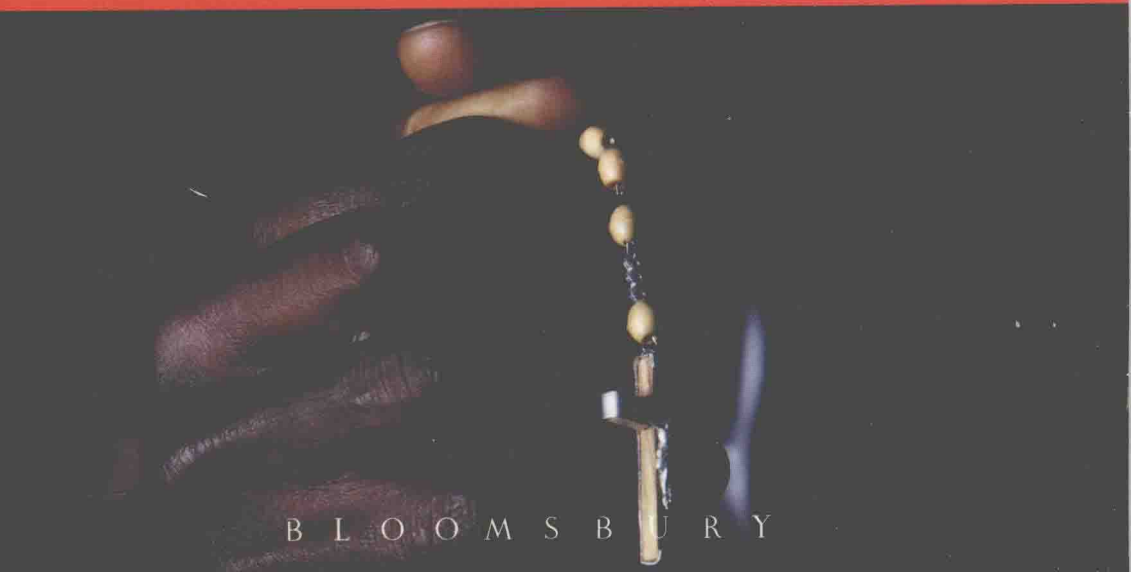


The African Christian Diaspora

**New Currents and Emerging
Trends in World Christianity**

Afe Adogame



B L O O M S B U R Y

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*This book is dedicated to my dear mother,
Madam Caroline Ajibola Adogame (1942–2011)
who passed on while I was putting finishing touches
to the book. You are the best mother in the world.
You lit a candle in my life and I shall strive to ensure
that it is not extinguished.*

Preface

An unprecedented upsurge, especially in the last few decades, in the number of African immigrants into Europe, North America and elsewhere heralds a new phase in the history of African diaspora. The concept of 'diaspora' is an enduring one in the context of globalization. I have utilized it here in a sociological rather than a theological sense. The idea of an *old* and *new African Christian Diaspora* depicts continuity in variation, a description of past and contemporary global economic and political processes that pitched Africans on the receiving end and present them with access to alternative interpretations of fluid power relations. Many Africans who undergo complex forms of immigration processes have largely carried traits of their religious and cultural identities with them. As a matter of fact, their sojourn in new geo-cultural contexts has enlivened these immigrants to identify, organize, and reconstruct their religion both for themselves and their host societies. The last three decades have witnessed a rapid proliferation of African Christian communities, particularly in Europe and North American diaspora, thus resulting in the remapping of old religious landscapes. This migratory trend and development bring to the fore the crucial role, functions and the import of religious symbolic systems in new geo-cultural contexts. While religion has remained a constant identity variable in African diaspora communities, the historiography of new African diaspora and migration has often largely neglected this religious ferment. Why has and is religion still so important for the new African immigrants in Europe, North America and other Western societies? How and why do the majority of the new African immigrant Christians in Europe and North America establish their own churches or congregations rather than identify with European-led and American-led churches? What links and networks do they establish and maintain with European/American churches? What transnational links do they forge and keep with Africa and other host contexts? What is their social relevance/public role within the European and American local contexts?

When I first commenced religious ethnography on African-led churches in Europe and North America in the mid-1990s, the library research yielded very modest results in terms of available scholarly literature on new African immigrants and their religious dimension in Europe and North America. The

quest for extant literature on the phenomenon took me to major university libraries, particularly those of the Universities of Bayreuth and Hamburg, the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, Rhodes Library at Oxford University, Harold Turner Collections in Selly Oak and the University of Birmingham library, the CMS Archives in Birmingham, and the Andrew Walls library within the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the non-Western world (now Centre for the Study of World Christianity at the University of Edinburgh), Harvard University library to mention a few.

A robust scholarly conversation and media attention, particularly in Europe and North America, on the proliferation and activities of new forms of African Christianity are evident from the mid-1990s. Therefore, in contrast to when I commenced my research, research history of recent years has evinced a burgeoning of publication, a process that has gradually launched these religious initiatives into global academic and public discourses. There are recent and current Europe- and US-based research projects and several graduate/undergraduate theses and dissertations tackling different aspects of this phenomenon. Although there are now a few monographs focused on specific religious groups, journal articles and book chapters that explore aspects of this religious development, there is hardly a textbook that captures the complexity and dynamism of this growing religious phenomenon in Europe and North America and their relation to Africa. The book, *African Christian Diaspora* seeks to fill this lacuna in information, interpretation and systematic analysis of African Christian communities in Europe and North America and their impact on the wider local-global religious scene.

African Christian Diaspora is based on in-depth field research undertaken among African Christian communities in Europe (United Kingdom, Germany), United States and Africa (Nigeria and Ghana) since 1995. Drawing from this wide knowledge and broad experience of the field, I map, describe and analyse the incipience and consolidation of new brands of African Christianities in diaspora by locating it within different historical epochs. I managed to piece together the rather disparate knowledge, available in sometimes fairly obscure contexts in continental Europe, and contrasted with developments elsewhere in Europe and the United States. Relevant literature on Anglophone and non-Anglophone African Christians, including German-, French- and Portuguese-speaking African Christians has been included in this book. The religious trends in these varied contexts are necessary for presenting a historiography of new African Christianities in Europe and the United States in particular. Thus, the importance of the book lies in its attempt to offer a comprehensive discussion of one of the most important religious trends in contemporary Christian history, the rise of African Christian communities outside Africa, in Europe and the United States, which has largely come about as an unexpected by-product of international migration.

The book is interdisciplinary in outlook, taking up theoretical and methodological issues. It balances theory with case studies in demonstrating how and to what extent religious, social, cultural, political and economic realities of specific host contexts impact and shape their *raison d'être*, *modus operandi* and worldviews. The book is structured to follow a certain logic and chronology, moving from *description* to *analysis*, thus providing a meaningful analytical lens for viewing one of the most significant trends in contemporary Christian history. The chapters follow this line in a particular order, starting with trajectories and narratives of African migration (Chapters 1 and 2), followed by situating the local scenes in Africa, Europe and North America; and a concise historiography of new African Christianities in diaspora (Chapters 3 and 4). Chapter 5 provides a phenomenology of African Christian communities that involves thick description of their demography, organizational structures, worldviews and ritual patterns. The rest of the book focuses on analytical discussion of particular themes: African Christianities as social capital (Chapter 6); Identity, Citizenship and Power (Chapter 7); Globalization, Media and Transnationalism (Chapter 8); Reverse Mission (Chapter 9); and the final chapter, Politics of Networking (Chapter 10) offers a conclusion, pointing to emerging trends and prospects. The analytical themes discussed in this book emanated from the rich data I collected over the years, and have been based primarily on *emic* perspectives and cautiously balanced with *etic* sources. Through the author's own crucial attention to reflexivity, priority is given in this book to the practitioners' world of ideas, their stories, expressions, life experiences and realities in the face of local-global conditions. While some of the concepts discussed in this book may appear to have become overused in modern academia, to the extent of almost losing their analytical value, abundant data and case examples were used to substantiate these concepts in order to endow them with concrete meaning and relevance.

African Christian communities have helped in the reconfiguration of Christianity in Europe and the United States, and have contributed to the increasing religious diversification of host Western societies. The salience of Christianity has been assisted by African-led churches in Western societies, particularly Europe, where secularizing trends within Christianity are prevalent. The book demonstrates how African Christian communities through their developmental processes, have become more and more variegated in their social composition, membership structures, as well as in their modes of operation. The host sociocultural, economic and political milieu largely impacts on and shapes the nature, course, and scope of African Christianities in diaspora. Thus, within the locus of changing, more complex migration trends and policies, these collective religious representations will continue to assume immense meaning and relevance particularly for African immigrants as the churches serve both as loci for identity, security, as well

as avenues for adapting into the host social, cultural and religious milieu. The book demonstrates how African Christianities are negotiating and assimilating notions of the global, while maintaining their local identities.

African Christian communities demonstrate their determination to build local-global links and make non-Africans as primary targets in their membership drives. However, the majority of these churches may lack a cross-cultural appeal, thus leaving their membership predominantly African. However, these churches serve as an important source of 'social', 'cultural' and 'spiritual' capital. The relevance of African Christian communities is not only located in the unique expression of African Christianity they exhibit, they also constitute international ministries and groups that have implications on a global scale. The importance of local and global networks among these churches in Africa and in diaspora cannot be overemphasized. The impact and import of the 'exportation' of African-led churches, driven by a vision of winning converts, is that it offers a unique opportunity to analyse its impact at local levels. African Christian communities in Europe and the United States are no longer just 'African', they are also – and increasingly so – European and American churches, especially in view of the new religious networks that are being formed that are relatively independent from the continent of origin, Africa. This begs the question of the significance of these new churches for the host contexts, both in a religious as well as in a secular sense. African Christian communities in diaspora should not simply be considered as outposts of Africa in an alien continent, but as institutions that are also part of European and American life.

The transnational linkages between African Christian communities in the countries of origin (Africa) and the 'host' societies, such as Europe and the United States are assuming increasing importance for African immigrants. The links and networks that are established and maintained between these contexts are of immense religious, cultural, economic, political and social importance. This suggests how African Christianities can be understood within processes of religious transnationalism. The conscious appropriation of new media technologies by these new brands of African Christianity and the growing reverse-mission dynamics are analysed as new, evolving dimension of the transnational process. Significant initiatives and development are also taking place within the mainline churches (Roman Catholic Church, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian churches) in Europe and the United States, where African (and other non-Western) priests are recruited to respond to the crisis in priestly vocations. This development is a remarkable change in the religious relations between Africa, Europe and North America.

The style and general approach is deliberately chosen to enhance the book's readability and to attract a wide readership. It is hoped that it will appeal to and assist scholars, graduate and undergraduate students, religious practitioners, media, policymakers and interested readers to understand

and further investigate the texture, stature and impact of African Christian communities in specific local and multiple contexts. Due to its interdisciplinary nature, the book seeks to make an important contribution to a number of disciplines/subject areas including Religious Studies, World Christianity, Diaspora and Migration Studies, African Studies, Sociology of Religion and History of Contemporary Christianity. It is also hoped that the book will appeal to audiences in the United Kingdom, Europe and North America, as there is growing scholarship and interest on this topic.

The first decade of this research was part of the Humanities Collaborative Research Group (SFB 560/FK1) research project 'Local Actions in Africa in the Context of Global Influences' (2000–2005) and the Special Research Project (SFB 214) 'Identity in Africa' (1995–1997) at the University of Bayreuth, Germany. As a senior research fellow and principal investigator within these major projects, my extensive library research and field trips in Nigeria, Ghana, Germany, Great Britain and the United States would probably have been unimaginable but for the generous funding from the *Deutsche Forschung Gemeinschaft* (DFG)/German Research Foundation. I am profoundly grateful to the German Research Foundation. My deepest gratitude goes to Prof. Dr Berner and Prof Dr Christoph Boehinger who anchored the sub-group projects during this research period; and to all dear colleagues with whom I shared a largely congenial atmosphere of interdisciplinarity and collegiality. I am immensely thankful to Prof Ogbu Kalu (of blessed memory), Prof Jacob Olupona and Prof Gerrie ter Haar for their useful inputs to this book.

I am indebted to numerous church leaders, organizations, congregants, individuals who literally opened their doors to me and provided tremendous assistance during my data collection. Space does not permit to mention all their names here but I whole heartedly acknowledge their support. Please permit me to single out only a few. I appreciate the generous help and hospitality received from Pastor (Dr) Ajibike Akinyoye and Cornelius Oyelami (RCCGNA Headquarters, Dallas, TX, USA); Pastor (Dr) Samuel Shorimade (RCCG, Boston); Pastor Bosun Ajayi (RCCG, Bonn); Pastor Samuel Jegede (RCCG, Hamburg); Pastor Brown Oyitso (RCCG Festac Town, Lagos); Bishop (Dr) Abraham Bediako (CCOMI, Hamburg); Pastor Kingsley Nimo (CCOM, Berlin); Pastor Onyina-Waye (COMI, Accra); Pastor Festus Olatunde (MFM, Edinburgh); Dr Rufus Ositelu (CLA, Ogere) to mention but a few. My thanks to all those individuals, church leaders, church workers, church members and informants we spoke to and those who volunteered information, resources and time that have helped bring this book to fruition. My profound gratitude goes to Margaret Acton who generously provided a rigorous copy-editing of this book. My dear wife, Esther, and lovely kids, Faith, Blessing and Midafe, provided the much needed emotional support and endured my several travels and staying away from home. You were all exceptionally helpful. Thank you!

Contents

Preface viii

- 1** Trajectories of African migration 1
- 2** Narratives of African migration 15
- 3** Situating the local scene(s) 37
- 4** Historiography of new African Christianities in diaspora 59
- 5** A phenomenology of African Christian communities in diaspora 79
- 6** African Christianities as social, cultural and spiritual capital 101
- 7** Negotiating identity, citizenship and power 123
- 8** Globalization, media and transnationalism 145
- 9** Reverse mission 169
- 10** The politics of networking 191

Notes 213

Select bibliography 227

Index 243

Trajectories of African migration

Introduction

The historiography of the new African Christian diaspora is located within recent trajectories of international migration, a dynamic process in which Africans are largely implicated as both actors and benefactors. They are not just passive recipients but active participants. The increasing volume, dynamism, trends and complex patterns of international migration have continued to generate wide-ranging interests within both the academic arena as well as the public sphere.

Earlier simple perceptions about migration and diaspora in terms of a single individual action or mass movement of people in their quest for greener pastures, better-life chances from their home of origin (sending) and settlement in host (receiving) societies have become rather tenuous. Migration is usually now thought of as multidirectional and not as unidirectional. It is not simply a process that is characterized by movement from poor, less-developed, war-stricken, crisis-prone, overpopulated contexts to affluent, developed ones. It does not only comprise undocumented, asylum seekers, refugees and economic migrants, but is also now shaped by highly and less-skilled migrants, students, diplomats, businesspersons, missionaries, tourists, but also temporary, long-term or circular migrants.

The new texture of migration is one in which it is not just men who migrate, accompanied by their wives and children as dependants; women are also migrating in their own right, in search of the golden fleece. Through that process they are becoming highly mobile socially and economically, and emerging as the breadwinners of their families, where men (their husbands) join them as dependants and even serve as babysitters. It is also often speculated that immigrants simply 'live and survive' at the behest and or mercy of their host societies. In this case they are seen to totally depend, receive and sometimes exploit the scarce social benefits, hardly contributing in any meaningful ways to the economic wealth and social well-being of these 'receiving' contexts. Migrants and their communities can no longer be perceived as simply receptors of social benefits and consumers of 'welfare

goodies' provided by their host societies. They are also to be understood in terms of their public, civic roles and social relevance to their new permanent or temporary homes.

More so, there has been the assumption that migrants settle, adapt or quickly assimilate into their new homes, and no sooner do they do this than they sever ties or links with their original homelands as a consequence. There is now an increasing tendency to think of the long *duree* of the migration process, migration and (non-) settlement as a transient, lifelong process encapsulating crucial life stages and sometimes transcending death. While Castles and Miller (1993: 21) aptly describes migration as 'a collective action, arising out of social change and affecting the whole society in both sending and receiving areas', even this idea of 'sending' and 'receiving' has now shifted from a two-way, bi-polar node to multiple, fluid nodes of 'home' or 'contexts'. Thus, the conceptual 'goalpost' of migration is increasingly becoming elastic and mutable, experiencing constant shifts just as the theoretical grid-making of migration is in flux. This necessitates a revisiting of existing paradigms to see how adequately they explain the enigmatic nature of the migratory process in the global era that we now live in.

Revisiting theories of migration

Classical theories of migration are, in many respects, becoming moribund as explanation paradigms of migratory processes, thus paving the way for new ones or at least being subsumed by them. The discourse of international migration has attracted huge interdisciplinary interests, from the social sciences to the humanities, with each discipline constructing a matrix for framing its own objectives and goals, specific research questions, concepts and methodologies, appropriating dominant theories and hypotheses, and generating its respective frameworks of analysis and conclusions. Rather than a shared paradigm, the study of migration benefits from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints fragmented across disciplines, regions and ideologies (Brettell and Hollifield 2000: 2). Although driven by differences in theories and methods, disciplinary orientations, interpretations, biases and pretensions, these varied explanations are not, in themselves, mutually exclusive.

Brettell and Hollifield's *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* provides an illuminating cross-disciplinary conversation about the epistemological, paradigmatic and explanatory aspects of writing about and theorizing migration in history, law and the social sciences. This scholarly gaze and talk on international migration across disciplines has tended to ebb and flow with differing waves and trends of emigration and immigration. Massey et al. (1993)

have provided a detailed survey and appraisal of theories of international migration.

However, a cursory purview of the theorizing of migration in historical perspectives is expedient at the outset of this book, especially against the backdrop of deciphering how, and to what extent, old and new patterns of African emigration and immigration fit, contest, contradict or challenge extant paradigms of causal explanation and interpretation. Broadly speaking, the theorizing of migration has evolved around at least four distinctive, though not mutually exclusive, trajectories with each historical phase contributing its own quota to the dynamic process of theory building and analysis of the migration phenomenon.

The neoclassical economic perspective

The earliest systematic theory of migration, the neoclassical economic perspective, is linked to the nineteenth-century geographer Ernest Ravenstein, who formulated the statistical laws of migration in the 1880s, employing census data from England and Wales to develop his 'Laws of Migration' (Ravenstein 1885). He concluded that migration was governed by a 'push-pull' process; that is, unfavourable conditions in one place (oppressive laws, heavy taxation, etc.) 'push' people out, and favourable conditions in an external location 'pull' them in. This genre conceptualized migration as 'individual' relocation of human beings across space, within or between countries, and strove to achieve an elegant formal model that would account for such movements (Zolberg 1989: 403). These general theories often expressed as 'push-pull theories' emphasize tendencies of people to move from densely to sparsely populated areas, or from low- to high-income areas, or link migrations to fluctuations in the business cycle.

This theoretical paradigm which originated in neoclassical economics has influenced and continues to shape discourses in the social sciences to a large degree. The economic variable predominates in most theories that seek to explain why the decision to migrate is made in the first place. Migration has often been predicted using variations of this model, operating at different levels of analysis. While the neoclassical economic theories of migration are far from being redundant, they are invaluable in grasping the complexities of international migration, such a genre has been largely critiqued as being too individualistic and ahistorical. As Castles and Miller (1993: 22) note, its central concept is 'human capital': people decide to invest in migration, in the same way that they might invest in education or vocational training, because it raises their human capital and brings potential future gains in earnings. Empirical studies based on contemporary international migration would overturn the assumptions of this theory. As we indicated earlier, those who migrate are

not usually the poorest of the poor, nor is it simply a movement from the poor, least developed countries to richer ones.

The breadth of contemporary migration suggests a multidirectionality of movements across different contexts: from so-called poor, less-developed contexts to rich, more-developed contexts and vice versa. More interestingly, there is a huge movement also from one poor to another poor, developing country, and from one rich to another rich, more-developed country. In fact, most of those who engage in frequent movements are the upwardly mobile and people of intermediate social and economic status. For instance, although Africa is mirrored in global terms, albeit surreptitiously, as a 'poor continent', Paul Zeleza (2002: 9) shows that many Africans who migrate go to other African countries. He notes that between 1965 and 1990 Africa's migrant population grew at a faster rate than in any other region in the world. The continent increased its share of international migrants from 10.6 per cent to 13.1 per cent.

The push-pull model is also suspect in predicting unilateral demographic shifts, movements from densely populated to more sparsely peopled contexts. This cannot be denied as a universal human feature, but the direct opposite also occurs in which urban, densely populated cities attract huge drifts from the rural villages and remote contexts. Our global cities are facing huge, pragmatic challenges on whether and how they can manage their teeming populations and human resources in the face of dwindling material resources and failing welfare systems. The push-pull factor can hardly explain why a certain group of migrants choose to go to one country rather than another. For instance, African migration to Europe from the 1960s has tended to follow the historical and linguistic trails of colonialism, so that Britain and France were the preferred destinations of migrants from the former British and French colonies, respectively (Zeleza 2002: 10).

Besides, the neoclassical model tends to treat the role of the state as an aberration which disrupts the 'normal' functioning of the market (Castles and Miller 1993: 24). Zolberg (1989: 405) note in retrospect how strange it was that classical migration theory altogether ignored borders and their effects. Thus, owing to the neglect of historical causes of movements and their undermining of the role of the state, neoclassical theories were generally criticized as simplistic and incapable of explaining actual movements or predicting future ones (Sassen 1988).

The historical-structural approach

In the 1970s, neoclassical economic genre gradually gave way to the historical-structural approach as an alternative explanation of international migration. It had its intellectual thrust in Marxist political economy and in

world systems theory, stressing the unequal distribution of economic and political power in the world economy (Castles and Miller 1993: 24). In this regard, migration was generally perceived as a way of mobilizing cheap labour for capital, in this case, mass recruitment of labour by capital. The alternative theories developed to treat international patterns of migration are largely variants of the push-pull variable. The dual labour market theory posits that First World economies are structured so as to require a certain level of immigration (Piore 1979).

World systems theory sees migration as a natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration across national boundaries (Wallerstein 1974). The world systems theory contends that international migration is a by-product of global capitalism (Sassen 1988). The current world system is structured around a power hierarchy between core and periphery in which so-called powerful and wealthy 'core' societies (advanced or developed societies such as Europe and the United States) dominate and exploit weak and poor 'peripheral' (less-developed societies such as Africa, Latin America) societies. The approach shows that contemporary patterns of international migration tend to be from the periphery (poor nations) to the core (rich nations) because factors associated with industrial development in the First World generated structural economic problems, and thus push factors, in the Third World.

This theory has some merits but can hardly advance our understanding of the complexities of past and contemporary migration on grounds that it downplayed the individual/group motivations in the process, and over-prioritized the interests of capital. Besides, the world systems theory rarely does justice to the huge volume of migrants that move within and across one African country or society to another. For instance, it fails to explain the migration of Nigerians to Ghana and of Ghanaians to Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire from the 1970s and 1990s; the recent exodus of Zimbabweans to South Africa, Botswana and elsewhere in Africa; the movement of Congolese, Zaireans, Rwandese, Sudanese nationals to other parts of East and Central Africa; nor the movement of Liberians and Sierra Leoneans across the West African subregion.

The theory is not mindful of migratory trends from one rich, advanced context to another, such as the well-known European migrations to the Americas prior to 1914, or even the recent influx of migrants from Eastern Europe to other parts of the European Union; nor does it explain internal migration within a rich country such as the historic movement of African Americans out of the Southern United States to the North, Midwest and West from 1910 to 1930, or the great number of GDR citizens moving from East Germany to West Germany in the 1950s and much later, following the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

The historicization of migration theory has led to the modification of theoretical concerns and emphases, in light of changing social realities. The classical and neoclassical migration theories were supplanted by new theories. The predominant question in earlier research and theorizing on international migration is why people migrate (intentionality), and less on the dynamics of migration, such as the actual situation of migrants in the migratory states and process, chain migration in migration networks, contextual factors that shape migration policies and trends.

The migration systems theory (MST) and the transnational theory (TNT) have become the preferred new analytic frameworks for understanding and contextualizing international migratory trends and processes. Both theories, encapsulating several levels of analysis, account for the direction, texture of international migration and the complex dynamics. This book is largely based on the theoretical framework of these latter genres.

The migration systems theory

The MST was first articulated by Mabogunje (1970) and extended by Kritz et al. (1992) and other scholars such as Portes and Böröcz (1989) and Levitt (1998). Mabogunje (1970) defined a migration system as a set of places linked by flows and counter flows of people, goods, services, and information, which tend to facilitate further exchange, including migration, between places. While Mabogunje focused on rural-urban migration within the African continent, Kritz et al. (1992) extended this to international migration.

The MST situates international migration as a product of interacting nation-states and congruent sociocultural, geopolitical, and economic factors and policies (Zlotnik 1992). These interdependencies give rise to sustained and sizeable bilateral migration flows such that the determination of a migration system can presumably be made on the basis of these largely exogenous characteristics. The fundamental assumption of MST is that migration alters the social, cultural, economic, and institutional conditions at both the 'sending' and 'receiving' ends – that is, the entire developmental space within which migration processes operate. Castles and Miller (1993: 27) best encapsulates the parameters of MST as they enthuse:

The migration systems approach is part of a trend towards a more inclusive and interdisciplinary understanding, which is emerging as a new mainstream of migration theory – at least outside the domain of neo-classical orthodoxy. The basic principle is that any migratory movement can be seen as a result of interacting macro- and micro-structures. Macro-structures refer to large-scale institutional factors, while micro-structures embrace the networks, practices and beliefs of the migrants themselves.

These two levels are linked by a number of intermediate mechanisms, which are often referred to as 'meso-structures'.

For Castles and Miller (1993: 27), the macro-structures include the political economy of the world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structures and practices established by the states of sending and receiving countries to control migration settlement; while macrostructures are the informal social networks developed by the migrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement. The informal networks in the latter structure include personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters.

Such informal networks and links generate social capital, providing vital resources for individuals and groups (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119); and bind migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships (Boyd 1989: 639). In this regard, the family and community (religious, social, cultural, ethnic, economic and political) are crucial in migration networks. Family linkages often provide both the financial and the cultural capital which make migration possible, while migration systems also provide the basis for processes of settlement and community formation in the immigration area (Castles and Miller 1993: 28).

The intermediate meso-structures would refer to certain individuals, groups or institutions that take up a mediating role between migrants and political or economic institutions. The 'migration industry', including recruitment organizations, lawyers, agents, smugglers, NGOs, charitable bodies and other intermediaries that emerge can be both helpers and exploiters of migrants. Castles and Miller contend that macro-, meso- and micro-structures are intertwined in the migratory process, and there are no clear dividing lines between them (28).

The transnational theory

A further consideration of a new, emerging migrant population whose networks, activities and life patterns encompass and transcend their home and host societies has produced a new body of theory on 'transnationalism' and 'transnational communities'. Debates on transnationalism were stimulated by the work of Basch et al. (1994), which argued that 'deterritorialized nation-states were emerging, with potentially serious consequences for national identity and international politics'. The TNT in this regard capture migrants, their lives, experiences and consciousness as one that cuts across national boundaries and bring two (or more) societies into a single social field. Basch et al. (1992) defines transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement.