas gave a talk on migration and development at the University of Bielefeld in Germany where I was a graduate student in Sociology. During that time I was becoming increasingly interested in transnationalism and diasporas and diaspora engagement more specifically. The work of IMI's founding fathers inspired me to delve deeper into these topics and to do 'research on the ground' on the Afghan diaspora for my thesis in sociology.

Having been a professional in political education for several years, I came to Oxford in October 2010 to start a DPhil at the Oxford Department of International Development. Oliver Bakewell kindly agreed to supervise my research on the lives and civic engagements of Afghan diasporas in Germany and the UK. Through him I quickly established contacts with other researchers at IMI and with scholars who temporarily joined the institute as visiting fellows.

The initial phase of my DPhil coincided with two other new beginnings: the weekly IMI seminar series and the launch of the Oxford

Diasporas Programme (ODP). They were both great, but different, platforms for exchange among established and emerging researchers from Oxford, the UK and many other parts of the world. The lunchtime seminar series was an integral part of my weekly schedule throughout my time in Oxford. Over the years I learned much about the different areas of interest and work covered by IMI staff. But the seminar also gave me the chance to meet invited scholars from other places and thus get to know the faces and characters behind the literature I studied as part of my doctorate. The series allowed me to engage with a broad range of issues relating to international migration. Conversely, much of the research happening within ODP was directly linked to my own thematic interests. It has been a fantastic coincidence that I started my doctorate in the same year in which the programme was initiated. I participated in numerous ODP events, enjoyed meeting scholars and students who shared and helped me develop a critical approach to diasporas, also through constructive feedback on my own work.

I also had opportunities to contribute to the scientific work of the institute, which I greatly enjoyed. As a temporary research assistant on the THEMIS project, my primary tasks were interview transcriptions and data coding. This might sound mundane, but I gained profound insights into issue-centered narratives of specific migrant groups in the UK and beyond. I also found it exciting to be – at least tangentially – involved in an international collaborative research project, especially because I became acquainted with the preparatory work behind polished research outputs. I was struck by how efficiently IMI staff could manage the sheer amount of planning, coordination and communication involved at different stages of data collection, processing and eventual interpretation.



Carolin Fischer





In short, THEMIS gave me a much clearer perspective of how research activities might be once I had completed my degree.

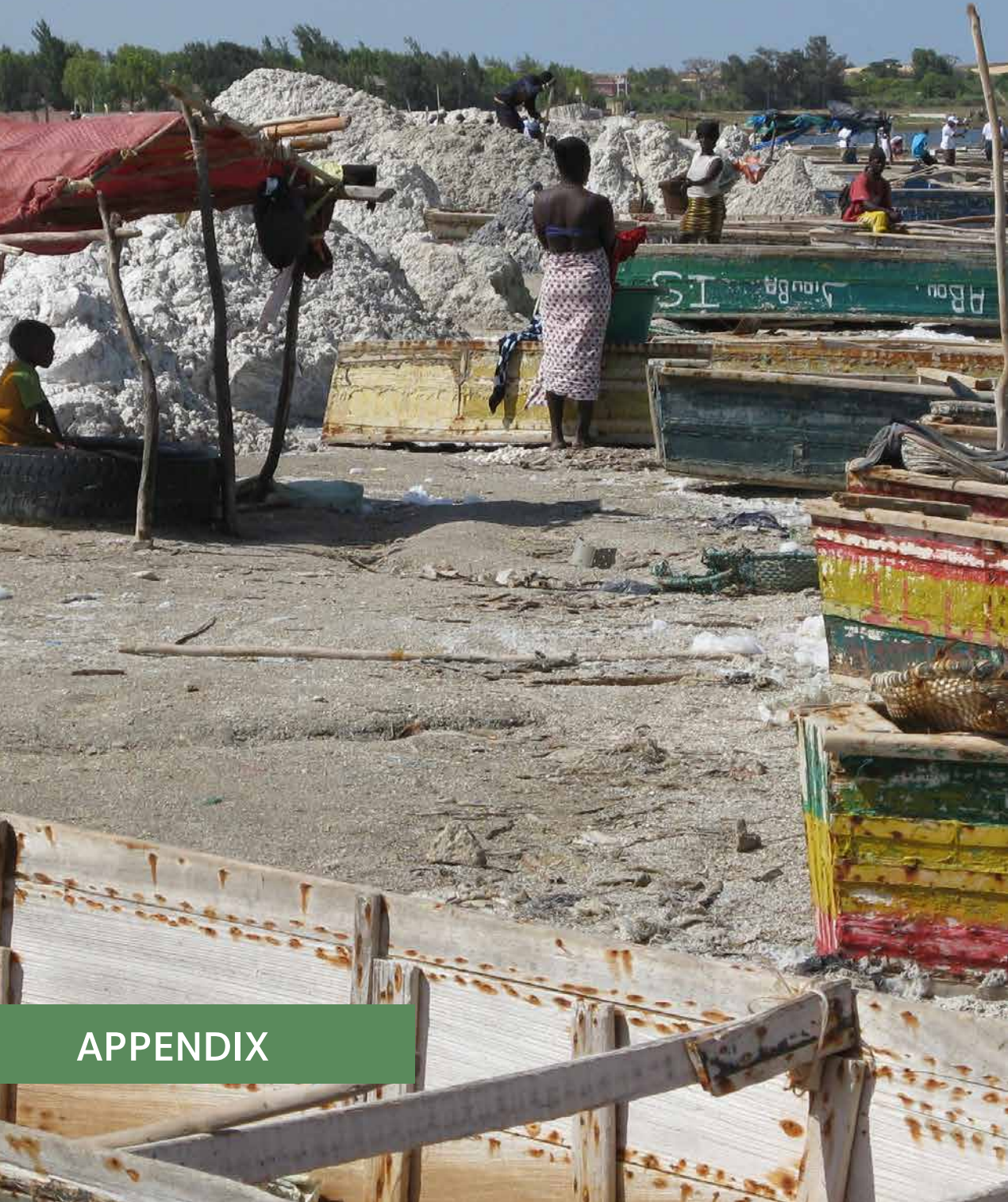
Besides benefitting from involvement in the scientific work of IMI I also enjoyed participating in more informal activities that were organised by IMI staff. For example, the reading group which gathered twice a term to discuss migration and social theory, helped to further develop and apply theory, which is at the heart of sociological research. The endeavour to discuss and identify (new) theoretical approaches to migration-related themes brought together senior researchers from IMI and other Oxford-based institutes, doctoral and graduate students. I retain good memories of these discussions. In fact, some of the theories we discussed turned out to be of great value for my own work and feature centrally in my thesis.

By now it is almost a year since I submitted my thesis. I have moved on to Switzerland, where I work as a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Neuchâtel. However, I am keeping both professional and personal ties to Oxford. There are plans for joint publications and – together with former

DPhil colleagues – I continue working on issues relating to Afghan displacement and lives outside Afghanistan. Over the past year I have managed to pay regular visits to Oxford and each time I drop by IMI to gain advice, meet friends and share the latest news. I very much hope to maintain regular contact with members of IMI. Being affiliated with IMI during the time of my doctorate has been a great opportunity. The support I received and the challenging questions I was asked by my supervisor and other members were a great help in pushing my work forward. I learned a lot, some of which I hope to pass on to current and future colleagues, students and those outside academia.

*Students
in Queen
Elizabeth House,
February 2015
© Sally
Kingsborough*





APPENDIX

IMI staff 2006–2016

Current staff



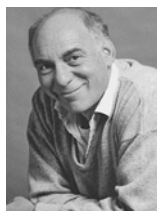
Oliver Bakewell



Julien Brachet



Ali Chaudhary



Robin Cohen



Mathias Czaika



Zoë Falk

Marie-Laurence
Flahaux

Marie Godin

Dominique
Jolivet

Gunvor Jónsson



Ingrid Locatelli



Yasser Moullan

Robtel Neajai
Pailley

Jenny Peebles



Indrajit Roy

Marieke van
Houte

Previous staff

Naluwembe Binaisa, *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*

Ayla Bonfiglio, *Maastricht Graduate School of Governance*

Stephen Castles, *University of Sydney*

Ann Cowie

Hein de Haas, *University of Amsterdam*

Barzoo Eliassi, *Linnaeus University*

Evelyn Ersanilli, *VU University Amsterdam*

Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *University College London*

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Thomas Lacroix, *Université de Poitiers*

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Carlos Vargas-Silva, *Migration Observatory, University of Oxford*

Simona Vezzoli, *University of Amsterdam*

María Villares-Varela, *University of Birmingham*

Sally Winiarski, *University of Oxford Rees Centre for Research in Fostering and Education*

IMI staff 2006–2016

Visiting Fellows 2006–2016

- 2008**
 Lahoucine Amzil
 Darshan Vigneswaran
- 2009**
 Mohamed Berriane
- 2010**
 Christina Benlloch
 Julien Brachet
 Narya Garcia Gonzalez
 Gabriele Tomei
- 2011**
 Sally Khallash
- 2012**
 Melissa Siegel
- 2013**
 Camila Baraldi
 Francisco Barros Rodríguez
 Ali Chaudhary
 Linessa Dan Lin
 Marcin Galent
 Antonina Levatino
 Aysen Üstübici
- 2014**
 Johara Berriane
 Marie Godin
 Álvaro Morcillo-Espina
 Laura Stielike
- 2015**
 Johara Berriane
 Rafael Cazarin
 Veysi Dag
 Linessa Dan Lin
 Belinda Dodson
 Nauja Kleist
- 2016**
 Veysi Dag
 Miriam Gutekunst
 Guilherme M. Ortega

Research Associates

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- Barzoo Eliassi**, *Linnaeus University*
- Alan Gamlen**, *Senior Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington*
- Thomas Lacroix**, *CNRS research fellow, Université de Poitiers*
- Sonia Morano-Foadi**, *Reader in European Law, Oxford Brookes University*
- Christopher Parsons**, *Assistant Professor, University of Western Australia*
- David Pratten**, *Associate Professor in Social Anthropology of Africa, African Studies Centre, University of Oxford*
- Melissa Siegel**, *Head Migration Studies Training & Research Projects and Associate Professor, Maastricht University*
- Sorana Toma**, *Assistant Professor in Sociology, Grande Ecole d'Economie et de la Statistique*
- Nicholas Van Hear**, *Senior Researcher and Deputy Director, COMPAS, University of Oxford*
- María Villares-Varela**, *Research Fellow, University of Birmingham*
- Roger Zetter**, *Professor Emeritus in Refugee Studies, University of Oxford*

Elmina, Ghana, May 2010
 © Oliver Bakewell



Current IMI research projects

Drivers and Dynamics of High-Skilled Migration

Mathias Czaika, Yasser Moullan

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/high-skilled

See pp32–33.

European Welfare Systems in Times of Mobility

Oliver Bakewell, Dominique Jolivet, Marie Godin

<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/mobilewelfare>

**NORFACE
MIGRATION**



MobileWelfare aims to understand the role of welfare systems in destination and origin countries for migration

patterns within and towards Europe. Welfare states were developed and associated with the nation state, explaining why provisions remain predominantly linked to nationality and residency. The project moves beyond prior studies on the contested existence of ‘welfare magnets’ and the presumed threat of (low-skilled) migration to the viability of welfare state benefits. A ‘receiving country bias’ has caused research to neglect the important role of welfare regimes in origin countries on migration aspirations and decisions. Furthermore, little empirical knowledge of the effects of transferability of welfare entitlements on mobility in Europe exists. To fill these gaps and understand how growing levels of mobility intersect with existing welfare regimes across Europe, the project addresses three research questions:

- How and to what extent do welfare systems affect mobility patterns in Europe?
- To what extent and how do perceptions of welfare provisions in origin and destination countries shape mobility aspirations and the migration decision making process?
- What role does transferability of welfare accounts play in mobility across Europe?

The project combines macro and micro perspectives, and applies a mixed-methods approach of innovative analysis of existing statistics and migration data added with new primary data collection via case studies in seven countries. It goes beyond reductionist categorisations of receiving and sending countries by considering all case study countries simultaneously as origins and destinations.

Family Strategies of Migrants in West Africa

Oliver Bakewell, Marie-Laurence Flahaux

<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/familystrategies>



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra



This project investigates the relationship between family and migration in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso’s capital city. Its research objectives are:

- 1) To understand the conditions under which migrants in Ouagadougou decide either to bring their spouse and/or their children to join them or to start new families in the city;
- 2) To analyse the living conditions facing migrants’ families in Ouagadougou and how they become integrated into the city;
- 3) To examine which factors result in the migrants and/or their family members leaving Ouagadougou and returning to their former place of residence.

Reaching these research objectives relies on a mixed methods approach, using both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data come from the Ouagadougou Health and Demographic Surveillance System (Ouaga HDSS), collected every year by the Institut Supérieur des Sciences de la Population of the University of Ouagadougou since 2008. Qualitative interviews will be carried out with migrants coming from rural areas, from urban areas, and from abroad, in both formal and informal areas.

This research project will be undertaken together with the Higher Institute of Population Sciences (ISSP) of the University of Ouagadougou. Researchers from both centres will be involved in the quantitative and qualitative analyses.

International Migration of Medical Doctors: Trends, Drivers and Policies

Mathias Czaika, Yasser Moullan

<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/migdoc>



John Fell Fund

This project aims to further our knowledge of the impact of immigration policies on the international migration of medical doctors. Facing the need and demand to fill local shortages

Current IMI research projects

in health professionals, many states have adopted specific immigration policies to attract medical doctors while simultaneously trying to abide by the Code of Good Practise and a moral obligation not to deplete developing countries of their medical workforce.

Understanding how various, and sometimes conflicting, immigration policies influence the migration process of medical doctors is essential for policy-making. However, reliable empirical evidence is largely lacking as there are very few databases available on this subject. This project will compile such a database in order to investigate the role and relative importance of immigration policies targeting this particular occupation in the context of broader structural drivers of the international migration of high-skilled professionals.

International Mobility, Local Economics and European Cooperation Policies in the Central Sahara

Julien Brachet

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/molecops

Supported by a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowship giving EC funding

The aim of this research project is to study the nature and practical results of European intervention in migration issues in the central Sahara and its global cost, by combining an analysis of European policies with empirical fieldwork, with a view towards understanding and correcting the representations and assumptions that underpin them.

What are the effects of European migration policies on the Saharan local economies and societies? Migration by nationals of sub-Saharan countries to the Sahara, often assimilated by African and European public institutions to departures to Europe, have, over the last decade, become the object of increased surveillance. The European Union has put migration at the heart of its relations with the African continent, and finances a broad range of programmes that aim at a better 'management' of migration in the Sahara, especially at curtailing illegal migration. Ranging from encouragement of legal reforms to assistance in the repatriation of migrants, via equipping border posts with sophisticated means of control, EU interventions in the area take different forms, but they all have in common that little is known of their actual impact and side-effects on the ground. By combining an analysis of European

policies with empirical fieldwork in Niger, Chad and Libya, this project proposes to study the nature and practical results of European intervention in migration issues in the central Sahara, with a view towards understanding and correcting the representations and assumptions that underpin them.

Migrants in Countries in Crisis: Supporting an evidence-based approach for effective and cooperative state action

Oliver Bakewell, Robtel Neajai Pailey

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/micic



ICMPD
International Centre for
Migration Policy Development

Led by the
International Centre
for Migration Policy
Development

(ICMPD). IMI will work in partnership with ICMPD and researchers in the regions on 4 case studies: Libya, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire and South Africa.

The Changing Face of Internal Circular Migration in Bihar, India

Indrajit Roy

www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/circular-migration

Indrajit Roy won an ESRC Future Research Leader award for his proposed work on the transmission of political ideas, identities and practices by itinerant labour migrants. His research uncovers the ambivalent and heterogeneous ways in which itinerant labour migrants living and working in different locations within India conduct politics in their home and destination localities. The project informs Indrajit's intellectual focus on the theme of 'transition' in the Global South. The question of 'transition' from rural to urban, agriculture to industry, traditional to modernity and feudal to capitalist have concerned economists, sociologists, political scientists and historians of different intellectual persuasions.

Indrajit's work seeks to intervene in those debates by exploring analytical issues pertaining to agrarian change and urban transformations, citizenship and other forms of membership in the political community, public policy based on the assumption of sedentary populations, and cosmopolitanism and modernity. He combines surveys, elite interviews, archival investigation, structural analysis

and ethnographic fieldwork. The ethnographic work, the centrepiece of his project, is designed such as to simultaneously examine migrants' political experiences in their localities of origin and destination as well as while they are on the move.

Transnational Migration, Citizenship and the Circulation of Rights and Responsibilities

Marieke van Houte, Ali R. Chaudhary

<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/projects/transmic>



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The IMI TRANSMIC research team consists of two parallel projects that conceptually and empirically examine the relationship between migration, politics and political change, using

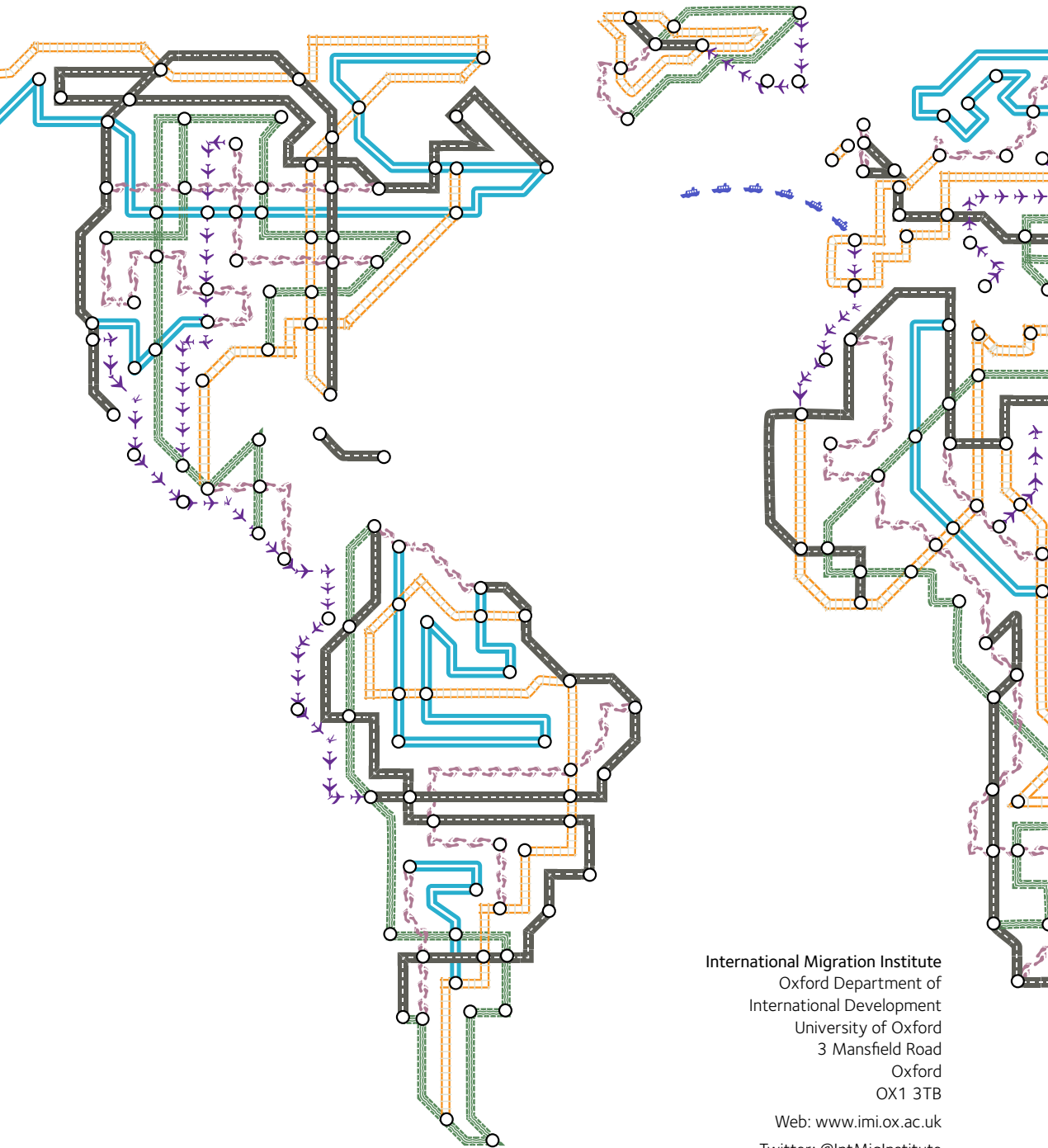
quantitative and qualitative methods.

Dr. Chaudhary is generating new conceptual frameworks to comparatively analyse the processes through which migrants engage in electoral politics as well as non-institutionalised collective actions oriented towards places of origin and settlement. By employing a transnational perspective and bridging the literature on immigrant incorporation and transnational politics, Dr. Chaudhary's research reveals the ways in which institutional structures shape the scale, directionality and strategies associated with migrants' collective political agency.

Dr. van Houte conceptually explores how migration and political change are being steered from below and from above in an interactive process. This approach enables to show a more heterogeneous picture than simplified hopes and fears of migrants' relationships with political change. Empirically, this study looks into the process and the moments of change and becoming agents of change, in order to understand when and why some people leave while others stay, and why some are politically engaged while (most) others disengage from politics.



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