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Title: Unearthing Migrant Identities: An Exploratory Study into North-South Migrant Motivations in Dakar

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ABSTRACT

This research aims at developing a deeper understanding of European and North-American migrants moving from the global North towards the global South. North-South migration as a phenomenon has not received as much attention in existing migration studies literature, as has South-North migration. Less is known about the motivations, trajectories, and networks of people moving from the global North to regions constituting the global South.

In the light of the intense scrutiny surrounding contemporary South-North migrations, this research argues that an expansion of popular understandings of 'migration' to include North-South flows is necessary in order to universality of migration as a phenomenon and an essential part of life. Towards this end, this research aims to study the personal motivations of North-South migrants, in particular Euro-American immigrants, in migrating outside their home countries using the context of Dakar, Senegal as a case study, from a post-colonialist perspective and transnational approach to migration. Using a combination of ethnography and a grounded theory approach, I conduct ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth interviews with four North-South migrants and one member of the local population to explore various components of migrant motivations.

Central findings of this research shed light on parallels between North-South and South-North migrant motivations, in that they closely relate to the search and aspiration for a better life. They also reveal the prominence of the identity of the 'expat' in North-South migrant discursive practices, that operationalizes colonial continuities in the way that North-South migrants build their motivations, legitimize their movements to the global South and differentiate themselves from 'migrants' as a category.

"...the quantity and quality of knowledge about the lives of European colonials and settlers can be held in stark contrast with the relative scarcity of studies of those who might be regarded as their modern-day equivalents: contemporary 'expatriates', or citizens of 'Western' nation-states who are involved in temporary migration processes to destinations outside 'the West'."

(Fechter and Walsh 2010, 1197)

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INTRODUCTION

This research aims at developing a deeper understanding of European and North-American migrants moving from the global North towards the global South. Also known as 'expats' or expatriates, the migrants in question can be said to constitute a social sub-group within the larger group of 'expats'.

North-South migration as a phenomenon has not received as much attention in existing migration studies literature, as has South-North migration. Less is known about the motivations, trajectories, and networks of people moving from the global North to regions constituting the global South. Oftentimes, the subjects of political debates concerning international migration regulatory frameworks and policies are defined exclusively *as* South-North migrants, in particular, those originating from Africa, South and Central America, Asia and the Middle East seeking to enter Europe, North America, and Australia.

Such images are both incomplete and false for many reasons. They involve the use of incomplete or skewed data based on selective indicators (at times even futuristic) as the basis of public debate and political action on migration. Popular examples of this include Michael Gove's admission on fueling fears of millions of Turkish migrants moving to the UK without Brexit, and Donald Trump's framing of Somali refugees in the United States of America (USA) as "a rich pool of potential recruiting targets for Islamist terror groups" (Johnson 2016) (Newsmax 2016). One of the most extreme examples is European and North American far-right networks' collective campaign to troll the UN Global Compact for Migration (see Cerulus and Schaart 2019) using misinformation and conspiracy theories.

The rhetoric produced by such images focuses only certain forms and routes of migration – framing them as problematic or apocalyptic, and thereby implicitly refuting the *universality* of mobility. Migration as a 'crisis' has been repeatedly presented as manifest solely with certain categories of people (e.g. Syrian, Afghan, 'African', Hispanic or Muslim), as certain types of movement (e.g. illegal, undocumented), for certain purposes (e.g. labor, refuge, family reunification) and to certain destinations only (e.g. Europe, North America, Australia) (De Genova and Tazzioli 2017) (Mtapuri, Nhemachena and Benyero 2018). While efforts to critique this are growing across academia, this limited view of who constitutes a migrant has not been sufficiently undone or broadened in media and political discourses. Fueled by the recent spike in migration

flows protracted instability and conflicts in the global South, the notable rise of right-wing populism in Europe and North America has relied on heated discourses positioning migrants as 'burdens' and 'threats' to national security and culture. This has resulted in countries in the European Union (EU) and others such as USA, Australia and Japan tightening immigration laws in a bid to protect national interests with the general consensus being: when migration threatens a nation's access to resources for its citizens, it must be regulated.

Those creating such incomplete images lose sight of the more voluminous flows in other regions or directions. One of the strongest examples of this tendency can be found in the ease with which the 'crisis' of African migration is situated within Europe when in reality, a majority of migration from the subcontinent takes places within it i.e. as South-South migration (Chutel 2019) (UN DESA Population Division 2013). These images also overlook the role of migration and mobility in creating and maintaining global economic structures that make European and North American standards of living appealing to begin with.

Given the scale of industrial activities in the global North that depend on and are rooted in supply chains based in the global South, this research seeks to draw attention to the different forms contemporary North-South migration flows that make this possible. These forms of migration remain invisible to swathes of countries supporting the closure and securitization of Europe's borders, where there has been a growing resistance to the reception of migrants, including victims of forced displacement. Depictions of migration as a 'problem' or 'crisis' continue to run strong as major migration frameworks including EU's Dublin III Regulation and the UN Global Compact for Migration come under fire from member States and disgruntled citizenries alike.

The agendas driving this opposition strongly reproduce notions of development and growth as harbored in certain geographical regions more than others, by pitching 'migrants' as flocking to the global North to access 'development'. This overlooks both historical and contemporary movements to regions in the global South as the base of most 'extractive operations' characterizing contemporary capitalism (Mezzadra 2016, 35). It has also been a site for much other non-extractive activity of value for the global North. Some key industries in this respect are commodities, construction, development aid, media, research and academia [as sites of (neo-colonial) knowledge production] and tourism.

With respect to both extractive and non-extractive activity, North-South migrants are often seen as signs of growth and development in what they facilitate through foreign investment, development aid, exchange of knowledge and technology. Such views, although valid to some extent, do not take into account many negative aspects including "the potential disruptions such migration creates in local rental and property markets, on cost of access to medical services, on the streetscape of towns and cities whose commercial sectors begin to cater to new tastes, or to established gender relations which are transformed as the local economy shifts its focus towards foreigners" (Hayes 2014, 1966).

Politically, it has not been emphasized enough that among the largest benefactors of these resource flows are the North-South migrant themselves (see for example McCormick 2017). Even though it has been widely argued that the foundations for development in the global North are firmly rooted in the global South, agendas driving the multiplication of border zones in European and North American countries have been strengthening power structures that maintain and enhance the mobility of a selected few countries at the cost of a majority of others (Samaddar, Reid and Mezzadra 2013). There is a clear line of hegemony that divides whose mobility falls within the problem and whose does not. It is from this larger political picture that this research stems.

From an academic perspective, there is a growing body of research that looks at contemporary movements and activities of both people and institutions from the global North, especially in post-colonial studies and development studies, in addition to migration studies. Then again, even within this corpus of research, not all subjects are purposefully identified or labeled as 'migrants'. As people migrating in positions of power, privilege and legality, North-South migrants have been marginal subjects of research in migration studies as compared to forced migrants, diasporas, undocumented migrants, etc. There remains significant ground to be covered in terms of acknowledging their positionality, impacts and privilege in relation to these other migrant groups.

A formidable challenge in studying North-South migration flows is navigating the shortage of reliable data on the numbers of migrants being received by countries in the global South. For instance, when their access to resources as 'expats' or postcolonial figures in an independent former-colony conflicts with that of locals – there is a strong parallel between this and the rhetoric of refugees being a burden on European welfare systems. In the latter case, reliable baseline

data is available through national statistics on refugee influx and welfare expenditure to understand the depth of the problem. But are there similar national statistics for the former case?

Many African countries currently have porous borders for travelers from powerful and former colonial North American and European countries. Senegal is one such country that not only has porous borders, but is also known for its good quality of life within the international expat community. An evening spent on the streets and beaches of Dakar would readily give any stranger a view of its high expat population. A keener look at the city's public infrastructure would make it hard to miss the big red words "FRANCE DEGAGE!" drawn in graffiti everywhere. Yet in this former French colony, is there any data being generated to assess: what impact is the presence of North-South migrants having on the host country – not only economically but socially, culturally and politically? How many countries in the global South are able to collate reliable disaggregated data on the number of European immigrants in their territories in relation to the impact of immigrant activities on their welfare systems and economies? In fact, how many countries in the global South politically view these flows as worth monitoring and regulating?

This research is a small effort at digging deeper in this direction. It takes a step back from North-South migrant contributions and instead starts by exploring the very reasons for their existence. If the standard of living and access to development is so coveted in these regions, why are people moving out from there? *Using the disproportionate focus of current mainstream discourses on South-North migrants as a point of departure, this research aims to study the personal motivations of North-South migrants, in particular Euro-American immigrants, in migrating outside their home countries using the context of Dakar, Senegal as a case study.* It explores the motivations of North-South migrants as a whole, instead of focusing on sub-groups or descriptive categories of migrants. To facilitate this breadth of scope, this research is primarily exploratory in nature and uses a combined approach of grounded theory and ethnography. Based on its findings, it discusses the parallels between North-South migrants and South-North migrant groups that are widely problematized today.

This research draws motivation from the argument that the process of redefining migration as an essential phenomenon of life includes tracing its universality. Therefore, an expansion of popular understandings of 'migration' to include North-South flows is necessary. In order to do so, we must draw attention to the migrant identity of those moving from the global North to the global South. I argue that their invisibility is both deliberate and protected through the guise of 'legality'.

The consensus, that when migration becomes harmful it must be regulated, does not hold water for North-South migrants in developing countries despite abundant records of their colonial and contemporary exploitation of natural resources. My motivations to study North-South migration flows are strongly political in that historically, it is these very flows in the form of colonialism that have shaped countries in the global South as they are today; and that they continue to do so, except now under the garb of globalization, foreign investment, transnational cooperation, institutional reform, and even development aid and funding (Mtapuri, Nhemachena and Benyero 2018) (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017) (Farrer 2010).

As someone who has experienced considerable shifts in mobility and access to opportunities based on legal residence as opposed to capabilities or intentions, I must admit that this research is also deeply personal - from being documented and framed early on as a potential emigrant by my own country to receiving continuous visa rejections from countries in the global North, followed by sudden hypermobility on a Schengen Residence Permit coupled with detention at a European country's borders; to experiencing liminality, fear and anxiety of becoming illegal on an authority's discretion; and from being required to explain, substantiate and defend my reasons to travel when the same requirement does not even exist for people moving in the opposite direction. Even in my struggles, I cannot deny that I am privileged. There are those who are trapped more precariously in states of immobility and mobility, at the mercy of capitalist transitions (Mezzadra 2016, 31) . Through my own life as a migrant and the lives of others who surround me, I am constantly confronted with migration regimes that bring some closer to opportunities than others, that allow some to move legally and not others - irrespective of the commonality of their intentions or capabilities.

Inevitably so, this research stems from the need to decolonize what it means to be a 'migrant' and for whom. In this vein, I am also motivated by some of the following questions: Why are certain kinds of migration studied and problematized more than others? In this case, why is there a disproportionate amount of research, advocacy and political attention paid to the movements of individuals who face marginalization as compared to the movements of those who occupy a position of privilege, power and legality? While the lack of research into North-South migration flows can be linked to discourses being dominated by actors in the global North, the seemingly postcolonial nature of knowledge production in migration studies merits further analysis from the lens of decolonizing processes that have contributed to dominant framings of its current subjects. This epistemological aspect frames the direction of this research.

In most European and North-American states today, the social conception of migration is tightly bound to politically-determined constructs of legality and illegality (De Genova and Tazzioli 2017) because if it is legal, then it is accepted or invited, and thus does not required to be policed. As a result, not only those who fall beyond this construct are seen as illegal but so are their means, motivations and aspirations to move - irrespective of whether or not they are similar to those moving 'legally'.

Whether or not their migration is initiated by transnational economic activity, North-South migrants are usually absorbed into work made possible by the existence and operation of international organizations across sectors in the host society. Typically, their work brings enhanced mobility, social status, standards of living and lifestyles that would otherwise not be available in their countries of origin. As compared to Africans crossing the Mediterranean, Syrians crossing the Balkans and Hondurans walking towards Trump's border wall, this research proposes the notion that North-South migrants move across continents for essentially the same reason - for more opportunity and growth. In other words, all those who move to do so for the same reason - to live a better life – irrespective of their access to a legal means. The success rates across these groups can be radically different and skewed. Such research is therefore critical to counteract the hysteria and apocalyptic narratives surrounding migration in the global North, and the resulting highly securitized and lethal border regimes.

This research seeks to show that migration as a phenomenon is universal in its essence - in terms of why it takes place. What differs is how it takes place, under which circumstances, and by whom.

RESEARCH AREA

This study explores the personal motivations of Dakar-based North-South migrants, in particular European and North-American immigrants, in migrating outside their home countries.

As this is probably the first research of its kind being attempted in the context of Senegal, I made a conscious decision to frame this research as an exploratory and qualitative one. Bearing this in mind, I set out with a broader field of inquiry (i.e. North-South migrant trajectories) and not a specific research question. Through the course of data collection and analysis, I reformulated this broader field of inquiry into a specific research question (presented above) in line with the approach of ground theory research, which is best suited for this research.

Since I use a grounded theory approach, it is important that I am conscious of the frameworks and concepts I have relied upon at the outset. Ideally, as a researcher, I should try to go in with as clean a slate. However, given the political, de-colonial and personal factors that have influenced my choice of research, it is unrealistic to imagine I could disconnect from these completely. Instead, I chose to state these frameworks and assumptions explicitly in a bid to ensure that I am aware of them at all times. This clarity will then serve to guide the resulting research in a way that makes discernible my personal views within the data collected, both for me and the reader of this study.

Thus, the current chapter is an attempt to briefly trace the evolution of this research which is closely connected to my assumptions, biases and personal politics as a researcher. It details the theoretical frameworks from which I depart and the epistemological aspects that have guided the final framing of the research area, as outlined above. It does so in reference to four components that make up this research area: (1) North-South migration (2) European and North-American migrants as a sub-category of North-South migrants (3) Personal motivations to migrate and finally, (4) Senegal as a context. Woven into following sections is also an overview of existing literature on North-South migration, its dynamics and impacts on host countries, which sheds light on the relevance of this research.

Evolution of this Research

> *"While transnational corporations, for instance, enjoy the near absolute freedom of mobility across the world, nimble-footed Africans who happen to cross their national and continental borders are often quickly reminded about the shortcomings of transgressing national and continental borders."* (Mtapuri, Nhemachena and Benyero 2018, 263)

This research started with the idea of taking much of the dominant negative rhetoric being used to construct the image of 'migrants' in Europe, and flipping it to see if it can be applied to Europeans migrating to the same countries these 'migrants' often come from. I was inspired by a number of investigative documentaries[1] that portrayed the dynamics of North-South migrant activity in contexts such as Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Central African Republic (CAR), South Sudan and Zambia in their capacity as individuals, MNC representatives, diplomats and humanitarian professionals. A particular subgroup of North-South migrants that drew my attention was that of corporate expats (Farrer 2010, 1214) - a group I prefer to refer to as 'corporate migrants'. It consists of individuals migrating at the behest of international corporations, often for the purpose of mineral- or value-extraction, but not limited to the same.

A preliminary analysis of their activities, as presented in some of these investigations, led me to the notion that these migrants, although seen as signals of growth and development, can also pose significant costs to their host countries. Especially in reference to the African subcontinent, there has been a lot of deliberation on the questionable role of international corporations in triggering displacement directly or indirectly by facilitating land grabs, environmental degradation, instability and armed conflicts in mineral-rich countries (Sassen, 2016) (Einsiedel, 2014) (Guldbrandsen, 2013). Yet, not many frame migration to the African subcontinent as a precursor for such events. Thus, research into the various costs associated with this category of North-South migrants seemed promising on a number of accounts.

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[1] Darwin's Nightmare (2004), The Ambassador (2011), Stealing Africa (2012), Virunga (2014) and We Come As Friends (2014) to name a few. These pieces of investigative journalism are not without their flaws and weaknesses. However, they capture the movements, mobility and impacts of North-South migrant activities in different contexts across sub-Saharan Africa.

However, any study of this nature i.e. dealing with the costs of North-South migration on the receiving countries, presents a formidable feat for many reasons. Upon much deliberation, preliminary research and valuable feedback, I considered the following three main challenges that led to the reformulation of this research:

1. <u>Availability of statistics on North-South migrants numbers</u> - There may still be conceptual barriers to framing certain North-South flows as 'migration', especially in the case of individuals moving for work under international corporations and organizations for short periods of time. The temporalities, numbers and features of their migration may not even be comparable to those of more well-established groups in migration studies such as refugees, diasporas, returnee migrants, etc. Put differently, the research of the costs posed by North-South migrants would be challenging to study without building a strong framework within which these individuals are seen and accepted as migrants. While theoretically, there are a number of arguments that can be advanced to make a case for their inclusion into the category of 'migrants', the same arguments may not be relevant to receiving states and their statistical bureaus. At large, there is a dearth of official data compiled by the receiving countries in the global South in regards to country-wise information on North-South migrants present in the host-country, their intended activities as disclosed to immigration authorities (if asked), and whether these correspond with their visa or legal status.

2. <u>Calculating Costs</u> - Next, the creation of research and analytical tools for calculation of migrant costs to host countries would require extensive deliberation on what constitutes a 'cost', for whom and why. In cases where North-South migrant activities have created a long duress of stressors for the host country, what methods can be used to capture these quantitatively? The picture becomes trickier where North-South migrant activities are unfolding against the backdrop of so-called development projects across various sectors. The line between cost and benefit is then blurred at best, and the result of any analysis would largely vary based on whose perspective or positionality was considered. It would include understanding the economic gains in that particular sector (i.e. a macro-level analysis) and juxtaposing them with the impacts of individual North-South migrant activity and flows that have been a consequence of the development project in question. To what extent can certain actions, activities or behavior be termed as harmful and negative? Wherever they can be considered as such, is it always possible to attach a cost to these?

Thus, any such research would not only require building a conceptual and methodological framework from scratch, it would also have to be developed in collaboration with experts across fields such as macroeconomics. As a researcher, quantitative research and macroeconomics are both uncharted territory for me, and collaboration with experts in the field require resources that do not match the scope of this research.

3. <u>Logistics of Conducting Research</u> - Probably the most pressing practical consideration for me was that contexts such as DRC, CAR or South Sudan, which first inspired me, are all currently in a state of emergency or internal conflict. I felt severely limited in being able to access these contexts for field-based research due to security concerns and little experience moving in unstable environment. Furthermore, not only are North-South migrant movements hard to track in such contexts, but tracing and resisting corporate activities either on field or otherwise can pose risks for those initiating such efforts. Cases of researchers, journalists and activists who have been targeted are not uncommon (Global Witness 2012) (Kelly 2018) (Schwarz and Mokgalaka 2019). Such research could also invite stark political criticism from national governments, who may conceive such investigation to be part of wider activist stratagem and could invite unwanted attention.

These are only some of the possible challenges regarding methodology and sources of data that empirical research in this direction would entail. After going back to the drawing board and re-working my field of inquiry, the idea I started out with has come a long way since. It has changed much in its form and has significantly narrowed in scope. As has been briefly discussed above, North-South and South-North trajectories can look very different. There is not enough baseline data to compare their numbers, volume or costs. Comparing their personal motivations thus seemed as a good starting point as these stem from human needs that are understood commonly across all walks of life. Thus, in this research, I move away from studying North-South migrants' impacts on their host society to understanding their personal motivations to migrate, both to gain distance from the challenges listed above and to set out with a field of inquiry that fits the limited scope of this dissertation. However, the original intent – to flip rhetoric and find parallels - still remains strong and is foundational in shaping the lens with which I work. Irrespective of how different both North-South and South-North migrants may be in their legality, length of stay and trajectory, their motivations to migrate will fall within a common range. This is an assumption at the center of this research, and in a sense, is also tested against my research findings.

The North-South Framework: A Post-Colonial Perspective

A critical framework on which this research is built is the 'North-South' framing or divide, as it studies migration flows from the global North to the global South. The term 'North-South migrants' is used here to denote persons who are nationals of countries constituting the global North i.e. Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Japan and who have migrated to the global South i.e. Africa, Asia, Central and South America, Pacific Islands and Oceania.

Broadly speaking, the 'North-South' framing seeks to lay bare the post-colonial developmental divide between different regions of the world. It is definitely not the first categorization of its kind and toes a similar line used by frameworks such as 'developed world' and 'developing world'; 'More developed regions' and 'Less developed regions' (United Nations Population Division 2017); or even 'the metropole' and 'the periphery' (Connell 2008, viii-ix). For each of these frameworks, there is no single interpretation. There exist many, and these interpretations are constantly changing depending on the nature and purpose of the discourses that employ them.

The post-colonialist perspective offers perhaps the most useful grounding of this framework for migration studies, as it involves tracing continuities of colonial power structures in contemporary world systems. Categorizing migration in terms of North and South is an attempt to discern the "new logics of privileged transnationalism and illustrate the coloniality of contemporary regimes of mobility" (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 116). Most industries in the global North are based in the global South. As foreign capital moves from developed to developing countries in the form of foreign investment, development aid and the like, so do expatriate professional to manage these ventures (Farrer 2010, 1211). The expansion and contraction of borders and border zones for these groups of people, in light of growing trends of control and regulation of South-North migration, are testimony to the existence of "asymmetries that reflect global inequalities" in contemporary migration regimes (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 116). (Farrer 2010, 1213)

That populations in the Global North are able to relocate easily without experiencing border zones, even in the event of economic or political stressors in their home countries, reflects a strong continuity with colonial privileges experienced by them. The case of Spanish emigration to Latin America in wake of the 2008 economic crisis and Spain's austerity policies is an interesting one in point (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017). Facing unemployment and underutilisation of their skills and qualifications in Spain, there was a sharp spike in the number of Spanish youth moving to

countries such as Ecuador where they were able to "interpret their mobility in terms of increasing the relative value of savings or academic credentials by relocating them across latitudes of the global division of labour (Ong 2006)" (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 117). This case demonstrates not only the "significance of the past in shaping contemporary expatriate mobilities" (Fechter and Walsh 2010, 1197), but also its role in shaping the processes through which North-South mobilities are made productive (Mezzadra 2016, 36).

While it is not the intention of this research to encapsulate the development and debates surrounding of this framework, it must be admitted that the conceptual framing of global North and global South is not a perfect one. As is with most matters that are conceptual, this too has its limitations and challenges. This framework results in a typology that constructs migration as a binary, thereby suggesting a duality that is contained within 'North-South' flows and 'South-North' flows. I am well aware that such dualities are at best obscure in practice, because such typologies do not adequately capture overlapping and exclusive flows, categories and conceptions of migration. As King states, no single conceptual framework is capable of explaining migration as a phenomenon (King 2012). Despite this, its functionality in migration research cannot be undermined as the North-South framework is one that helps us re-emphasize "the coloniality of power at the heart of transnational mobility, particularly in a context marked by the growth of surveillance and regulations that criminalize and restrict movement for most citizens of countries in the Global South trying to move north (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013; Golash-Boza 2015; Vaughan-Williams 2015). By contrast, citizens of wealthy nation-states, often historically associated with phenotypical whiteness, are in demand and poorer nations sometimes compete to attract them as tourists or real estate investors." (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 117).

Another major limitation of the North-South framework is that it may reproduce and reinforce the very power structures and relations it seeks to problematize. Notably, the framing itself has geographical implications that inaccurately convey homogenous epitomes of development. For example, the USA is often considered a part of the 'global North' even though it may be at par on a number of human development and economic indicators with countries like Singapore or South Korea, understood to be part of the 'global South'. However, even if these countries may be more developed, their position in global politics and power is far less influential than that of USA. In other words, despite development and economic growth, there are strong remnants of post-colonial power structures visible as a geographical divide. It is this perspective that is attractive to this research, which uses it "not to name a sharply bounded category of states or societies, but

to emphasize relations - authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony and partnership, sponsorship, appropriation…" (Connell 2008, viii-ix).

Using dominant political rhetoric on migration as a point of departure, this research places at the center of this framing countries or regions that are currently at the heart of global migration debates. Recently Europe and North America have witnessed an intensification of heated debates and policy reformulations in a bid to regulate migration as migrant-receiving regions. Thus, by looking at the personal motivations of European and North American migrants in Senegal, this study attempts to draws to attention their position and existence as migrant-sending regions in the global North, and thereby re-constructs and reinforces the identities of their citizens as 'migrants'.

North-South Migration

The term North-South migration refers to movements from the global North to the global South. These flows can greatly differ in their legality, temporality, effects and manifestations as compared to more 'conventional' South-North flows. While there has been growing attention to these forms of movement in migration literature, it is still relatively minimal perhaps due to the differences mentioned above (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 125).

Controversially so, the most central figure to North-South migrations is that of the 'expat' or expatriate. Simply understood, the term expatriate is used to refer to anyone living outside their home country or 'fatherland' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2019). Colloquially, however, the term tends to be more politically charged as it is often reserved for non-native 'Western' or white people residing or working in developing countries. This tension in the term's everyday usage is captured well in a Wall Street Journal blog titled *In Hong Kong, Just Who Is an Expat, Anyway?* which states that, "Some arrivals are described as expats; others as immigrants; and some simply as migrants. It depends on social class, country of origin and economic status. It's strange to hear some people in Hong Kong described as expats, but not others. Anyone with roots in a western country is considered an expat … Filipino domestic helpers are just guests, even if they've been here for decades. Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese are rarely regarded as expats … It's a double standard woven into official policy." (DeWolf 2014) (Koutonin 2015). In conversation, another blog goes further to state that, "expat is a term reserved exclusively for western white people going to work abroad. Africans are immigrants. Arabs are immigrants. Asians are

immigrants. However, Europeans are expats because they can't be at the same level as other ethnicities. They are superior. Immigrants is a term set aside for 'inferior races'." (Koutonin 2015).

Epistemological Questions

At the very outset – without going into academic perspectives – what is visible is a socially and politically rooted hierarchy of migration that is reflected in everyday language. Clearly symptomatic of distorted public discourse, here it becomes important to question why certain forms of movement are more easily labelled as migration than others; for the interpretation of terms used in a discourse is very much determined by those producing it. In her work on migrant identities, McAreavey affirms that "The connection between migrant identities and socio-economic status and the implications of this for different groups of migrants is not fully understood; for instance, why are foreign academics and doctors not typically referred to as 'migrant workers' in the same way as unskilled workers?" (McAreavey, 2017).

In other words, it becomes pertinent to ask – who have been the subjects of migration studies, by whom and why? While the lack of research into North-South migration flows is conceivable of discourses dominated by actors in the Global North, the seemingly postcolonial nature of knowledge production in migration studies merits further analysis from the lens of decolonizing processes that have contributed to dominant framings of its current subjects. This is an important epistemological aspect of this research. There is no single answer to this question and a detailed deliberation on this falls beyond the scope of this paper. However, there are discernible trends or patterns in the existing corpus of research. It is safe to say that dominant subjects of research have mostly been migrant groups embodying or exhibiting vulnerabilities in their own contexts, during transit or in their host countries. For example, refugee groups, labour migrants in precarious work, internally displaced persons, forced migrants and female migrants. These are all groups that require protection, in some form or the other. Naturally so, a lot of research has been aimed at bringing out the causes and nuances of their journeys in order to organize better preventions and response systems, strengthen advocacy efforts and positively influence policy for humanitarian action. Notably, most of such migrant groups fall under South-North migration flows. In the political sphere, such migrant groups attract treatments that seek to frame them and their vulnerabilities as a "cost" or "burden" to the host country. Other problematic features of mainstream migration discourses include how "the concept of migration is often reserved for bodies of colour, rather than white bodies (who tend to be seen as tourists, expatriates, guests,

development aid workers), [making] race implicit in the very conceptualization of migration (Erel *et al*. 2016)" (Lundström 2017, 80).

So why are certain kinds of migration studied and problematized more than others? In this case, why is there a disproportionate amount of research, advocacy and political attention paid to the movements of individuals who face some form of marginalization as compared to the movements of those who occupy a position of privilege, power and legality? These questions point us towards a power structure within existing discourses, which irrespective of their intended outcomes, are produced by those external to these migrant communities. With a lack of research and discourse being produced from within affected communities, a limited and perhaps politically charged understanding of migration is one that has prevailed and been reproduced. This is very much in line with Fechter and Walsh who suggest, "we need to broaden that current, somewhat myopic focus on Western expatriates, to understand them in relation to other groups of migrants, particularly globalizing cities and to include the perspective of locals" (Fechter and Walsh 2010, 1197).

A part of this exercise involves reinforcing that "migration is often *not* **a simple transition from a place of origin to a destination** (Collyer, 2007); it is not a matter of a *dis*-placement, one leaving the place of origin, to *re*-placement, one settling in a destination, but a process-like undertaking with its own dynamics" (Schapendonk 2010, 295). In different contexts, the phenomenon of migration comes to take on different forms, and each journey is determined by a complex set of interacting factors. "In other words, not everyone is mobile in the same way and mobility might mean different things to different people in different settings (Cresswell, 2006; Adey, 2006; Urry, 2007)" (Schapendonk 2010, 298). What counts as migration in a European context may well be considered routine or normalized in another. Similarly, the kinds of migration that produce cause for concern in a country like DRC might not necessarily display the same features of migrations causing concern in the United Kingdom (UK).

Towards this end, it can be useful to adopt a transnational approach to migration. It involves understanding migration as a continuous and ongoing process of practices and ties connecting migrant and non-migrants in countries of destination and origin where the effect of these processes may outlive the migration trajectory itself. According to Nina Glick-Schiller, the processes themselves "by which immigrants build social fields that link their country of origin and their country of settlement" can be called transnationalization (Faist 2013). Studying migration

from a transnational perspective thus entails focusing on the role of migrants and non-migrants as agents of change in influencing mobility, agency and their sending and receiving environment, bringing to the table "tendencies in international migration that have not been at the centre of analysis" (Faist 2013).

Existing Literature

For many of the reasons mentioned above, there has been a steady increase in literature aimed at understanding North-South migrations in the recent years (irrespective of whether or not authors have explicitly framed these migrations within the North-South binary)[2]. This section briefly encapsulates some of the salient findings in existing research, particularly the various categorizations of North-South migrations that have emerged and critical deliberations on their impacts on host societies.

Existing studies on North-South migration de-construct North-South migrations from two standpoints. The first looks at "agentic forms of transnational migration, in other words, migration that is shaped more by individual choice than by structural necessity" (O'Reilly 2000, 44), while the second looks at structural conditions in countries of origin that shape North-South migrants' agencies (Hayes 2014, 1955). Oftentimes, as is the case with most migration theorizing, trajectories are shaped by a complex interaction of multiple factors at the micro and macro levels. Therefore, what seem to be as categorizations of North-South migrations in existing literature are more useful when understood as "ways of thinking about some forms of migration and not an attempt to homogenise discrete categories. It is a *lens* rather than a *box*." (Benson and O'Reilly 2016, 25).

Broadly speaking, North-South migrations have been understood through a combination of lenses such as lifestyle migration (connected to retirement migration and residential tourism), economic migration (as opposed to 'highly skilled migration' as some would call it) in various sectors, tourism and other less researched movements such as intercontinental migration of military forces. With much theorizing yet to be done, North-South migrations have been challenging to de-construct as scholars "acknowledge the 'slack and slippage in terminology': that some legal migrations can end up undocumented when people overstay their permits; that skilled migrants are also

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[2] Dixon, Murray and Gelatt 2006; Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Korpela 2010; Büscher and Vlassenroot 2010; Fechter and Walsh 2010; Farrer 2010; Benson 2013; Hayes 2014; Bantman-Masum 2015; Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017; Lundström 2017; and Hercog and Sandoz 2018 to name a few.

economic migrants; and that those fleeing poverty and starvation are often also relatively skilled" (Knowles and Harper 2009 in Benson and O'Reilly 2016, 25) and that categories such as 'highly skilled migration' are actually political constructs (Hercog and Sandoz 2018).

However, most literature on the subject acknowledges that a common characteristic across many North-South migrants' trajectories is "that they can mobilise capital, assets and resources in ways that make their aspirations for a better way of life possible within the destination" (Benson and O'Reilly 2016, 29). The concept of geo-arbitrage refers to a process in which "people sell their labour power in high-cost labour countries, and then buy labour power, goods and services in low-cost labour countries" (Karlgaard 2004, 2006 in Hayes 2014, 1954). As a process, it is foundational to individuals' motivations to migrate, and the ability to do so perhaps forms an integral basis of most North-South migration.

This is strongly operationalized in the case of retirement migrants who move to developing countries, where their pension or retirement savings would go much farther than it would in their developed countries. In their research on US-American retirees in Ecuador, Hayes and Perez-Gananz share the case of Richard, who is "in his early seventies and originally from Vancouver, worked 35 years as a mechanic prior to his relocation to Vilcabamba in Ecuador's south in 2008. 'If I was in Canada, I'd be renting the back room of some house [. . .] and freezing to death', he said. He described his life in Ecuador as 'rich, diverse, unlimited'. His Canada Pension Plan, which paid him about $1000 CAD per month, could stretch much further in rural Ecuador." (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 121). Southward movements of retirees, both intra-continentally (for example from Scandinavia to South Europe) and inter-continentally (for example, from USA to Mexico or from Europe to destinations in sub-Saharan Africa), have always been preceded by growing possibilities for geographic arbitrage that made these movements worthwhile in the first place.

Retirement migration can be considered a form of lifestyle migration, wherein individuals migrate "because they believe there is a more fulfilling way of life available to them elsewhere" (O'Reilly 2007 in Korpela 2010, 1302). Lifestyle migrants can come seeking satisfaction of a range of motivations in their destination countries starting from a search for cultural authenticity, a more meaningful life, a sense of community, a context that allows them maintain or improve their current standard of living, to simply a different pace of life. Retirement migration and to a certain extent, other forms of lifestyle migartion, have been described as "comprised of a lifestyle that is oriented

around patterns of leisure and consumption, in which work imperatives are minimal or nonexistent; and [they] take place permanently or semi-permanently in a particular destination, outside one's traditional socio-geographical milieu." (McWatters 2009, 3).

Another category of North-South migrants that utilize geo-arbitrage are economic migrants, including private entrepreneurs, mobile professionals such as digital nomads, freelancers or short-term hires in international organizations and companies. They are individuals who exist on the edges of the labor market, where they may be at risk of "facing the logic of expulsion" and where structural conditions in their countries of origin influence their motivations to emigrate (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 118). In light of growing austerity policies, economic crises, indebtness and unsteady labor markets in global Northern countries, individuals are able to use migration to the global South as a strategy against economic vulnerability by "trad[ing] on their inherited colonial privileges in order to maintain a place in an increasingly brutal global system of economic and racial exploitation" (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 118). As a result, countries in the global South are increasingly becoming destinations for highly-skilled migrants from certain industries. For example, Nigeria attracts highly skilled migrants within the energy sector whilst Senegal attracts a number of development workers and humanitarian professionals. In both cases, North-South migrants who relocate through or for professional opportunities in their sectors are often attracted to highly paying international contracts or expatriate salary packages, that often are much higher than what they may receive on average in their home countries.

At this point, I would like to emphasize that migrant motivations can be traced not only through "individual choice and structural necessity", but also through migrants' actions, activities and behaviours, and reasons to engage in these in their host countries. These actions, activities and behaviours can be both natural extensions of migrants' expressed motivations or in more concerning cases, reflect hidden agendas or forces at play that may or may not be visible across the spaces they occupy. In some cases, the impacts of their activities can be used to trace their motivations in hindsight. Although this research focuses largely on studying North-South migrant motivations, I argue that these motivations can be (de)constructed through an analysis of their behaviours, actions, and activities in host countries, and impacts of the same as well. In effect, it is not only their pre-departure circumstances that inform their motivations, but also the aspects mentioned above that emerge at different stages in their trajectories and that can seek to reinforce, expand or frame their reasons to leave their home countries and migrate. To further elucidate this argument which operates at the foundation of this research, I reflect on how

consequences of North-South migration and migrant activities can reveal a range of motivations that are often a blind spot of much public and political migration discourse.

Consequences of North-South Migration

At the outset, it is vital to underscore that activities of migrants at large, irrespective of their regions of origin and destination, will culminate in a range of impacts for their host environments. That is to say, consequences of their presence can be multiple and multifold. They could occupy more than one position on a spectrum; and the nature thereof and their positions thereon can easily change based on ideological and theoretical frameworks being used for analysis (e.g. positive-negative, legality or illegality). Thus, any attempt to classify their activities both individually and as groups (based on nationality, legality or even frameworks such as North-South) would be complex at best, and at risk of being wide of the mark. Ergo, in this paper, the aim of focusing on migrant activities and consequences is not to dichotomize migrations based on the North-South framework as harmful or beneficial, but to go beyond current mainstream images or stereotypes associated with North-South flows as being 'beneficial' or 'wanted', and confront these using evidence to question their soundness.

North-South migration trajectories do not unfold in vacuum. Scholars such as Hayes (2014) have previously argued that "Migration from developed to developing countries may remain marginal within the broader field of migration studies—in part due to relatively smaller flows of people— yet its effects can be significant and far reaching (Dixon, Murray, and Gelatt 2006; Croucher 2009a)". Much of this is down to the fact that those who migrate from North-South often occupy a position of power and privilege in their host countries. While the sum of these effects are difficult to generalize across all North-South flows, it is important to understand the different ways in which they unfold. Ndlovu-Gatsheni states, "The thinking about borders in postcolonial Africa seems to be also informed more by economic imperatives than humanistic ethos. This is why it is easy for capital and goods to move across borders than people." (Mtapuri, Nhemachena and Benyero 2018). Therefore, this area merits further research especially if we are to work towards de-constructing post-colonial border regimes.

Perhaps one of the most far-reaching effects of North-South migration is its ability to trigger South-North mobilities. This is most evident in the case of corporate migrants' activities operating in mineral-rich developing countries, where their trajectories have produced the mobility of many others. For example, in DRC, North-South migrants representing the interests of extractive

multinational companies have the ability to create zones that further reproduced mobilities through illicit payments made to militia, thereby triggering militia activity in the region and the displacement of local populations[3]. Where corporations and their individual representatives are complicit in striking up deals with militia, there is a long duress of spiraling exigencies caused by conflict, displacement and human rights abuses. Most often, these involve a tangible cost for the host country through a need to militarize affected areas, an increased burden on welfare systems, loss of livelihood and revenue, loss of public and private infrastructure, further weakening of governance structures and a greater dependence on humanitarian interventions.

Evidence of this has also been captured in Director Orlando von Einsiedel's investigative documentary Virunga (2014) in raw footage by undercover journalist Mélanie Gouby. Set in 2012 in Virunga National Park in Eastern Congo, the film documents the efforts of SOCO International, a British oil and gas exploration company to search for oil under Lake Edward, an area protected from such operations under Congolese law. In the film, M23 Rebels Spokesperson admits that the company cannot exploit oil without giving them a cut. Through a sting operation, journalist Mélanie Gouby working in collaboration with park authorities obtains video footage of an interview with SOCO's French Field Operations Supervisor Julien Lechenault[4] and English Security Subcontractor John, where it is revealed that SOCO pays members of the M23 rebel group, active in the area, through its security contractor to gain access to the Park's grounds. Founded in the same year, M23 grows strong enough to declare war in the region resulting in Congolese and UN Peacekeeping troops losing control of the area. After storming the National Park, they provide access to SOCO officials who establish an illegal presence at the Lake. As a result of M23 violence, over 160,000 people are displaced from the area, including previously displaced populations. The actions of North-South migrants such as Julien and John thus pose, in what can best be described as a domino effect, a series financial costs to the State that add up on multiple levels. This is somewhat in line with the New Mobilities Paradigm whereby "One mobility seems to always involve other mobilities in terms of facilitation and production (Adey, 2010)" (Schapendonk 2010, 297) (Sheller and Urry 2006).

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[3]Read more in the Human Rights Watch report The Curse of Gold (2005) on links between AngloGold Ashanti and armed group Nationalist and Integrationist Front (FNI).
[4] In a shocking statement, the French official says "The best solution, effective for everyone, is to recolonize these countries." (Einsiedel, 2014)

Referring to German corporations paving the way for guest workers in Germany, Saskia Sassen claims it is quite likely that migrations of the global poor are being planned in boardrooms or inside the Pentagon[5]. Profit accumulation, in its extreme forms, jeopardizes "the globe's most vulnerable workers and sub-proletarians" who are victims of the different levels 'expulsions' triggered thereby (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 127). In their work on *Border as a Method, or, the Multiplication of Labour (2013),* Nielson and Mezzadra look at the border "not merely as a research object but also as an epistemic viewpoint on the tensions and struggles that characterize contemporary capitalist transitions at the global level" (Mezzadra 2016, 31).

And so in line with this reasoning, it is critical to re- think and question, where African migrant trajectories actually begin and who are the drivers of these flows. This also sheds light on the inverse trajectories of migration to African countries, to see to extent they are directly related to and impact South-North migrations. For example, when juxtaposed with DRC's colonial history, one can attempt to frame the corporate activity taking place in the country and the resulting development-security nexus as facets of a planned and intended North-South migration flow. Doing so would serve to bring much-needed perspective to the table while tracing a clear line of accountability in contemporary discourses on the 'migrant crisis'. Such an approach is necessary to uncover our symptomatic treatment of the 'migration crisis', or more accurately of 'forced migration' under the visage of humanitarian operations.

Forced migration flows are thus manifestations of a capitalist, free market economy. By shifting our gaze from forced migration flows themselves to the forces that trigger them, such as North-South corporate expat mobilities, w*e* could perhaps move closer to working with the root cause of many migration flows originating from the African subcontinent. This line of reasoning follows an approach adopted by Armiero and Tucker called 'ecological thinking', which "looks for the connections rather than the ultimate causes" and thus poses Congolese migrants in their study as not only a forcibly displaced population but also 'capitalism refugees' (Marco and Tucker 2017). This approach falls within the broader framework of the environmental history of migration which, inter alia, looks at (im)migrants' agency in shaping their environment (Armiero 2018). This theoretical framework brought me to the starting point for my research discussion which was: what could be the differences in how a regular 'economic migrant' in France impacts his/her

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[5] 2016. Sassen, Saskia. *Saskia Sassen answers questions about migration*. Discussion at reSITE 2016. (reSITE, Interviewer).

environment as compared to a North-South migrant[6] in the DRC who is representing corporate interests in extractive industries? While a number of very costly procedures are crafted to restrict access by South-North economic migrants, most immigration regimes seem to bend or turn invisible for North-South migrants representing corporations who in actuality may even cost more the host country more by way of transfer-pricing practices, tax evasions and appropriation of profits (War on Want: Fighting Global Poverty 2007) (Guldbrandsen 2013) (Mtapuri, Nhemachena and Benyero 2018). In fact, appropriation of profits by extracting minerals at prices much lower than their original market value possibly makes up the largest bracket of costs that corporate migrants entail. Starting from initial stages of supply, profits are appropriated transnationally by controlling local commodity prices and tax evasion practices such as transfer pricing (Guldbrandsen, 2013) (Fault Lines 2015).

Another mineral-rich country bearing costs of North-South corporate expats is Zambia. Between 2001 and 2008, copper prices rose by nearly 400% in the London Metal Exchange (Guldbrandsen, 2013). While the profit tax paid by foreign investors on mining activities in Zambia was not even considerable, taxes earned by the Swiss municipality of Rüschlikon from Glencore's activities amounted to 360 million Swiss francs, with CEO Ivan Glasenberg's individual taxes alone providing the State with a surplus of 50 million Swiss francs. Glencore is a Swiss multi-commodity trading and mining company with heavy presence in Zambia. So while there is a lot of positive significance placed on the movement of actors and individuals from the global North to the global South in terms of "development", "investment", "aid" and "globalisation", there remains a lack (or even absence) of acknowledgement of the role that the same flows play in "development" of the global North and that of its perceivably strong welfare systems.

At this stage, it becomes important to address that such appropriations of wealth are not simply the products of systemic neo-colonial capitalist regimes. It would be too easy to leave it at that, as actions perpetrated by entities and thus meant to be worked upon or studied at the macro-level. Rather, such appropriations are the product of human actions. It is some individuals' needs for creation of wealth, their personal motivations to acquire wealth that drive decisions made through corporate entities. Recognizing the micro-level dynamics of individuals acting on behalf international corporations can serve to alter the "position these subjects occupy as migrants within the legislative and administrative system" of the host country (Sassen 2016). It is thus important

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[6] who in my perspective is also an economic migrant, just of a different breed.

that their individual migrations be studied for what they are as well – individual actions with consequences, costs and impacts which can range from positive to negative.

A sub-group of North-South migrants whose negative impacts in their host contexts are often underestimated is foreign aid and humanitarian personnel such as UN Peacekeepers, whose presence is known to strain local economies. In an anonymous interview, "One NGO mission chief, who asked not to be named, confessed: "I don't know what we're doing here. Our presence raises the price of food and rent, we stop people from moving on..."" (Blanco and Villaecija 2016). Rising prices of essential commodities are an added cost of increased military presence and often times, States are required to roll out supplies to support affected populations. In their study on the indirect impacts of the protracted presence of the humanitarian industry in urban areas of DRC, Buscher and Vlassenroot state that "issues such as the spatial integration of the humanitarian sector or the impact of the presence of a large number of humanitarians and humanitarian organisations on the local political economy, on local power structures and authority structures, on socioeconomic strategies of local inhabitants and on issues of redistribution and access to vital resources, largely remain unaddressed." (Büscher and Vlassenroot 2010, S257).

All of the above arguments shed light on the negative impacts of North-South migration. I am well aware that there are positive examples as well. For example, the influx of North-South migrants as part of the industry in Goma, DRC have helped re-build the city's "pre-war image of a tourist destination" (Büscher and Vlassenroot 2010, S266). This is true for a lot of regions in the global South where tourism has been developed to cater to international immigrants. Secondly, the positive impact of foreign investment and development aid, no matter how limited or overstated, is tangible in many respects. In an expert interview with a former World Bank economist[7], who has worked and lived extensively across Africa, I learned that many corporate expats from the global North bring in cleaner technology simply because it is too expensive to change production techniques. So even though this is not necessarily out of benevolence or goodwill, the notion that foreign corporations always cause environmental damages merits further investigation. Furthermore, many migrant-receiving countries in the global South require that 2nd tier executives in international companies must be local hires. Such regulations pave the way for horizontal knowledge-sharing, human resource development and economic participation (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 129).

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[7] Identity not disclosed for confidentiality purposes.

However, in light of the post-colonial nature of contemporary mobility regimes, discussing the detrimental impacts of North-South migration flows serves to build the relevance of this research. In the African context, the porosity of borders has resulted not only in unregulated North-South migration flows that have reproduced colonial continuities and inequalities through geo-arbitrage, it has also made possible the phenomenon of 'transnational capital flight' i.e. the loss of revenue caused by "transnational corporations' dispossession, tax evasion and exploitation of Africans" (Mtapuri, Nhemachena and Benyero 2018).

As demonstrated above and through the course of this research, North-South migrants often migrate with a range of motivations that can have far-reaching consequences on their host countries, that are often only visible in hindsight. This research makes a case for the need to problematize the identity, and activities motivations of individuals moving from the global North to the global South as migrants, especially as their mobilities and motivations to migrate are made obscure and fostered by neocolonial border regimes.

SENEGAL AS A CONTEXT

Although it may seem so, the choice of Senegal for this research was not the first or most natural one. In light of the evolution of this research described previously, this research was redesigned to suit (1) a more stable context for reasons of personal security (as a young female conducting individual research) (2) a context that offered adequate access to North-South migrants in order to study their motivations. Senegal as a context satisfied both these conditions. Situated at the crossroads of various migration flows i.e. as a migrant-sending country and migrant-receiving from within and beyond African borders, it presents the above-mentioned dynamics in stark relief. Furthermore, its neocolonial features of governance combined with the porosity of its borders also make it an interesting context to study. Lastly, given the time constraints of this research, the fact that I had previously spent some months in Senegal and had established access to expat networks and potential gatekeepers for sampling, strongly influenced my choice of context. This section presents a detailed background in support of the above reasoning.

Background Information

Senegal is a country in Western Africa with an estimated population of 16.2 million as of 2018 (UN Data 2019). Its capital city, Dakar, is home to a majority of its population (The World Bank 2019). Although predominantly Sunni Muslim, Senegal is a secular nation with multiple ethnic groups, including but not limited to the Wolof, Pular, Fulani, Diola, Serer, Mandinka, etc. (Nations Encyclopedia 2019). French is the official language in the country though Wolof is spoken most widely in addition to other languages belonging to various ethnic groups. Two notable non-autochthonous ethnic groups in the country are the Lebanese, who have been economically productive and present since colonial times, and the French, whose presence continues to shape the country even today (Focus Migration 2017) (O'Brien 1972).

A former French colony, Senegal gained independence from France in 1960 after its split from the Malian Federation. It is a member of the 15-State strong Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) meant 'to foster interstate economic and political cooperation' (Economic Community of West African States, 2019) and as of today, is known to be one of the most stable democracies in Africa. Often spoken of as saved from the 'resource curse', it is one of the few remaining countries that has not experienced a coup d'état on the subcontinent. Within the ECOWAS region, it is one of two countries that has not experienced a coup d'état (the other being Cabo Verde).

Senegal has been able to work towards development. Over the last decade, there has been a steady improvement in the country's social indicators (UN Data 2019)[8]. There has also been steady economic growth from the mid-2000s to over 6% since 2014 (The World Bank 2019). This is expected to accelerate post 2020 with the commencement of production in the oil & gas sector, in the wake of recent offshore discoveries by UK-based Cairn Energy in 2014. However, political and economic commentators have questioned whether Senegal will be able to sustain its stability should this discovery invite another 'scramble for Africa's resources' (Washington 2016) or prove to be an 'oil curse' as has been the case in Nigeria (Ward 2018). Apart from the oil and gas sector which has recently come up, the main sector employing the highest percentage of population is the agricultural or primary sector. This is then followed by the industrial or secondary sector, which includes phosphate and gold mining, construction, production of commodities, fishing, etc. Thereafter comes the services or tertiary sector, which includes tourism, hospitality, developmental aid, etc. (UN Data 2019).

As a Migrant-Sending Country

Contrary to the case for many African immigrants in Senegal, Senegal's rare stability of governance in the region was not sufficient in containing the needs of Senegalese to migrate outside for better prospects. Coupled with periods of growth stagnation, structural adjustment programmes and economic crisis since the 1970s, a rising population was no match for the growing private sector to absorb (Tandian 2018) (Focus Migration 2017). A 2011 policy note on poverty in Senegal notes that "Chronic poverty has marked the past 80 years of Senegal's social history" and has been inexperienced disproportionately across social groups (Chronic Poverty Research Centre 2011). The resulting combination of these factors meant a steady increase in emigration flows from Senegal to the global North which have since taken on a combination of forms including economic migration, survival migration, refugee movements and illegal migration (Kirwin and Anderson 2018) (UNHCR 2017) (Betts 2013) (Olsen 2011). Although here it becomes pertinent to point out that there is evidence of migration from Senegal as largely being between other African states until the 1990s (Focus Migration 2017).

In a recent 2016 study, Baizán and González-Ferrer used empirical methods to understand the connection between micro-level factors and contextual factors in driving migration from Senegal

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[8] Senegal was designated as a 'Least Developed Country' in 2000.

to Europe. Their findings point to the use of international migration as a means of coping with downward social mobility and worsening living conditions in Senegal. In particular, they conclude that "a conjunction of periods of strong labor demand with availability of personal networks in Europe is needed to create a boosting effect on migration probabilities from Senegal to Europe" in line with their Labor Demand Hypthesis and Social Capital Hypothesis (Baizán and González-Ferrer 2016, 369). Historically, social networks have served as an important pillar for survival in times crisis and prosperity in the region. Their role in facilitating international migration to cope with economic stresses at the micro-level has been widely acknowledged to countries in Europe and North America (Baizán and González-Ferrer 2016, 343). This is evident in another way as "The impoverished situation of locals is aggravated by the relative wealth of returning migrants. Quite often, the influence of peers and their stories of the charms of migration play an important role in the decision to leave" (Tandian 2018). In other words, social networks have not only facilitated migration but have also been established as successful coping strategies (Brice and Lewis 2015).

Migration scholarship has largely diverted from policy-makers in their views of the relationship between development and emigration, and the ability of the former to control the latter (Kirwin and Anderson 2018, 6). In their study on African migration trends and drivers, Flahaux and De Haas state that "Contradicting conventional interpretations of African migration being essentially driven by poverty, violence and underdevelopment, increasing migration out of Africa seems rather to be driven by processes of development and social transformation which have increased Africans' capabilities and aspirations to migrate, a trend which is likely to continue in the future." (Flahaux and De Haas 2016, 1). The European Union has redoubled its efforts to curb emigration through increased development aid aimed at tackling "the root causes" of emigration from Africa. This is despite evidence in migration scholarship which has repeatedly found a direct correlation between development and emigration, as an improved socio-economic status and human development strengthens mobility (Hooper 2018) (Clemens and Postel 2018) (Haas 2010). Furthermore, there exists evidence of the positive development impact of remittances for migrant-sending countries in Africa (Clemens and Postel 2016). In fact, Senegal is seen as an exception by some where migration has increased despite slow development, as foreign remittances by Senegalese abroad accounted for upto 12% of the country's GDP in 2008 (Baizán and González-Ferrer 2016, 342-343). Acknowledging their contributions in supporting their families back home through remittances, the Senegalese government "passed a special law allowing her citizens in the diaspora to have permanent representation" (Africa News 2017) (BBC News 2017).

One of the starkest criticisms levelled against EU's development aid programmes to curb emigration is captured a series of special investigations into EU's migration policies titled *Europe Slams Its Gates*. In Part I of the series, McCormick highlights how much of this development funding, though directed at African low-income countries, is still controlled by European agencies and can be rather inaccessible by local organisations (McCormick 2017). This is also a criticism can be extended to the development industry at large[9], which tends to benefit more from the aid it seeks to give. These entities provides jobs, channel large amounts of non-taxable money and often get access to regions of critical geopolitical importance (Marshall 2015). The fine print that never reaches the eye from publicized development funding figures is the amount of resources it takes to sustain and perpetuate developmental organizations' existence. Referring to a survey conducted by the Norwegian Refugee Council, Jan Egeland states that "Afghan government- led initiatives for displaced and vulnerable communities have been plentiful on paper. But this has not translated to action on the ground. Eight out of ten Afghans we surveyed had received no aid in recent months" (Egelend 2018). In other words, only a small percentage of budgeted aid actually reaches target populations in actual monetary terms.

On this note, it is also pertinent to reflect on the role of EU development aid in curbing migration flows within the African subcontinent. Decades ago, the EU encouraged free regional movement through ECOWAS as part of development (Hahonou 2018). As of today, it is using this aid to push member states for reforms and laws aimed at limiting mobility within the region, in a bid to externalize its borders and restrict immigration to Europe through Libya. The case of Niger is an example, as "The EU pushed the government of Niger to pass Law 2015–36, which addresses irregular migration and human smuggling. As an interlocutor in Niamey points out, "Currently, with the application of Law 2015–36, it has become difficult for West Africans to go beyond Agadez. They are immediately seen as migrants who wish to go to Libya. We have the impression that ECOWAS stops in Agadez."" (Tandian 2018). Another report states that "the new law, as its Nigerien and other critics argue, *de facto* violates ECOWAS residents' rights to enter and travel within Niger." (Tubiana, Warin and Saeneen 2018). Put differently, current EU policies are being designed contrary to strong evidence of international migration contributing to development in sending countries, as the EU seeks not only to limit immigration within its borders but also limit migration outside its borders within the African subcontinent towards this end. This stands in stark contrast to its prior support for free movement of persons in the region.

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[9] Which has a strong and growing presence in Senegal.

As a Migrant-Receiving Country

Despite its high levels of poverty, Senegal has been an attractive destination for migrants from within the ECOWAS region and the larger African subcontinent (Olsen 2011, 7-8), notably from Mauritania, Guinea, Mali, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Cape Verde, etc. (UN DESA, Population Division 2017) (Focus Migration 2017). Its relative political and economic stability have also played a role in increasing international immigration as many international corporations, financial institutions, international organizations, intergovernmental organizations and diplomatic missions have their regional headquarters in Dakar, Senegal. This has brought in a steady stream of international migrants, often referred to as "expats", from beyond Africa. Concentrated in the capital, the expat population has influenced the gentrifying cityscape and 'cosmopolitan' city life in ways that are clearly visible to anyone spending just a few days there.

Upon speaking to a number of people in the journalism and development industry in Dakar, I learned that most international development organizations, including intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, pilot their programmes and develop models in Senegal, which are then exported to more fragile contexts in the West African region. Looked at differently, it can be argued that the same levels of poverty and unemployment that drive emigration actually invite immigration through the development sector. In fact, this concept of a regional 'NGO-pole', as a geographical area containing a concentration of humanitarian organizations' headquarters as a result of these stressors, fits Dakar very well (Büscher and Vlassenroot 2010). It is the regional headquarters for a number of international humanitarian, human rights and development organizations operating across West Africa. Foreign presence and aid has led to development that has attracted more immigration.

In a sense, Senegal has benefitted greatly from this large foreign presence. The city of Dakar is shaped by North-South migrants as many services are being developed to cater to this clientele. Many of the high-end restaurants and bars catering to foreigners are actually owned by expat-settlers themselves, who thus have a considerable stake in benefitting from their presence. Buscher and Vlassenroot's findings on the effect of the humanitarian industry on the city of Goma reveal somewhat similar trends, as the industry "offered additional possibilities and promoted the development of alternative urban economic activities. For example, real estate in Goma received a new impulse, and a new 'touristic infrastructure' (including luxurious hotels, restaurants and supermarkets) emerged, almost exclusively oriented towards this humanitarian clientele" (Büscher and Vlassenroot 2010, S259).

Tourism is definitely a growing industry, and in an attempt to boost it further as a strategic sector in its "Emerging Senegal Plan", the Government of Senegal even scrapped the visa entry fees requirements for visitors in 2015 (Unah 2019). This is perhaps another reason why Senegal is a popular destination with not only tourists but also vagabond freelancers, digital nomads and other mobile professionals. Its borders are porous i.e. visa free for a majority of countries in the world, and its visa policies allow one to reside in the country indefinitely as long as one leaves the country once every 90 days[10]. This feature presents an advantage and a disadvantage from this research. While the advantage is that there is an abundant North-South migrant population to study, the disadvantage is that a context like Senegal, with its porous borders, seriously limits my ability to understand experiences of border zones by North-South migrants in comparison to South-North migrants.

Moving on, the expat population in Senegal often tends to be highly mobile for many reasons such as work, relative ease of access or improved connectivity to their home countries in the global North, doing visa-runs, etc. As is this case with many highly mobile population, it is not easy to quantify or measure their movements (Gatti 2009, 1). Apart from data collected by Embassies, there are few sources that indicate the numbers of North-South migrants in Senegal such as the United Nations Population Division's annual reports of International Migration Stock by Origin and Destination[11] and independent reports on migration in the region. Moreover, recently there have been concerted efforts by stakeholders in the EU and UN to gather better migration data, including North-South migration, and so the quality of data available is likely to improve in the future.

In effect of this, Senegal has come to develop a reputation of having a great quality of life for expats. It offers a vibrant city life with access to most first world amenities at third world prices. In addition, it provides an unsaturated labour market due to the large number of international organizations and corporations operating in the country with a growing need for 'highly-skilled labour'. It thus provides ideal conditions for geo-arbitrage as a means of accessing better

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[10] In fact, the lack of borders is one of the reasons why I landed up there as well.
[11] Although data herein is often incomplete. The 2017 report contains international migrant stock numbers in Senegal for only three European and North-American sending countries i.e. France, Germany and USA. These add up to 15,140. There is no data on the number of Italians, for example, who definitely have a noticeable presence in Senegal along with a history of migration between Italy and Senegal. The data for international migrant stock numbers on intra-African migrants, however, is more exhaustive.

livelihood and accessing a cheaper yet adequately comfortable lifestyle. According to one source, "almost 80% of expats living in Senegal rated their career prospects positively, some 20% higher than expats worldwide" (Clancy 2015). Together with this, the lack of borders or border zones for almost all countries in the global North only serves to augment the inflow of North-South migrants or tourists.

A quick Google search using the keywords 'Senegal' and 'expat' will reveal a plethora of sources including articles, videos, blogs, studies, news pieces, expat websites and expat collectives that present a load of information on what 'the expat life' in Dakar, Senegal holds. Descriptions of Dakar being "the Paris of West Africa" due to its cosmopolitan culture and purported absence of "xenophobic attitudes" (Wade 2016) and "the cultural capital of French-speaking West Africa" (Chatfield 2012) paint a romanticized picture of the city. One source conveys an image of Dakar as place that offers "True International Immersion" because of diversity of its expatriate population (Chatfield 2012) while another says Dakar offers "a great mix of little luxuries and in-the-weeds culture. One can experience pulsing dance floors, dirty unpaved streets, fantastic Argentinian steak, complete French-language immersion, and oceanside dining all in one place. It's stimulating, at times jarring, and completely memorable." (Cullins 2011). There are also a host of active expat communities and forums, that really build a reputation of the cosmopolitan life that the city has to offer, such as the Dakar Women's Group, Dakar Hash House Harriers, Rotary International and InterNations (Chatfield 2012), to name a few.

A blogger "living the expat life" writes "Dakar, Senegal is My City" (Cullins 2011). Her blog, featured in National Geographic's Travel Section titled 'Where the Locals Go', presents an interesting paradox as she strongly defines herself as an expat. She goes to the extent of saying "If my city were a celebrity, it'd be Gerard Depardieu. French-speaking, a little crass, charming in a head-shaking way, always unpredictable, and just slightly smarmy – but not enough to be intolerable." This article in particular portrays how much of Senegal's 'French identity' is still celebrated, without much regard to the socio-emotional load wrought by the country's colonial past and neo-colonial presence. While it is definitely not representative, it is indicative of the manner in which the city's reputation is constructed by immigrants.

One of many Graffiti of this kind across the city. Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop, Point E, Dakar. May 2019.

A Neocolonial History

Neocolonialism was described by Kwame Nkrumah as: "The essence of neocolonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside." (Nkrumah 1965, ix). The case of Senegal as a former French colony actually offers one of the most relevant power structures to study in terms of its neocolonial relationship with France.

A political organization that is very vocal in problematizing the essence of the expat narratives presented above i.e. the dominating presence of the French in Senegal is *France Dégage*[12]. My first encounter with their presence was through the numerous spaces they had claimed across the cityscape to present their narratives of resistance. One of their primary goals is to achieve an undoing of Senegal's lack of monetary sovereignty and dependence on France through use of the CFA franc. Originally the "the French African Colonial franc", the currency has since been renamed and now has two versions – the West African franc and the Central African franc (Sylla

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[12] While they do not have a dedicated website, their page on Facebook contains information of their activties: https://www.facebook.com/FRAPP-France-D%C3%A9gage-190748061559008/

2017). The CFA is currently used by 14 countries in the African subcontinent. Both versions of the currency have been stabilized by France, which has pegged it to the Euro in exchange for holding 50% of each country's foreign exchange reserves in its treasury (Specia 2019). There are strong critics and partisans[13] for the the CFA franc. *France Dégage* toes the former line according to which "membership of the franc zone is inimical to the advance of democracy", a neocolonial tool of economic and political control and that "for those hoping to export competitive products, obtain affordable credit, find work, work for the integration of continental trade, or fight for an Africa free from colonial relics, the CFA franc is an anachronism demanding orderly and methodical elimination" (Sylla 2017).

Urgences Panafricanistes is another citizen movement and NGO founded in Senegal, with its international headquarters in Benin, that is seeking to build a regional refusal of foreign political interference, economic interference through networks of "foreign lobbies and their local counterparts", military interference that violates sovereignty and cultural interference as a disguised tool of globalism to achieve complete emancipation from French neocolonialism and other imperialist agendas (URPANAF n.d.). Each of Urgences Panafricanistes aims has a precedent in Senegal's history and contemporary politics, and the CFA controversy is only one of many issues in this regard. While it is not my aim to deal with them exhaustively, I will point out two more facts that may (arguably) reveal the extent of this control. The first is that major industries and sectors of economy has been actively transnationalized, resulting in a dominance of foreign players. This is notable especially in the construction, commodities and tourism industry. In fact, from 2000 onwards, Senegal's trade deficit has increased by approx. 84% with France and the Netherlands being major trading partners (in terms of percentage of imports) in 2015 (UN Data 2019).

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[13] See Sylla 2017 for a fuller treatment of the issue.

METHODOLOGY

This research seeks to explores the personal motivations of Dakar-based North-South migrants, in particular European and North-American immigrants, in migrating outside their home countries. Given the dearth of literature framing North-South Euro-American migrants living and working in Senegal, this study is primarily qualitative and exploratory in nature.

Migrant motivations can be studied through a number of lenses. The first and foremost being the lens of migrants' themselves which I capture through grounded theory analysis of qualitative in-depth interviews with North-South migrants to understand their personal motivations and trajectories. The second lens is that of an outsider, an observer who may at best be informed of their social lives by observing their social activities from a distance. I use an ethnographic approach towards this end, reflecting upon my own lived experiences and interactions with such migrants as a member of the larger social group of expats in Dakar. The third lens belongs to members of the host population, who inadvertently are subject to the effects of North-South migration to Dakar, Senegal and also amongst themselves, have collective experiences of what South-North migration trajectories within their communities look like. Their lens has been captured through a series of informal interviews, ethnographic fieldwork and an in-depth semi-structured interview. I combine all three lenses to explore:

- the personal motivations of North-South migrants' in leaving their home countries
- the various aspects considered by them in deciding if and where to move
- the presence of those aspects in Senegal
- what Senegal as context has to offer that their home countries do not
- what their actual journeys looked like in terms of preparation, experience of border zones, migration regulations and bureaucracy
- whether or not the personal motivations were satisfied/met through life in Senegal
- other interesting themes that emerge from their life in Senegal that may have a bearing on their motivations to migrate to and/or remain in the host country.

The above-mentioned angles of enquiry served as points of departure for most data collection as part of this research, using a combination of ethnography and a grounded theory approach. The following sections detail the nature of chosen methods to demonstrate their suitability for this research.

A Grounded Theory Approach

Grounded Theory as an inductive research methodology allows the researcher to set out with a research interest and set of general concepts as a point of departure. "Even the research question is no permanent fixture in grounded theory. Simply serving to identify the phenomenon we wish to study at the outset, the research question becomes progressively focused throughout the research process" (Willig 2013). Thus, the research question is always framed broadly at the outset - by identifying and describing the phenomenon to be studied, ideally without incorporating any assumption.

As an area with much theorizing yet to be done, there can be a number of interesting issues and dimensions that may arise during the course of data collection. While it would not be possible to deal with all of them in depth, I prefer not to block or limit their emergence in the data. Alternatively, I would like to retain the flexibility of molding the research question and direction depending on the frequency and prominence with which different issues and/or dimensions appear in the data.

In the grounded theory approach, as data collection and analysis proceed, the researcher narrows the research question based on emerging trends, patterns and issues. In other words, findings and observations from this process feed into refinement of the research question. The direction and scope of research is constantly re-worked based on what emerges from the data, as opposed to the researcher's ideas of how the findings should flow and "to avoid importing existing theory into the analysis" (Willig 2013, 70). It is for this reason that the grounded theory approach is suitable for this research – because as a methodology, it emphasizes generation of theory from data, as opposed to testing theory through data generated.

As mentioned in the previous sections, I do come in with strong de-colonial motives on why I am conducting this research. These lend not only theoretical dispositions to my research, but are also shaped by my assumptions and biases. Working with my assumptions may run contrary to the spirit of grounded theory research as it biases and limits what the data says and what the researcher hears. Using grounded theory as an approach is thus a means of constantly balancing and challenging my biases and to avoid them dominating the research frame – not putting them aside altogether – with the hope of being able to see something of the bigger picture. Like many others may have done before me, I argue as well that research can never be completely unbiased or subjective. It seems futile to shut these down as a researcher. Instead, it is more fruitful to acknowledge, record and engage with my subjectivity through the course of research.

As "Grounded theory is primarily a method of data analysis" (Charmaz and Belgrave 2012, 347), it does not determine data collection methods to be employed as much as it informs them. In other words, grounded theory analysis goes hand-in-hand with qualitative data collection methods. As mentioned previously, qualitative interviews will be used to generate data that will then be analyzed using a grounded theory approach. In this case, the research design is centered around North-South migrant motivations as an area of interest. The points of departure include a wide range of concepts as mentioned in the previous section - the breadth of scope allowing for flexibility in the nature of issues to be identified in narrative interviews with primary respondents i.e. North-South migrants. This is in line with Charmaz who writes that, "Grounded theory interview questions need to be sufficiently general to cover a wide range of experiences and narrow enough to elicit and explore the participant's specific experience" (Charmaz and Belgrave 2012, 351), which served as a guiding principle in the formation of research tools in this study.

In grounded theory research, once the first round of data is collected, analysis primarily takes place through three processes - coding, memo writing and constant comparative analysis. There are different methods of coding. The method most relevant to this research is focused coding, which can be defined as "taking earlier codes that continually reappear in your initial coding and using those codes to sift through large amounts of data" (Charmaz 1996, 40). Apart from making large amounts of data more manageable, coding also helps the researcher "to learn the unstated or assumed meanings" (Charmaz 1996, 34-35) of participants' responses as it involves constantly questioning the data to understand the respondent's process of meaning-making, among other things.

Constant comparative analysis and memo writing are processes that go hand-in-hand. The former refers to the procedure of comparing emerging categories and codes across respondents' statements, within the same respondent's statements but at different points in time and/or identifying relations between categories and codes themselves (Charmaz 1996, 44). The relations between different categories, subcategories and respondents' statements are recorded through a procedure called memo-writing, as are any trends or patterns being observed in relation. Memo-writing simply refers to act of recording any thoughts, findings or developments in this regard. These notes or memos slowly start to form the intermediary between coding and written drafts. For the purpose of this study, the researcher will maintain a dedicated memo diary wherein details of codes, categories, their similarities, differences, meanings, patterns and occurrences will be

recorded. Memo-writing helps give shape to any emerging theory by finding linkages between categories and codes in the data. Together, these processes of analysis allow for refinement of the research question, aim and direction during the course of data collection, which would then feed into successive stages of data collection – in this case, the second round of qualitative semi-structured interviews with primary respondents. This feature of grounded theory research helps move towards a more bottom-up manner of defining an area of inquiry.

As a methodology for novice researchers, grounded theory can be challenging to carry out. Its successful application rests firmly on the researcher's ability to set aside her personal lens during analysis, and especially during the critical process of coding. This is no easy feat, especially when research stems from a personal space. I had to constantly strive to avoid influencing responses generated in all research-related interactions. This was most challenging in spontaneous interactions, and not as much during the coding process when I had both the time and space to mentally prepare myself.

Ethnography

Bryman describes ethnography as "the extended involvement of the researcher in the social life of those he or she studies" (Bryman 2012, 431). As the researcher would fall under the same broad category of 'expats' in Senegal, ethnography as an approach and method is a natural fit for this research. Being embedded in the same larger culture being studied can be helpful in data collection as access to spaces frequented by the potential research subjects is easier and would seem natural. Due to my previous sojourns in Dakar, I was familiar with key locations and public social spaces frequented by Euro-American expats such as gyms, beaches, recreational and physical exercise classes (e.g. yoga, mixed martial arts, social dancing, etc.). As Dakar is famous for its cultural activity and nightlife, there are also restaurants, cafes, cultural institutions (e.g. Institut Francais du Senegal) and popular weekend getaways (e.g. Ngor, Goree, Lac Rose, Saly Portudal, St.Louis) that can provide suitable spaces for ethnographic fieldwork.

As the research time frame is less than a year - closer to two months in fact - this research would qualify as a 'mini-ethnography' (Fusch, Fusch and Ness 2017, 925). Fusch et al provide a list of methods of data collection in mini-ethnographies, whose varied nature can be useful for triangulation purposes. They include "fieldwork (Dennism 2010; Jackson, 1990) with direct observation (Gordon, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Salem, 2008), a focus group (Packer-

Muti, 2010), a reflective journal (Sangasubana, 2011), and unstructured interviews (Bernard, 2010; Blow, Sprenkle, & Davis, 2007; Rubin & Rubin, 2012)".

All four methods are useful in this case. As part of fieldwork, direct observation could be used to observe daily, routinized and mundane activities of the social group being studied, with the aim of gathering information on trends or patterns with respect to their lifestyles, social behavior and dynamics with local population in non-work social settings. It makes sense to employ this method early in the research, prior to formal and informal interviews, as a means of familiarization with the social group's lifestyle, culture, behavior, etc. This would also contribute to the refinement of research tools (e.g. interview schedule) and eventually, data gathered through interviews on aspects such as the degree or extent of North-South migrants' integration and nature of interaction with the local population. As this method is often employed spontaneously, the mode of observation and level of disclosure by the researcher in any setting can be tailored to the respective public/social setting where the opportunity for such observations has arisen. At times, this may be non-participant (e.g. observing North-South migrants and the company they keep at a concert) and at times, participant (e.g. observing casual dinner conversations with North-South migrants friends at a popular restaurant).

Informal interviews and focus group discussions with both locals and North-South migrants are useful in that they lead to a collective analysis and discussion of emerging trends or patterns. Informal interviews and focus group discussions that take place during ethnographic fieldwork can largely be unstructured and spontaneous in nature. They would entail sparking dialogue on various themes relevant to the research (e.g. through questions like, 'can expats be called migrants?', 'what makes Senegal an attractive destination?') and seeing what responses are given, and in which direction the conversation flows.

A very useful process in ethnographic research is *member checking,* which involves clarifying the meaning of assumed concepts or universals with participants (through questions such as 'do you mean this?') (Carlson, 2010 in Fusch, Fusch and Ness 2017, 928). This process is useful in reducing misinterpretations, and improving the quality of data collected by asking participants to confirm the meaning of their responses. It also helps the researcher identify differences in conceptual understanding, interpretations, personal lenses, etc. and in this manner, helps researchers acknowledge any existing variations in the data. This process can be employed

during the entire phase of data collection – as part of interviews done with a ground theory approach and from an ethnographic approach.

One challenge that comes with ethnographic fieldwork - especially in settings such as the beach, restaurants, concerts and cafes – is not getting carried away while participating in a variety of social situations and ensuring the necessary presence of mind to identify, record and/or retain relevant data being shared. Maintaining field journals are useful to mitigate this. A field journal would contains all observations, description of events and behaviors, initial reflections and subjective feelings, opinions and assumptions, which can be noted at the soonest possible time after a session of direct observation, informal interviews or focus group discussions. Everything that is noticed and observed, and that could be of relevance to the research, should be recorded to allow for analysis for more varying data. The field journal can also be used to record daily reflections - theoretical, conceptual or political in nature, along with any research ideas to supplement the final writing process.

In addition to counteracting the limitation of not being able to record data spontaneously during participant observation, the field journal also serves as a space for delineating the researcher's subjective thought processes from the analysis of data. In ethnography and especially in direct observation, the researcher is both the instrument of data collection and medium through which the data is transmitted. Naturally, data transmitted through the researcher will be subject to/filtered through the researcher's lens. While complete objectivity is not possible, it is critical that the researcher is constantly aware of his/her positioning during data collection and analysis. In the words of Fields and Kafai (2009), "The better a researcher is able to recognize his/her personal view of the world and to discern the presence of personal lenses, the better on is able to hear and interpret the behavior and reflections of others." (Fusch, Fusch and Ness 2017, 925) (Jackson 1990). Consistent reflection and to a larger extent the methodological triangulation, when employed, should help manage the validity and reliability of ethnographic data collected.

Data Collection

In this research, I relied on a multi-method approach using a broad range of sources to generate qualitative data in an exploratory manner. These helped contribute depth to this research on the motivations of North-South migrants in leaving their home countries and migrating to Dakar, Senegal. In this section, I will briefly encapsulate how the data collection phase unfolded and reflect upon the limitations, challenges and caveats in the process.

The two main modes of data collection involved ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth qualitative interviews with a set of 4-6 respondents consisting of North-South Euro-American migrants and 1 Senegalese respondent as member of the local population.

Ethnographic Fieldwork

Ethnographic fieldwork was something I delved into immediately upon arrival in Dakar in March 2019. This consisted of engaging in direct observation in spaces visited by me during the course of my daily non-research routine activities (e.g. yoga, dance and French classes; grocery shopping; embassy visits; social gatherings; etc.). In fact, the spontaneity of my everyday interactions proved to be a rich body of data as they helped me pick up on information that may have been difficult to obtain through formal interviews. For example, even simple interactions that entailed introducing myself and the purpose of my visit to Senegalese (being this research) provided insights into how unexpected the idea of viewing expats as migrants was for both expats and locals alike. It also provided the space and time for me to consciously observe how I as a foreigner was perceived by the host community.

As part of direct observation, I often relied on the 'hanging-out methodology'. Wherever I felt that disclosure of my identity and/or research area could influence the spontaneity of conversations at hand, I chose to either avoid disclosing this completely or do so partially at an appropriate point in the conversation. At times, I chose to employ a predetermined identity to gain full membership to a group or social situation, and thereby control reactivity. For example, instead of saying I was visiting Dakar to conduct research, I would say I am on vacation.

Perhaps the most common ethical dilemma that comes with ethnographic work is the issue of consent. This is directly related to disclosure of research motives, as the agency to participate in the research (whether as someone being observed or as someone being spoken to) is directly premised upon this. However, as this research is political and de-colonial in motivation and nature, one of its primary aims is also to engage with the discursive work being done by a North-South migrants during the course of their migration. This is best captured in spontaneous and natural settings, as any other way could result in reactivity on part of the respondents. To balance the ethical ramifications of partial or non-disclosure of research motives in ethnographic fieldwork, I am conscious of using data gathered in a way that does not identify my subjects or pose direct and tangible to their person and well-being. In situations where individuals would share personal

details that shed light on their own migrant trajectories, I tried to reveal some aspects of my identity and research in order to minimize deception and create a space for informal consent in direct interactions.

As part of direct observation, I also made dedicated visits to public spaces frequented by Dakar's expats such as selected beaches, restaurants, cafes and clubs – most of which are situated in the northern part of town where there is a concentration of expat residences and international organizations' offices. As someone who had lived in Dakar, Senegal previously – I was familiar the social preferences of expats[14]. However, the downside of regular access to these places comes in the form of monetary constraints as being present and interacting in each of these sites would involve either membership costs or costs associated with dining and drinking. In order to mitigate this, I would plan and budget for a set number of social activities each week for research purposes solely, and had a general spending limit for each time I went out.

Another challenge I frequently ran into during non-participant observation was being constantly approached by men in my surroundings. As a young female seated alone and keenly observing her surroundings, I suppose I may have come across as ready to mingle. The fact that Senegal has a strong culture of greeting all those around you did not make it any easier for me to avoid direct interactions with individuals in my surroundings. Oftentimes, I found myself caught in the uncomfortable situation of not wanting disclose why exactly I wanted to be seated by myself as opposed to going out for a drink or dinner to the gentleman who had approached me. At one point, I remember feeling so frustrated at having been consecutively interrupted that I almost gave up on the idea of non-participant direct observation altogether!

All of the above-mentioned settings offered ample opportunity for collecting data through observation and informal discussions with North-South migrants, other expats and members of the local population given my positionality in the field as an 'expat' and 'migrant' as well. All my findings were recorded writing, in a field journal, either during observation or at the earliest opportunity after observation. These interactions were valuable as they contributed to the refinement of research tools and sampling efforts. They were indicative of general trends and patterns in social behaviors of expats, particularly Euro-American migrants and have considerably informed the research findings. Most importantly, however, I capitalized on these interactions and

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[14] I have included more reflections on this in the 'Analysis & Findings' section.

settings as a means of supplementing, expanding and challenging the data that came out of my qualitative in-depth interviews, which were limited due to the nature and size of sample adopted.

Sampling

This research employed non-probability sampling strategies, including purposive and convenience sampling, with the aim of creating a sample that allows me to investigate my research area in-depth. Bearing in mind the limitations of time and the fact that I would be conducting at least two interviews with each respondent who is a North-South migrant, a sample size of 4-6 respondents was fixed. A smaller sample size allowed me to focus on the quality of data being generated instead of amount.

As part of purposive sampling, my aim was to gather respondents from different nationalities and professions. Of these, at least 01 respondent was to be of French nationality as Senegal is a Francophone country with a relatively higher French population among all foreign nationals. The only statistical source[15] I could find as part of my preliminary research, and that confirmed the previous statement, was a 2017 compilation of international migrant stock numbers by the Population Division, UNDESA (2017). This source is both incomplete and unreliable as immigrant numbers are missing (and possibly inaccurate) for most European-sending countries, and so I have used it indicatively only. The other factor I tried to ensure while sampling was that there would be an equal sex ratio within the sample, which was easily achieved. Given the limited scope of this research, it was not possible to adopt a sample (large enough) to reach data saturation[16]. Yet even as an exploratory and grounded research, I attempted to include the widest range of experience possible between all respondents wherever possible.

As part of convenience sampling, primary respondents i.e. North-South Euro-American migrants, for this research were identified through previously established social networks. It involved reaching out to old friends and reconnecting with acquaintances to seek them out as potential gatekeepers or 'fixers'. This method proved successful as three of the primary respondents of this study were identified via snowball sampling. All of them hold either French or American nationality, and in one case – both. As I had spent time in Dakar, Senegal previously as well – I tapped into

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[15] I did attempt to obtain international migrant stock numbers from respective EU and North American Embassies present in Dakar, Senegal via e-mail. However, I have not received any official responses yet.

[16] 2015. Anderson, Claire and Kirkpatrick, Susan. *Narrative Interviewing* in *International Journal of Clinical Pharmacy.* Vol 38, Issue 3.

my social circles and requested to be put in touch with North-South migrants who would be willing to be part of this research. The fourth respondent was a good friend, who I requested to be part of this research. What piqued my interest in his migration trajectory was a statement he once made in casual conversation – "I'm really just an economic refugee here!" It therefore makes sense to say that his interview was a result of purposive sampling, as his was a perspective and story that I was very keen on capturing.

Below is a table containing their basic demographic details:

Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	Occupation	Marital & Familial Status	Migrated from	In Dakar since
Chad	36	Male	American	Journalist	Unmarried	USA, Mali	2011
Fatouma	34	Female	French, Malian	Communications Officer	Married + 1 infant	France	2015
Mary	44	Female	American, French	International School Teacher	Married + 1 child	USA	2017
Michael	41	Male	American	International School Teacher	Unmarried	USA	2014

This is perhaps a caveat in my sampling methods as all of my North-South migrant respondents are individuals who find this research interesting. They work in the fields of international education, media and journalism and the development sector, and are thus well-aware and at times even critical of public discourses on migration. In this sense, the larger political and ideological frameworks within which they operate resonate with mine. Existing literature points to the ideological variations of expatriates to do with migration based on their occupation and the significance of its legacy in former colonies. For example, Fetcher and Walsh refer to how a study by "Rogaly and Taylor examine[s] how ideological continuities matter for former military expatriates, more specifically in their views on migration into the UK and the resulting ethnic and cultural diversity" (Fechter and Walsh 2010, 1205). Having designed this as an exploratory and qualitative research, my aim is not to be representative. While the nature of this sample has no bearing on the validity of findings obtained, it must be highlighted that findings presented here can be further expanded and enriched through engagement with respondents who occupy a different ideological space.

This research also has one secondary respondent – a Senegalese member of the local population – with whom an in-depth semi-structured interview was conducted. He was the fifth and final respondent, who was identified through convenience sampling as well as he was one of the only Senegalese people I knew who was fluent in English. He had also been a South-North migrant in earlier phases of his life and was now settled back in Dakar, Senegal. This made him an interesting respondent. A limitation of our engagement was that he agreed to one formal interview, and not two. Ideally, I was hoping to have at least two secondary respondents spread across professions in an international institution or company, a Senegalese institution or company, and/or self-employment. Although not the primary subjects of this research, their responses are necessary to counteract any bias and integrate aspects of North-South migration that are relevant to the local population but may or may not necessarily be reflected in the primary respondents' interviews. As I was unable to identify another Senegalese person who was both fluent in English and willing to participate in this research, I could not achieve this target. Alternatively, I tried to compensate for this through the course of my ethnographic fieldwork where I was able to speak about my research to some members of the local population in casual conversation (and using very basic French). Nonetheless, I perceive this as another caveat in my data and sample, as there is a lack of comparable perspectives from Senegalese people who have not migrated at all.

Qualitative Interviews & the Grounded Theory Approach

The primary respondents of this research where interviewed twice using narrative techniques and semi-structured interview schedules. The first interview was a narrative interview that started with a formal introduction of the researcher and research subject. At this stage, respondents were given basic details about the nature and method of this research, contained within the Informed Consent and Confidentiality form (*enclosed herewith as Annexure A*) shared beforehand. The political, de-colonial or personal motivations framing this study were not disclosed in this form in order to minimize reactivity, misrepresentation or any biases by way of the researcher's influence on respondents. Explicit consent was obtained at the time of sampling to audio record and transcribe the interviews. Participants were assured that any audio recordings will only be accessible by the researcher and will be for purposes of analysis and transcription only. At no point did I obtain consent to publish / release in public domain the audio recording itself. However, the consent and confidentiality form explicitly stated that data gathered from these interviews can be used in current and future research and for publication, provided all identifying details are kept confidential.

In keeping with the principles of grounded theory research, my narrative interviews involved fewer and broader points of discussion. Respondents were provided with a flash card listing 5-6 points that they were requested to include in their narrative (*enclosed herewith as Annexure B*). As the respondent-researcher relationship was still fresh at this point, I focused on using this time to listen and build a rapport. The narrative-style interview helped limit the number or degree of personal questions I asked at this first meeting. Additionally, prior to each interview, I informed the respondents that as a researcher, I would be asking them a variety of questions – some questions might sound very obvious whilst others might be more personal. In either case, they were free to not answer any questions that they felt uncomfortable with.

The aim of this interview was to generate a narrative which provides an overview of the respondents' motivations to migrate, migration trajectory and life post-migration in the host context i.e. Dakar, Senegal. Through this narrative interview, respondents had the freedom and/or flexibility to dwell upon instances, factors or concepts that were most relevant to them. A few follow-up questions were asked based on initial observations but the discussion time for these was limited to 30 minutes post the main interview. An conscious attempt was made to use participants language, terminology and phrasing to enquire further. The narrative interviews lasted for 40-90 minutes, excluding follow-up questions. At the end of the interview, respondents were given the space to debrief if they needed to after which, I would inform them of the next steps from my side i.e. transcription, analysis, a second semi-structured interview and sharing of the preliminary analysis to facilitate member-checking.

Once audio notes from the narrative interviews were transcribed, my initial analysis included identification of categories through coding and their constant comparison to other respondents' to track variations across the data for each category. Many themes and areas of enquiry emerged from this process, and these were duly recorded in a Master Interview Schedule (*enclosed herewith in Annexure C*) which worked as a supplement in the creation of customized semi-structured interview schedules. My personal observations were also recorded through memo-writing, as well the process of development of categories. Although this was my first time using grounded theory as a method of analysis, I attempted to employ theoretical sensitivity at this stage i.e. engaging with the data to counteract "any homogenizing impulse" and investigate meanings that I may take for granted. Findings from this first analysis - however dense or descriptive - were then be used to create a customized interview schedules for the second interview. Questions

therein were often finer and more focused with the aim of exploring emerging themes, concepts, gaps and contradictions (if any).

Thus, the second interview was more of a semi-structured interview and less of a narrative interview. The aim at this point was to dig deeper into aspects that the respondent may have glossed over, missed out on or not mentioned due to reasons such as (but not limited to) hesitation, discomfort, lack of trust, etc. Usually by the second meeting, the researcher-respondent relationship had progressed in terms of levels of comfort and trust. I also used the second interview to:

1) allow for any corrections, explanations or clarifications to be offered by the respondent. I usually did this through the process of member checking. Selected questions within my interview schedule were confirmatory in nature i.e. they were repetitive in nature to confirm whether my understanding of respondents' narratives were accurate or not. At the beginning of each semi-structured interview, I informed respondents that some of my questions may feel repetitive, and that this was to ensure that I was not bringing in my preconceived notions and assumptions into the analysis of their interviews. This usually helped a lot, as they cooperated and answered all my repetitive questions very well.

2) share and revisit transcripts from the first narrative interview to identify any details that respondents would, in hindsight, like to be anonymized, edited or removed. Two respondents had changes to make in the transcript.

3) create a space for discussion post the interview, wherein I would share my preliminary analysis from the respondent's interview and other interviews (this was something all my respondents were eager to learn more about);

4) allow for respondents to review their consent.

The idea of a second interview falls in line with grounded theory's thrust on achieving theoretical sensitivity by seeking negative cases and ensuring enough conversation and questioning goes into development of categories from the data "without [the researcher] taking of[f] on theoretical flights of fancy"[17]. Audio notes from this interview will also be transcribed and analyzed using ground theory as a method, as explained in the previous sections.

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[17] Charmaz, Kathy (1990) in 1996. Charmaz, Kathy. *The search for meanings – Grounded Theory.* In J.A. Smith, R. Harre & L. Van. Langenhove (Eds.), Rethinking Methods in Psychology. Sage Publications: London. Page 37.

The only significant challenge I faced in this phase of data collection was the management of time. It took me the better part of March to identify and confirm respondents. With the first two respondents, our interview dates got postponed 2-3 times as they were often busy, had last minute work that they needed to attend to or were out of town. Both my female respondents had families including children and this made it more challenging for them to find time sooner than later. Both my male respondents, although single and without families, were often traveling or working. Ironically, Chad who was my housemate was the hardest to get hold of even though we lived under the same roof! He was meant to be my first (and pilot) respondent but ended up being my last as travel for work often kept him out of the country. As a result, my data collection ended in mid-May, almost a month later than what I had planned. A minor limitation throughout the entire data collection was my inability to speak French. Although I overcame this to a certain extent after one month, I could not engage with members of the local population as eloquently on my research subject as I wanted to. I was however able to have some interesting conversation in the course of my ethnographic fieldwork, which I will reflect upon later.

ANALYSIS & FINDINGS

As part of this research, I conducted in-depth narrative interviews followed by semi-structured interviews with 04 North-South migrants based in Dakar, Senegal; they constitute the primary respondents of this research. In the first stage of analysis, I look at how their individual trajectories unfold and analyze their motivations to migrate outside their home countries, their choice of Senegal as a destination country, their ease of mobility, and corresponding shifts in their quality of life post-migration to Dakar, Senegal that may have a bearing on their initial motivations to leave and/or on their motivations to stay. I analyze each of their stories with respect to their socio-economic backgrounds, nationality and professional fields. In the second stage of analysis, I use the technique of Constant Comparative analysis from the grounded theory approach to detect patterns, parallels, tensions and divergences between their trajectories.

Borrowing from my ethnographic field diary, I reflect upon my interactions with members of the local population to analyze the conflicts and convergences between the discursive practices coming from the local population and from the North-South migrants themselves throughout. The following sections will also include an analysis of an in-depth semi-structured interview conducted with a Senegalese respondent to understand a little of how North-South migrants may be perceived by the local population. Through the analysis are also included my personal observations, experiences and reflections over a period of 4 months, that hold direct relevance to this research, as have been recorded in a personal diary during the research period.

SUBJECTS OF THIS STUDY

1. Chad[18]: "An Economic Migrant"

Chad is a 36-year old American journalist who hails from Iowa, United States of America. After completing his Bachelor degree, he worked as a photographer for a newspaper agency near his hometown. He then decided to do a Master degree in Journalism from New York. After completing this, Chad did not want to report in USA. He wanted to work outside the USA. West Africa was not necessarily on his mind, but the idea of leaving definitely was.

At the time, he was dating a French girl. She worked in the development sector and was moving to Dakar, Senegal for an internship. Chad describes her as the catalyst that led to him moving out

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[18] Name has been anonymized upon request of the respondent, as has been the name of his organization.

of his home country - *"So I said why not? I didn't speak French but I had to go somewhere. So that was that."* [02:55]. Given his profession, he would be able to freelance wherever she went, or at least that was *"the plan"*. In other words, it can be said that Chad's profession and educational background made up a form of capital that not only enhanced his mobility but also created possibilities for him to work towards *"economic autonomy"* wherever he moved.

After three years in Dakar, Chad migrated to Haiti when his ex-girlfriend received a job there. When their relationship ended in Haiti, Chad decided to return to West Africa – except this time he went to Bamako, Mali – as he liked the region and he liked working in it. However, from Mali, he eventually chose to migrate back to Senegal because:

> *"…it was a good base from which to work throughout West Africa and not only did I like it, it made more professional sense because by that point I learned French and it's where I was more marketable. I could effectively cover all of West and Central Africa speaking English and French. And my contacts were here, people I knew were here. I had an expertise in the region by that point and I could have a comfortable life here. Cost of living is relatively low... and Dakar is… has the amenities necessary to – well maybe not everything, but it is a comfortable life here. Whereas Bamako, things were a bit tougher there."*
> [04:20 and 5:42]

In Chad's case, he migrated to Senegal twice. The first time, the choice of destination was based on his partner's professional opportunities. The second time, he actively chose Senegal based on the professional opportunities, networks, and lifestyle that Senegal had to offer. As a 'mobile professional' for his first three years in Dakar, he was able to build enough networks and create a niche for himself within his field. He shares,

> *"…then once I started working a bit, getting fluency in the language and the culture, [learning] how things work here, then..[…].. the more solicited you become. So people knew I was here. People knew that I could work and I started working with other organizations, like little jobs ..[…].. And I moved on to a point where I would make longer films for NGOs and foundations and organizations whose work more resembled journalism than development..[…].. like longer-term projects that I found very gratifying..[…].. It wasn't to get funding for essentially fraud development*

projects. So like little by little, I started working towards those kind of jobs which I like doing. But yeah, it's something I worked towards and developed a reputation."
- [29:28]

And so in a sense, Chad was able to find the professional gratification that he sought outside his home country, USA. In fact some of his first assignments in Dakar were with American news organizations such the New York Times and Voice of America. Another aspect that simultaneously pulled Chad to Dakar and away from the United States was the low cost of living in Dakar. Most cities in the United States that could offer him meaningful work would require a bigger percentage of his income to be spent on subsistence costs like rent, utilities, etc. A low cost of living in Dakar meant he could pay back both students loans – for his Bachelor and Master degree – within a span of 6 years, much more quickly than would have been possible in the United States. He has now started savings towards his retirement.

Chad did not seem keen to move back to the United States at all. He gives a few reasons for this though the one that emerged most strongly in his narrative was his contempt for the current regime in the United States. He says:

"I don't see myself as a patriotic person. I was always very very critical of my country.[…]. I have a really hard time accepting flaws in the US.[…]. I can accept them elsewhere like here. Like I said, there are parts of Senegalese society that are sexist, what I feel are outmoded or traditional to the detriment of societal interests, but I have an easier time accepting it here without being frustrated. I'm frustrated by the US and Americans to a point where it could be damaging to my well-being, my psychological well-being, to live there. Especially now since – well since November 2016. When I go back to the US, I get the sensation that I'm surrounded by like potential enemies. It feels like conditions for civil conflict and like I'm surrounded by people that would engage in ideological warfare."

His reasons for not returning to the USA are thus strongly political as they are economical. In terms of the latter, living in the United States would have meant being "a dime a dozen" professionally and therefore an anticipated lack of job satisfaction. It would also have meant a lower level of disposable income due to the higher cost of living and as mentioned above, this

would have led to him experiencing heightened levels of economic vulnerability and stress from having to pay back his students loans.

Chad is an example of someone whose trajectory corresponds with economic migration. Without having identified economic opportunities beforehand, he made the decision to migrate out of his home country. His thinking being that instead of living as an average visual journalist in USA, he could capitalize on his skills and create more professional agency in a context where the market wasn't as saturated. What this move both imaginable and possible for him was the economic fallback, the safety net he had in his family. He was also dependent on his ex-girlfriend and her father until he could find his feet in Senegal.

Throughout his trajectory, borders or border-zones did not seem to be a barrier or factor warranting much consideration. He says, *"I was basically a… an economic migrant"* [41:32]. But he was an economic migrant in a country with porous borders i.e. visa-free entry for up to 90 days for American nationals. He was aware of this privilege and was very frank about using it to his advantage, in the following extract:

> *"Have I also had conversations with disgruntled Senegalese people who have been refused visas to US, to Europe saying, "Oh how can you be here without any problem and I can't go to your country"? I guess I say – I basically say what I just told you, "I can be here because your government wants me here. Like I'm not saying it's fair, that you shouldn't be able to go where I am or where I'm from. It's just - that's the way it is. I come here because I like the pace of living here, I like working here, it's interesting. I don't really want to live in the US and yeah, I mean I have the privilege to come here. But I exercise, I benefit from the privilege that I'm afforded. If you don't like that fact that I'm here, then take it up with your government.""* – Chad [50:48]

As a freelancing journalist, Chad managed to reside in Dakar, Senegal for almost 6-7 years through visa-runs or visa extensions but without a residence permit . As of last year, he obtained a residence permit as he took on a full-time job as a local hire with an international news agency in the city.

2. Fatouma[19]: A North-South and South-North Migrant

Fatouma is a 34-year old Malian-French lady, whose trajectory is interesting as it involves both South-North migration at an early age followed by North-South migration in adulthood. Born and raised in Mali till age 5, Fatouma shared that in 1991 a coup d'état in Mali resulted in the overthrow of the President. Schools and other public institutions regularly went on strike and because of the resulting instability, Fatouma's mother decided to migrate with her children to Paris, France where Fatouma's grandmother had been living. Fatouma eventually acquired French nationality and been living in France until 2015. Thus, Fatouma's South-North migration was the result of political stressors and instability, and her family's migration was aided by social capital in the form of 'personal network' or 'social ties' within in the destination country (Baizán and González-Ferrer 2016).

As a student of International Studies in France, Fatouma shares that she always wanted to work abroad and "explore new horizons". Her ambition to work internationally was re-affirmed after a short one-month internship with an international organization[20] in Mauritania in 2008-2009, which she shared was challenging to obtain as it was a highly competitive process. But even when she got there, she had to sustain herself and cover her own travel expenses as the internship was completely unpaid. During university, she worked fulltime as a hostess at a restaurant. Her income from this job helped her pay her bills during studies and it helped her build enough savings to take the internship opportunity when it came. Even with this, she could only sponsor herself for one month in Mauritania, after which she returned to France.

After Mauritania, Fatouma was interested in going back to West Africa or other parts of the world. From France, she had had the opportunity to travel back to Mali visit her father (who had remained there) a number of times. Given her connection to the place, Mali was one of Fatouma's first preferences as a destination to move to for work though despite her efforts, she was unable to land a job to work there.

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[19] Name has been anonymized upon request of the respondent. This respondent requested that the name and nature of her organization's work not be disclosed. Consent has been obtained for the content and form of all references to her workplace. She also requested that no demographic details of her family be provided, especially her husband – apart from reference to his occupation and wherever necessary, reference to interactions with the local Senegalese population for purpose of this research.
[20] The same organization would offer her a job in Dakar, Senegal almost 8-9 years later.

In 2015, she received an email from a roster she had applied to years ago and had even forgotten about – stating that she was one of three candidates selected for an interview for a position in Dakar. At the time, she was married and had just finished her studies. She was working with an organization in France, but this was not "the final job" she wanted to do, as "you do more administrative work and it's kind of frustrating working for causes in Africa and being in France you know…". In other words, Fatouma aspired for a better professional life as compared to what she had and could find in France at the time. When I asked Fatouma what were some of the things she considered before responding to the job offer, she said:

> *"I almost said no! Because the thing is that before getting married – I told you, ever since 2008-09 after my Mauritania experience, I wanted to come, to go abroad and nothing came out. I even got an opportunity..[…].. but it was still in France so I said okay, the fortune doesn't want me to go… so… and then when I settled, get married, almost 10 years after – I get this offer and I was like, 'Okay, this is funny. Now that I'm cool in France – I have a job, I have a husband, we just moved in – what's this?' And I almost said no, you know…"* [34:48, Narrative Interview]

In addition to the reasons mentioned above, Fatouma was sensitive to her husband's comfort and needs with respect to the idea of migrating. They had just settled down and he had an established network in France. But as a sports coach, his occupation is compatible with mobility and he felt like he could work in Senegal as well. He encouraged Fatouma to go ahead in the application process. Fatouma agreed to sit for the interview and was selected for the position of an international volunteer specialist with an international organization in Dakar, Senegal. At first, Fatouma describes her reasons to relocate as more professional than anything. Professionally, she wanted to do international work and discover the world. This position felt like getting her foot in the door, and getting closer to the kind of job that she eventually wanted for herself. Eventually, she also shared that on a personal level, she was curious to know "what was outside there". Financially, this move was a small upgrade from her position in France as the job paid slightly better.

Fatouma had visited Dakar, Senegal previously on vacation, to attend a Senegalese-French couple's wedding. She had seen the city and had an idea of what life there looked like. After speaking to many more friends, relatives and acquaintances about life in Dakar, she got the picture that rent and the cost of living could be both affordable and expensive, depending on one's

decisions. She decided to take the risk, she thought "it is still Africa so I'm sure, there is a possibility to find something not very expensive". She received a relocation allowance from her organization that helped her shift all her newly acquired belongings and furniture from France to Senegal. This way, they could rent an unfurnished apartment in Dakar which was significantly cheaper than a furnished one.

As she was on a volunteer contract, Fatouma explains that her position was not comparable to the typical expat relocating on an international work contract. While the perks were good, her spending capacity was not at par with most expats employed in organizations like hers. She was therefore always conscious of where and how she sought assistance in finding a home to rent. She ended up looking at over 30-40 apartments as property agents often showed her places that cost more what she was willing to pay after realizing she was an expat. Eventually, she was able to find a place for "very cheap" and this would later help expand their savings potential as a family.

Fatouma shared that she had initially planned on being here for one year, with her husband but they ended up staying for 3 years. Last year, her family grew as she had a child (although she did go to France to give birth). They are now entering their 4th year in Dakar, Senegal and they seem quite comfortable. As of now, Fatouma's contract with her organization and maternity leave has ended. She is unemployed and is considering whether or not she wants to resume working just yet, as her baby is still young and not even a year old.

As a French national migrating to Senegal on an international work contract, Fatouma faced no problems at the border. Residence permits were processed for her and her husband upon arrival and Fatouma was not obliged to visit the Immigration Bureau in Dakar, Senegal either. The entire process was handled by her organization. In any case, she states that for French people, it is not difficult at all to obtain a Residence Permit in Senegal.

Fatouma's case is also one of an economic migrant, as her migration was determined by a need to seek better employment. The difference between Fatema's and Chad's migration is that Fatema's trajectory was catalyzed by an employment opportunity from an international organization operating in the destination country, while Chad's trajectory was catalyzed by personal motivations with the aim of accessing better employment and livelihood. Perhaps this distinction in their migrations may lead some to categorize Fatema as a "highly skilled migrant". I choose not to use this term for reasons best described by some scholars, who consider this 'a

political category' as "the definition of highly skilled migrants depends more on how potential migrants are viewed by interest groups than on migrants' characteristics" (Hercog and Sandoz 2018, 453). This rings true for me as what determines the value of Fatema's skills between France and Senegal is not her characteristics but the needs and subsequent availability of human resources in both contexts.

3. Mary[21]: "Adulthood-Light"

Mary is an American Jewish national who originally hails from Wisconsin. She recently acquired French nationality after being in a domestic partnership and finally getting married to her French husband, Pierre. Mary had completed a Master degree for International school teachers from France, where she first developed an interest in teaching abroad. At the time she took up this programme, she had actually been living in France for two years with Pierre, who had moved there to see if he wanted to take over his father's farm. The idea was also for the both of them to try out life in France. However, it did not take too long for Mary to realise that she could not live in France. As she puts it:

"…after two years, I started to realize that my employment possibilities were nothing. There was another woman who was married to a Frenchman and had gotten divorced. And she had been working as an English teacher for like 7 years and she still didn't have a permanent contract! Which is what people want in France..[…].. what I realized after a few years was that it's really for French people to find jobs… and that foreigners… yeah… there was extraordinarily limited options for me – even as an English teacher!" [03:15]

Soon after completing her Master degree, she moved backed to USA. Pierre, who took a little while longer, moved back a year and a half later. For the next 10 years, they both lived in Washington D.C., USA where they had their daughter Alice. Both Mary and Pierre were public school teachers in USA, a life she describes as:

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[21] Name has been anonymized upon request of the respondent. This respondent requested that the name of her organization be kept confidential, along with names of her family members. These have all been anonymized. The respondent also narrated incidents to do with the well-being of children of diplomats – the details of which she has requested me to omit. Even though they are highly relevant to this research, any reference to these cases will be vague at bst.

"… status-wise, in the US being a public teacher – it's like being a golden retriever puppy. Like it's cute and it's heartwarming that people do that, but like it's not something people would want for themselves of their children." [1:29:20]

In USA, Mary states she was part of *"the struggling lower middle class".* As teachers for 10 years, Pierre and Mary had been working in really tough circumstances – in Title 1 and high poverty schools[22] that were under tremendous pressure to raise students' academic performances. In her school, she said *"…teacher morale is extremely low"* and they just felt like they really needed a change. In addition, they had been living in a suburb where they originally planned to be for only 1 years. Ten years down the line with Alice entering kindergarten, they felt like if they did not move soon, they would end up living there permanently which is something they did not want to do.

In fact, Mary and Pierre wanted to move to Maryland, USA but since it was challenging for them both to find jobs in Maryland at the same time, this would have been financially stressful. Interestingly, they said it was easier for them to move abroad as international school teachers than to move to Maryland, within the United States as public school teachers. Two summers before things really hit the roof at work, Mary had completed a professional development workshop where the saw the innovative things that were happening in international schools. This drew her towards teaching abroad.

As they decided on pursuing international teaching, they wanted to go someplace where they would have *"a better quality of life"*, which Mary later explained to be a better work-life balance. They thought that by moving to another country, they may not have *"the same personal life demands"* or *"the same family and social life commitments"*. For example, Mary shares that her father lives in a Nursing home in Chicago and whenever she had any time off, she would fly to Chicago to go meet him and *"those trips were always like pretty exhausting on a variety of different levels"*.

They were also very clear about what kind of context they were looking to move to. Some of the other factors that influenced their choice of destination are as follows:

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[22] For a brief description of Title 1 schools, refer to https://definitions.uslegal.com/t/title-1-school/

- *"…we did not want to go to like Saudi Arabia or different places where people live in like expat ghettos, totally cut off from..[…].. there it's not so much security but, I guess just the particularities of living there. They live in like an American neighborhood from the '50s, like a subdivision that's cut off from everything..[…].. and to me that sounds like a horrible nightmare! Like why would I go and live on the other side of the world to be in the kind of suburb I was trying to avoid anyway!"* [17:41 – 20:37]

- *"… we didn't want to go to Qatar or places where people go basically to just like, earn money and work… and like hang out with other Americans and like a smattering of other nationalities."* [17:59]

- *"… at that point, saving money was a priority but it wasn't our top priority. So we didn't want to go somewhere where we were going to end up having to spend money to survive. Because there are places, there are schools in Europe where that's the case – like you spend savings to be able to afford to live there. So we didn't want to do that."* [18:27]

- *"… I mean truly, there are schools that are in places that are like so insecure that people live in like a gated community, at the school and you don't live, don't leave and are there truly just to earn a tonne of money.. […].. I think Angola had a school like that"* [19:22 – 19:52]

They wanted to go someplace where they would could learn more about the local culture. This is also why Mary was interested in a country where she spoke the language, as this would allow her to experience more. They were both interested in francophone countries, as they were trying to raise their daughter Alice as bilingual. Pierre also *"felt connections that it's a former French colony"* while Mary *"felt connections in that a lot of African-Americans have roots in the Senegambia region because of slavery"*. Very importantly though, they both needed a school that had both of their positions available and *"that was of good quality"*. Their decision to migrate was thus well-thought out in detail and they were both clear about what they were looking for.

Mary and Pierre used an online platform called 'Search Associates' to tap into the international teaching job market. It involved filling out a dossier with their profiles and expressing interest in matching job opportunities. However, they actually got their job in Dakar, Senegal through a big job fair in Atlanta where the school that they were interested in was putting up a stall. Mary shares that after a catalytic negative incident took place at the school where she had been working in

mid-October 2016, she decided to start applying for new jobs! The job fair in Atlanta took place on December 6 that year which both Mary and Pierre attended. They sat for on-site interviews with this school only (and none others as this was the only one they were interested in) and a week later, they were both offered jobs. This means that they were able to take a decision to migrate abroad and secure a job in their desired destination country within a span of 8 weeks.

When they accepted the offer, they had about 7 months before they migrated to Senegal. Mary shared that their situation was so stressful, that the preparation process of migrating to a new country actually helped her psychologically get through the rest of the school year. At one point during the interview, Mary describes how often people living the expat lifestyle find it difficult to go back where they came from. With reference to the field of teaching, she says:

> *"… for teachers, the lifestyle is so much better than like being a public or private school teacher in the States. There are so many benefits and you really have a standard of living that you would never have as a teacher in the US. And so once you get used to that..[…].. people get used to the comforts that they would never have at home. The pay is frankly much better than what we would have at home. There's all kinds of benefits that wouldn't have at home and the teaching conditions in most cases are much better than you would have at home…"* [4:31 – 5:19]

She mentioned that moving to Dakar actually brought *"great savings potential"* and this was probably down to standard of the international school where they got offered the job:

> *"Once you get the job, the school really helps you a lot which is nice..[…]..Like the school gives you an apartment, they like handle everything for you. So honestly, settling in – the first couple of months were pretty fabulous. Like in some ways, being an international teacher is like Adulthood-Light – like you have a job and you have you family but the annoying parts of adult life, like having to take care of your place or having to cook and clean – that's taken care of for you..[…].. and there's a huge range of international schools and I would say the place we work at is probably in the top 25%. So it is, I think, fairly competitive to work here and the compensation package was actually much better than we had imagined."* [22:13 + 1:14:43]

While they did not decide to migrate because of the compensation package, it is definitely something that would keep them here longer. As employees of the school, Mary and Pierre did not have to worry about visa norms and regulations at all. The school processed all the paperwork needed to generate their Senegalese residence permits. Mary is sure that Senegal is just one chapter in their lives, and that they would definitely move back to USA because that's where they belong and it is where they can 'make a difference'. Mary and Pierre are hoping to have enough money for a down-payment on a house when they move back, and for their daughter's Bar Mitzvah ceremony. Having savings from Senegal would also hopefully make their transition to Maryland possible.

All in all, there were *"a mixture of push and pull factors"* at play that resulted in Mary and Pierre wanting to leave Washington D.C.. Interestingly, their North-South migration trajectory was preceded by an attempt at North-North migration which proved unsuccessful due to structural constraints presented by the labor market dynamics in France. It is also a means of eventually enabling internal migration within USA. From what Mary shared, their motivations to undertake North-South migration can largely be placed within the realms of lifestyle migration as Mary clearly states, they are seeking a better lifestyle and an environment where they could learn about a new culture. At this point, it is important to state that economic factors like an increased income and expanded savings potential, while not the primary push factors, are not separable from their aim of achieving a better quality of life (Knowles and Harper 2009, 11 in Benson and O'Reilly 2016, 24).

4. Michael[23]: "In an in-between Space"[24]

Michael is an American national who hails from Pennsylvania. One of the first times Michael felt motivated to travel was after dating a girl in high school who inspired him to live abroad. Whilst getting into student teaching, there was an opportunity to teach in London which he grabbed. He says, *"I would not have done it if it weren't for her"* as she planted that seed in his mind. He ended up going abroad a few more times thereafter. In 2007, he took a course in Prague on teaching English as a Foreign Language. He meant to use this skillset to travel and teach, but ended up

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[23] This is the only respondent who did not request me to anonymize any of his details. Therefore, everything presented in relation to him is genuine, and has been done so after obtaining explicit consent.
[24] Michael's interviews have been the most challenging for me to transcribe, as his motivations stem from a deeply personal space. While they are a reflection of larger social changes taking place in Western society and the world today, he is fiercely vocal about what these have meant for him in terms of life and living. As a result, my encapsulations of his motivations to leave USA are at best, incomplete and only indicative.

coming home after falling very ill. He never went abroad to teach English as he got comfortable in USA. Instead, he ended up joining a degree in Communication Theory and thereafter didn't feel a need to move.

There was a combination of factors that came together in making him decide that he needed to leave USA. There were major personal life events such as *"a major relationship change, [and] major job change which – the job change was completely unfair and was just a disaster in my life"*. At first he tried relocating to a place called Arcosanti in Arizona, which he described as *"a laboratory experimenting with ideas of a city"*. Over there he met someone who encouraged him to leave USA again, and go to South-East Asia. What compounded his emotional state at the time was a growing dissatisfaction with the state of society and social being where he was in USA. The seed was planted and Michael decided that leaving was the only way out. He shared:

> *"What made me want to leave my home country? I developed a lot of anxiety and what I would actually call paralysis. I became afraid to do anything. […]. I just felt that everything was extremely superficial..[…].. I felt that all communication operated as an advertisement, that it was 'I want something from you'. And if it wasn't that, then I felt that my presence with anyone was an inconvenience, and I felt 100% an inconvenience to almost everybody... I just felt invisible...I developed severe severe anxiety..[…].. [I felt] I just need to get out of this country. I can't be here, it's a nightmare."* [01:30 – 03:40]

At the time, Michael's brother and sister-in-law were residing in Dakar, Senegal. They knew he had *"hit rock bottom"* and so they offered to put him up for two months, to help him move on in life. He had a little bit of money saved, and could buy a plane ticket. Being completely done with life in USA, he decided he had nothing to lose. Had it not been for his brother and sister-in-law, Michael would probably never have thought of Senegal.

Within a week of arriving in Dakar, Senegal – Michael learned about the same international school that Mary works at and where most 'expat kids' study. As he had a teaching degree and had taught briefly between university, he emailed the school and got called for an interview immediately. Being new to international teaching at the time, Michael shares that:

"I became a substitute teacher there… and it was okay, and I was interested in it but I was also very unfamiliar with all of this. It was very different. It wasn't until I filled in full-time for 3 months for a teacher who was on maternity leave, that I just fell in love with it. So this is where I want to be, and I was lucky enough – by the end of that school year, somebody was leaving last minute and I was offered a position." [05:17]

He feels very thankful about how things worked out but also emphasizes that the job wasn't all that was keeping him in Senegal. Much of what he had missed or been discontented with in USA, he was able to find through life in Dakar. He felt that communication is real in Dakar, and the Senegalese culture is one that places high importance on greetings. At one point, he goes so far to say that *"...from my understanding, I've heard that Senegal believes it is a peaceful country because of these greetings".* Michael also appreciates Senegal as a place with oral culture, a place where elders matter, a place where there is trust and a larger sense of community that is missing where he comes from. He said *"I felt more of a human being here with strangers than I felt with people I knew back home. It was unbelievable, and that's when I felt I became visible."*

Michael earns less as a 'local hire' at the school as compared to, for example, Mary who is an international hire. He does not receive housing. His utilities are not paid for. He does not receive annual flight tickets to and from his home country. He did not receive a relocation allowance to cover expenses incurred while transporting his possessions to Senegal. He does not get any of these bonuses, as he was hired locally. Yet he feels happy as even this financial security is *"pretty amazing"*. He states, *"I am terrified of leaving a place that gives me peace of mind".* At multiple points in the interview, he reinforces that he has no desire to ever live in the United States again. Living in Dakar, he says:

"… I like this idea that I am in between choosing anything. That I am not Senegalese, I'm not exactly – like I'm afraid of becoming a typical expat teacher ..[…].. there's this nice place that I'm in that most people don't understand what that is. I can't tell anybody from back home about this." [46:12]

Michael is the only respondent who mentions experiencing the border-zone, albeit in faint and flexible form. Michael's arrival in Senegal coincided with the brief period when Senegal had re-introduced entry visas as a requirement. He had to renew his visa thrice, and after the third

renewal, the Senegalese government scrapped the entry visa requirement in a bid to boost tourism. When I asked him how the renewal process was, he revealed to me that he would actually get it renewed illegally through a cab driver he knew because he couldn't figure out how to navigate the actual legal process. Soon after his third renewal, Michael also got hired by the school, which has since handled all procedures related to his residence permit.

Michael's trajectory actually resulted from strong push factors, which were a combination of major life events and feelings of deep discontentment with the state of communication and social life in USA. He migrated to Dakar, Senegal without any expectations and his trajectory seems to have taken its own course after he arrived here. Much of what he says is keeping him here echoes Korpela's findings viewing lifestyle migration as a quest for 'authenticity', which she defines as "something genuine, true and original. This is usually seen in romantic terms; it often refers to an 'unspoilt' past in people's imagination" (Korpela 2010, 1302). In her study of Westerners in Varanasi, India, she argues that "the Westerners 'imagine' India according to their own needs." (Korpela 2010, 1299). This is somewhat applicable to Michael's case, although he often exercised self-reflexivity. He admitted that how he romanticizes life in Senegal may be problematic because *"this isn't a utopia, there is no utopia. It's just working for me right now for peace of mind and maybe that's a bit selfish…"*

CONSTANT COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

This section looks at emerging patterns or trends across all four respondents' interviews, and seek to identify variations, divergences and convergences with respect to dominant themes in this study.

Motivations to Migrate

All four respondents' motivations to migrate can be positioned between a search for better employment opportunities and a search for a better quality of life. The cases of Chad and Fatouma can be interpreted as falling closer to the former, while Mary and Michael clearly define their motivations in reference to achieving the latter. That being said, there are cross-cutting and overlapping elements in all their narratives that make it challenging to classify their trajectories as one or another form of migration. Rather, a number of lenses can be applied to de-construct them to understand them better.

One such lens involves understanding their motivations to emigrate as a result of events or aspects concerning their home countries. Both Michael and Chad, who are single, male US-Americans, strongly refer to this as part of what made them want to leave their home country. Their reasons revolved around the larger state of social and political affairs in US-American society at the time, such as the socio-economic setup and resulting barriers to accessing lucrative employment in the job market; a breakdown of culture and communication; a lacking sense of society; Donald Trump's regime and the intensified ideological warfare that it brought. In a sense, these are features or facets of life in USA that cannot be changed or challenged effectively by them. But were there alternate locations within the county where they might have sought insulation from these? Probably, and this was admitted by both Michael and Chad in their interviews at some point.

To a large extent, Mary and Pierre were also constrained by socio-economic barriers to accessing desirable employment opportunities as public school teachers in USA. However, contrary to Michael and Chad, their first preference was actually to migrate internally but interestingly, the international job market was more accessible and lucrative for them. Here it becomes important to return to the concept of 'geo-arbitrage'[25]. While describing her recruitment process, Mary stated that *"we both had really strong qualifications"* as an aspect that increased their possibilities of being hired internationally. This did not seem to be a decisive factor in their possibilities of finding work internally, within USA. Further analysis on this concept will appear in subsequent sections.

In comparison to Michael, Chad and Mary, Fatouma did not really mention anything that made her want to leave France. She shared: "…*to me, it was also just fine going in missions and coming back to France. I mean I love France, I love Paris. I still have family and friends there so… yeah…"* [22:00]. Her motivation stemmed from the desire to be closer to the geographical areas that her work revolved around and being able to access positions that came closer to her vision of a "final job". She describes coming to Dakar as: *"Maybe it meant like having a… yeah, it felt like having one foot inside a bit I think. If I can describe in a way – it's like okay, I'm getting there little by little."*

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[25] Look back to the *Existing Literature* section, wherein 'geo-arbitrage' is described as a process in which "individuals interpret their mobility in terms of increasing the relative value of savings or academic credentials by relocating them across latitudes of the global division of labour" (Ong 2006 in Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 117).

Senegal as a Destination

One can say that for respondents, the motivations mentioned above mostly exist independent of a choice of destination country. The only respondent who's decision-making process reflected a clear pre-existing pull towards Senegal as a destination was Mary. For Michael and Chad, they both landed up in Senegal through personal networks or as some may call it, 'social capital' (Baizán and González-Ferrer 2016). In fact, Michael was the only person who migrated without any specific intentions attached to Senegal. Fatouma's migration was based on a job opportunity that she received and in this sense, was more incidental than planned - albeit in a region she had tried to find work in earlier.

Even then, for all except Michael, the decision to migrate involved directly or indirectly considering what Senegal had to offer as a context – either as a destination to work or in terms of the lifestyle afforded by the country. In other words, it seemed like motivations to migrate were shaped or pronounced by what could be found in the destination country. My respondents – both primary and secondary – shared an image of Senegal as being "open" and "stable". When I asked him what makes Senegal such an attractive destination for migrants, Paul replied:

> *"I think we're the only country in the ECOWAS region that hasn't had any civil conflict or government being overthrown… […] … Senegal is well placed, right - we are pretty much closer to any destination across Europe and getting to America is a 6 to 7-hour flight. I think that's one of the reasons why it's attractive and also, you know - being a majority Muslim country, we are still very secular in the way that we function. So people are pretty much free to be themselves obviously within reasons of what's acceptable culturally. But people, I think, have that freedom to be themselves and there's influence coming from all over the place in terms of culture. You know, people bringing in cultures from wherever they come from. I think that's what makes Senegal an attractive destination."*

Fatouma confirmed this view, she said Senegal is a place where *"…you have a bit of both… you can have the western living and you can have the African living here. People are quite open here and I always say 'you get to do what you want to do here'."* Additionally, Senegal's improved connectivity to the Americas, Europe and Western Africa, vis-à-vis other countries in the region, was a factor mentioned in some of the interviews. This relative ease of travel to and from Senegal has been useful for Fatouma, Michael and Chad at different points in their trajectories.

All respondents made references to Senegal's image of having a good life for expats. For quite a few (myself included[26]), the sources of information on destination countries typically range from friends, family and acquaintances who have spent extended periods of time there, and online forums, blogs and websites dedicated to capturing and measuring "expat experiences" or "travel experiences" in the destination country being considered. Two instances reflected this strongly. Mary shares having visited a number of expat forums online to understand what life in Senegal was like.

> *"So one was called 'The Unofficial Post Report' and there's like different websites for expats. And so basically, expats write reports of like 'Here's what life is like'... […] ... people were globally very positive. And also the woman at the French Embassy in D.C. who had processed my citizenship papers there – her post before D.C. was here. And she raved about Dakar! And like what an amazing place it was and like how much they loved it here. So yeah, those were my sources of information."* [42:01 - 42:41]

Like Mary, Fatouma also tapped into her social networks to learn about life in Senegal. She said, *"I mean I asked so many people. I know I've asked friends of friends, family…"* [03:33]. Michael's migration to Senegal happened only because his brother and sister-in-law were living here. Their support not only brought about his migration, but was also critical to his stay in Senegal stretching on and becoming long-term. He was dependent on them for housing and emotional or familial support for what (in hindsight) can be described as settling in. Similarly, in Chad's case, his girlfriend was a form of social capital for him as she provided support through shared housing,

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[26] If I reflect on my personal decision-making process in coming to Senegal for the first time last year, I was strongly influenced by two types of sources. After having considered visa requirements and flights costs, I shortlisted Tunisia and Senegal as West-African countries I would be interesting in spending the summer to in to scope for potential job opportunities, a comfortable yet affordable lifestyle, safety and a pleasant socio-cultural environment. A quick google search on life in different African countries for expats took me to a website (which I have not been able to find since, interestingly) which rated all capital cities based on factors such as safety, cost of living, fun, internet speed, etc. Dakar ranked among the highest in safety and fun. I also tried to find people within my own networks who had lived in either of the two countries. I managed to find two friends who had lived in Dakar but no one for Tunis. Both of them had very positive things to say, and assured me that I would have a great experience.

linguistic knowledge, and also shared finances provided by her father. All of these things created a sense of security for Chad, and were the opportunity he needed to migrate and break into the job market in Dakar, Senegal.

Just as in South-North migration (and previously-mentioned research focusing on drivers of Senegalese emigration to Europe), social capital in North-South migration can also function as word of mouth that travels through the expat community. This reflects what some scholars have referred to as "migrants' informal networks". In the case of expats, such networks have resulted in 'a virtuous circle' wherein people "attract new people by promoting the city informally" (Urry, 2002 and 2003; Cass et al., 2005 in Gatti 2009, 7). In some cases, this social capital took the form of ties through which professional opportunities were secured and actually came closer to the concept of 'network capital', which is understood as "as a form of social capital that makes "resources available through interpersonal ties" (Wellman and Frank, 2001: 273)." (Cohen and Gössling 2015). Thus, one can say that just as South-North migrants, North-South migrants like Chad, Fatouma, Mary and Michael also rely on 'social capital' as well, to plan, strengthen and execute their migration to countries in the global South. Their forms of social capital also function as "Social groups and relationships, including migration networks and families, greatly influence migration (Massey 1990; Stark 1991)." (Baizán and González-Ferrer 2016, 13).

Aspects of a Better Life

An important finding in this research was that reasons to continue staying in a destination country are actually extensions of North-South migrant motivations to migrate. In other words, respondents' reasons to stay in Senegal were also a reflection or extension of their motivations to leave their home countries in the global North. Most of their reasons constitute different aspects of what they experience as a better life.

The first and most common aspect is the cheaper cost of living that Senegal offers. As employees of international organization in different sectors, they receive comparable salaries (if not higher) to what they may earn in their home countries. Though not all of them receive 'expat salaries'. Mary and Fatouma are on international work contracts, while Michael and Chad are on local contracts. In that sense, both Chad and Michael could be called 'half-pats' which is a play on the word 'expat' by virtue of the fact that they received a lower salary than those working on international contracts in their organizations, and reduced perks such as housing allowances,

paid utilities, overseas living allowance, hardship allowances or benefits for their dependents such as school fees (Goldner 2007 in Farrer 2010, 1214).

Nonetheless, a decent salary coupled with a much lower cost of living has led to expansion of their savings potentials to varying extents. Out of the four, Fatouma who came on an volunteer contract, experienced this to the least degree and only because she got lucky in finding a cheap apartment to rent. Chad experienced this by paying off his student loans much faster, having a comfortable living and being able to finally start saving towards his retirement. Mary actually gave me a detailed account of how this increased savings potential had made a difference in her life:

> *"I mean definitely we are way less stressed about money. So that's – yeah – a big difference. Here we have a certain living where we don't have to worry about money whereas, as I said, being teachers in the US – everybody is, is stressed about money. We also have travel opportunities that we would never have in the States. So like, we went to Spain for spring break. In the US there is no way we would be able to afford to spend a week in Europe like that."* [40:52]

In Michael's case, he actually shared that he would not be making any savings if he had to pay taxes in Senegal. This provided an interesting explanation of how or why he experienced a savings potential. In other words, it was not only down to a cheap cost of living but also an absence of tax obligations.

An increased savings potential is also relevant to North-South retirement migrants in Senegal, especially French migrants. In fact, this was one of the first migrant groups that Paul ever mentioned to me. When I asked him what draws many expat groups to Senegal, he shared:

> *"… they don't have to deal with stress that they would get from living in their countries. They like this laid-back* [life]*… the fact also that their money goes a lot further than if it were in Europe for example. A lot of people, as I told you, are in their middle-age or just about to retire. Or they're retired. This is mostly for the French. And they still want to stay active. And so the money that they receive from their pension for example can help them get further living here than if they were to use it in France. A lot of them want to maintain their independence. If they were in France, they'd probably end up in a retirement home. Here, they have their little*

house. They have their habits. They have their friends. They have their lives basically. And they're happy. So they have a lot to gain from coming here." [37:52 - 38:35]

During my ethnographic fieldwork, I noticed a sizeable number of elderly expats running successful restaurants and bars such as Sharky's, So Beach, Complexe Hibiscus, Bella Vista and Reine Margerita[27]. This could be a result of the Senegalese government's attempts at attracting foreign investment. While I did not find any French retirees who were willing to be part of my research, Paul's statements indicate the off-shoring of daily subsistence costs as a strategy used by North-South retirement migrants. This can be another manifestation of geo-arbitrage, which "consists of relocating day-to-day expenses to low-cost locations, a strategy that is perhaps of increasing importance in North America, given the lack of retirement security there." (Hayes 2014, 1953).

Moving on, the second aspect that translated to a better life was the experience of upwards class mobility in Dakar for some of my respondents. Mary and Michael explicitly admitted to this as part of changes they experienced in their lifestyle and living after leaving their home countries. Mary said:

> *"But here, I mean when we first moved here – I was like, wow!! All of a sudden our social circle is – you know, we're having an Ambassador over for dinner! We have colleagues who have lived all over the world and our conversations are, are way more interesting. And we have access to … I mean I tease that we had gone from struggling to being, in Senegal, part of a 1%. So I definitely think that people moving from North to Global South – especially like middle class people, you definitely are living a totally different lifestyle than you would be able to have in your home country. And I think that's a huge pull for lots of people!"* [1:29:46]

Michael relayed a similar sentiment. Although he constantly expressed that he felt at a loss of how to deal with his sudden bump in privilege, he also implied that he didn't know how to give up what upward class mobility brought for him. In a different context, he shared:

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[27] In fact, I found out that the owner of Reine Margerita was anti-migrant with respect to affairs in Italy and that he was a supporter of Interior Minister Salvini. I tried to go by the restaurant in hopes of casually engaging him in conversation to juxtapose his trajectory with those of 'migrants' in Italy, and to understand his views. But this did not work due to language barriers, as he only spoke Italian – not even French, let alone Wolof! This was paradoxically funny given the subject matter at hand, of migration and integration.

"I come from middle class but like you know, travelling abroad wasn't something that most of my friends and I did. That seemed crazy! Or even travelling across the country – it was intense to have a chance to do something like that. And my friends can't get off work for long to be able to do any of this. That's not a thing, like to get two weeks off is insane for most people? And I just… I don't know how I could go back to that now, now that I'm - I mean talk about feeling privileged! I do sense this great feeling of privilege that I feel a little guilty about. I also don't know how to give up that part of it – the ability to go see my brother in France is amazing. My best friend lives in France, that's amazing!… to not be able to jump on a plane, you know every few months? To me sounds like a nightmare now and before it was every 5-10 years I'd jump on a plane … that's a tricky position to be [in]*."* [48:08 - 48:48]

While this class mobility does not carry back home, it is clearly experienced in the host country in ways that could even differ from the above. An upward class mobility for North-South migrants translates to a greater socio-economic distance from the local population. This is visible in how segregated the North-South migrant population often is from the local, across most public spaces that they occupy and in their social activities. When I asked them if they thought there existed segregation between "expats and local", Chad, Fatouma and Paul replied along similar lines. Below are extracts from Chad and Paul respectively:

"There is segregation because most expats have jobs that brought them here. There's an economic interest for them to be here, meaning that they have some disposable income and they go out and they spend that money … although they're likely to have Senegalese friends who also have disposable income…most of the people in their situation are probably going to be other expats. Also there is a different concept of what is fun here. And also in a Muslim-majority country, most don't drink. If I want to go out and have a good time, I'm going to a bar. When am I going to have Senegalese friends who are willing to go to a bar with me? …it's almost logistical. Who am I going to go out with, who is available, who is willing to come out with me at place and spend 20,000 CFA tonight on food, drinks? It's expats…" [1:12:16 - 1:13:59]

"And so obviously yes, there is a gap being created between – because it's not that people want it's just what they're able to do. So yes, I confirm that it exists. It does, it's a huge gap. The realities aren't the same… But also I think it's not just about money but it's also exposure. Exposure plays a huge part in how we do things." [46:18 - 46:54]

This also functions as a barrier to integration, a finding that was derived from all five in-depth interviews and my ethnographic fieldwork. Michael and Mary both expressed difficulties in integrating, and being able to cultivate meaningful relationships with members of the local population. They lived and moved in what they called, "the expat bubble". According to them, most expats had this in common and were not really integrated. Michael refers to them as "*stones skipping across the water",* and explains it as follows:

"I feel like the expat bubble are these people who like the idea of being outside of their native country but are doing this as a form of excitement. It's like some sort of titillating um… well it makes for a good Facebook you know and you can put things in your house – "I've been here, I've been here". It makes you kind of interesting. And that's not what I'm looking for. At least not in that way. I would love to be interesting but not simply because I've gone places, because I've had the privilege and money to go places. That seems like consuming, that seems like buying something. And I feel like expats are very much buying things or mining. Like these are experiences to be mined and it's like a badge you wear." [1:12:59]

In effect, many North-South migrants had just not integrated beyond speaking French. For example, none of my primary respondents spoke Wolof. In fact, my secondary respondent, who was actually a returnee migrant and had spent the initial years of his life in the global North, also didn't speak Wolof. Only two out of four primary respondents felt like they had meaningful relationships in the Senegalese population. None of them had ever experienced pressures to integrate into Senegalese society, as is commonly experienced by many South-North migrants in their home countries. As Michael said, they were *"still the person where they come from".* So perhaps it could be useful to consider whether their experiences of a better life are not only a product of positive factors such as increased savings potential and class mobility, but also the result of an absence of negative factors such as integration demands, increased surveillance or politicization of their identities.

Lastly, the third factor that has probably contributed to their sense of a better life is that they all felt their motivations to migrate had largely been met in Dakar. For example, the experience of professional growth was an explicit goal for Nick and Fatouma. Nick achieved this, while Fatouma feels she is moving closer to her ideal job. Mary and Pierre were hoping for a better work-life balance and a new culture to experience and learn from. While they have been unsuccessful in achieving the work-life balance they wanted, they have built strong savings and have had a culturally-informative experience so far, although it has not been as positive as they imagined it would be. Michael has found the sense of the community and belonging that he was yearning for in USA, along with a profession that he finds stimulating and satisfying. Thus, all of the above-mentioned factors have played a role in keeping the respondents in Dakar for a longer period of time, than necessarily planned or intended. As Fatouma says,

> *"I feel good here… and in France I don't know what would… if I go back, there might be opportunities otherwise… I think when you get into the expat circle it's always like that. You move, if you have better reasons to move."* [51:29]

DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

An 'expat' or 'migrant'?

Although unintended, the figure of the 'expat' actually emerged as a central theme in many of my interactions, during qualitative interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, with North-South migrants. The term was dropped so often in passing conversation[28] – "The Spring Bazaar is happening next weekend at that American international school for expat kids in town?", "There's this great pizzeria at Mamelles owned by a family of Italian-French expats", "Tuesday film screenings at this place are mostly in English because it draws expat crowds mainly! You gotta get there an hour and a half early though if you want your pizza on time and a place to sit." With time, I came to observe that construction of the 'expat identity' operated at the base of glamorizing the lifestyle that came with. Thus, I felt the term's usage and role played in respondents' motivations, self-identity; and the resulting discursive work being performed thereby was worth including in this research in some form or shape.

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[28] Noted in field diary out of memory. There may be slight variations from what was originally said. Most of these statements were made by people I have known and hung out with socially, who come from regions in the global North.

In my time in Dakar, I noticed the expat identity was taken to very easily, constantly and spontaneously without hesitation – irrespective of how much time the person identifying with the label was actually spending in town. People visiting and passing by from another country in Africa that they were based in were called expats. People who had lived in Senegal for years were also expats. Temporality was not a significant factor in determining their identity as expats. So I wondered if it was their motives that would make them see themselves as expats? Based on my observations during ethnographic fieldwork, I decided to ask all my primary respondents during our interviews if they considered themselves 'migrants'. Two of my respondents – Chad and Mary – considered themselves to be part of the group. This was visible in their discursive strategies both with me and with instances they recounted of their interactions with other people in Dakar, Senegal. Mary actually shared how she was actively trying to bring migration to her classroom as a middle school teacher of 'expat kids' – hoping to make them reflect on their lives as a form of migration and to see how people's trajectories as voluntary or forced migrants actually impacts their identities. To build her unit on migration, Mary actually got in touch with someone working at IOM, Senegal[29]. She invited him to take a class with her students, in which he traced historical movements between the Global North and Global South. The following extract contains more details:

> *"… it was for the same reasons that people from the Global South move to the Global North – because of better opportunities. And your family has also moved here for better opportunities. And the kids were like 'Oohhhhh!'. And he* [person from IOM] *also pointed out that… I think there he might have been looking at the past 100 years or like 150 years – that almost as many people have left Europe as have come to Europe … and I just read my students' reflections on his interview and on that unit – this was more broadly on that unit – and a couple of kids said that "that was one of the things that really jumped out at me. It's not just Africans going to Europe, that actually Europeans leave and go other places."" – [00:00]*

Contrasting this to the responses I received from Michael and Fatouma was interesting. While they did critically reflect on how selectively the term 'expat' was applied, they also felt that 'migrant' and 'expat' were somewhat exclusive categories. In their perspectives, the difference in

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[29] We later realized that he was actually an alumnus of EMMIR!! I was so thrilled and proud to see the EMMIR programme at work on the ground and creating positive discourses, that I forgot to start the audio recording for almost 5 minutes and missed capturing most of Mary's description about her unit in the classroom.

nomenclature came down to the temporality, motivations and privileges which characterized their trajectories. Fatouma said:

> *"Well people say expat so… I think expat* [is what I would call myself]*. Expat since also I don't even know how long I will be here. And I think under the notion of immigrant – people think they go to settle somewhere else where it's not - it doesn't have to be that. You immigrated and you can come three months after. So yeah… here I define myself as an expat and in France, I was living as an immigrant even if now I'm French. But I used to live in France. It's not the same thing..[…].. I'm sure the – under the notion of expat, they will see it as something – I was going to say positive but it doesn't need to be so, because maybe some locals here see expats as just a people who come to exploit the country and others will see them as the lucky ones, I don't know. But what I want to say is that maybe it has a positive sense. Like immigrant, now they use it – it has negative sense. Especially in Europe, when you say immigrant – a lot of crazy words come behind it. It can be just mutual. I mean it's someone who immigrated, that's all. You don't know what the reasons are… that's why I say, it's difficult because you can have a thesis on this haha!"* – [33:13]

For Fatouma, it felt like the terms 'immigrant' and 'migrant' could be used interchangeably; and that an absence of the intention to settle somewhere permanently is what disqualified her from being labelled as either. The perceived 'positivity' of expats is something she refers to in the extract above, but also below when she says:

> *"my migration is mostly in between states, because states are running these agencies and it's the states that propose, kind of offer and whereas the other way around is like the states refusing or not so still… yeah… Mine is kind of sheltered by the states while the other one is very much negotiated on who will host them or not".* – [55:42]

Michael also views the terms 'expat' and 'migrant' differently. He clearly pins it down to privilege. If you are moving to a country that is privileged and to seek a better living, you are a migrant. There is a 'need' that underlies the identity and experience of being a migrant whereas if you are coming from a country that is privileged, you are an expat. Even though he acknowledges that

like migrants who are seeking survival, he also came to Senegal seeking peace of mind to survive, he thinks both the terms are different and that he cannot be called a migrant. Thinking out loud, he asks, *"I think it's gotta be more of an economic thing… right? And then I guess that's where the definition comes from. I mean, I guess everything's economic I guess."*

What Michael and Fatouma pin their understanding of the difference in nomenclature down to is very interesting. Furthermore, their self-perception and self-labelling as expats is a reflection of how mainstream discourses build a very polarized meaning of the term 'migrant' as referring to downtrodden, forced and 'illegal' people. Fatouma says, *"But some they just threw themselves on a boat on to the sea because they have no other option. You cannot compare it. And then they don't know where they will land, what will come next, how they will be treated… so there's no comparison."* Michael describes them as not being able to move out of their free will and thus not being able to see the *"the world as their playground"*.

Here it becomes interesting to note that the term 'expatriate' does not necessarily consider the temporality or agency involved, but rather the location. It is literal defined as "someone who does not live in their own country" (Cambridge Dictionary). According to this, every international migrant is an expat. On the other hand, IOM defines a migrant as "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. IOM concerns itself with migrants and migration-related issues and, in agreement with relevant States, with migrants who are in need of international migration services." (International Organization for Migration, 2019). According to this definition, all expats can be defined as migrants.

While 'immigrant', 'refugee' and 'asylum-seeker' can tend to have stronger legal connotations, the terms 'migrant' and 'expat' are more loosely defined. Perhaps this is why their meanings have evolved with time and as per the context. In this regard, Yasmeen Serhan's article briefly demonstrates "how context and associations can trump formal definition when it comes to talking about movement"(Serhan 2018). How Fatouma and Michael (de-)construct their identities as people outside their home countries limits how contemporary migrations come to be viewed. In other words, their discursive practices reinforce the unfounded exclusivity of 'expat' as a category as they contain very strong undertones of an assumption that those coming from a better life, a stronger economy and a developed country cannot be immigrants, especially if they are going to

a country that is worse off than theirs as are most countries in the developing world. Their length of stay has no bearing on their migrant identity because they don't "need" to be living in the host country. This results in hierarchies between the categories of 'migrants' and 'expats' (Hahonou 2018). The gap between the two creates space for the former to be demonized and the latter to be treated differently, irrespective of the fact that their motivations to move are common i.e. to create a better life and living.

The colonial ramifications of the 'expat identity' are not addressed as much as they should be. Mary spent a lot of time reflecting on this in her interviews, and narrated many instances of negative expat activities and behaviors which were carried out with a sense of legitimacy owing to their positions of power. One such incident was as follows:

> *"We had a trip to Popenguine and when we were there, we went and visited the nature reserve and we ran into a colleague. And we had an official guide from the nature reserve. And the guide asked her like, "oh did you pay our fees?" It's like a 2000-3000 CFA to get in. And she was like, "No, and I've never paid that. And like basically you can't make me pay." I was like, "Really? Really?!!! You're from Belgium. You and your husband are making a hundred times what a local person makes and you can't give 5 bucks for an entrance fees? And you're going to give this poor man shit about his entrance fee and brag about how you've never paid it? Like what's wrong with you?" And she's a permanent expat and so I think there's really a… honestly, there's like a neo-colonialistic aspect that's frankly kind of disgusting."* [51:29]

She attributes this sense of legitimacy as stemming from how expats have tended to build such positive identities for themselves – as "global citizens" having "rich experiences" – which culminates in a shocking "lack of self-awareness". Michael also deals with the tensions presented by the expat experience and culture in Dakar, Senegal. He says:

> *"But I don't like this benevolent or positive tagline that goes along with expats. There is this – you know it's funny, like you're an expat but not an immigrant, right? That's an interesting distinguishing name and there is, "We're just here to*

experience the world and all hold hands". And it's this kind of bumper sticker, like
anti-complexity and theory, that really underlines the expat…" – [29:09]

The result conveyed by both Mary and Michael is that people lose track of the realities they come from. Michael constantly expresses concern about what his role is here and how damaging it is. He experiences a lot of guilt because of the amount of privilege he has here. He also questions what it really means to be "transnational" or "global", as characteristics of the expat identity, and ends up describing them as *"a kind of terrorism that's silent".* Two extracts from Mary that shed light on how this identity can easily turn toxic are as follows:

"So I think sometimes people's motivations are really living a lifestyle that they
would never be able to live back home. I think sometimes it gives people an identity
to be a foreigner. And here, I think for some people it feels like it's a status bump,
that here you're not some random white person living everyday life but you're like
part of a more privileged group and have access to things that other people don't
and it's not very healthy" [48:30]

"People truly have a wide range of motivations and sometimes yeah, it's the best
shot in the country. Yeah it's to assure certain like livelihood. Um yeah… standard
of living. But I wish that there was space in the expat community to, to like have
conversations about beyond like – "Isn't it awesome that we all have lived in
different places and have like funny stories to share?" from… I wish there was a
place to look more deeply and to have harder conversations. Because otherwise
– otherwise it really does slide quickly into just profiting off of developing
countries… at least in the international teaching field." [1:01:12 - 1:02:40]

For Mary, the expat experience is complicated at best, and part of an exploitative system at worst. This has made it hard for her to find her place. It triggers conflicting feelings ranging from a sense of privilege and being bourgeois to feeling disempowered as someone with no voice in a society that is not her own, where she exists only on the margins. Interestingly, I came across a similar narrative online from another expat in Dakar, Senegal. Her blog is a critical piece of reflection on the expat experience and identity that weaves together border privileges, the ability to define the limits integration for oneself without being questioned, the enhancement of economic status, an acknowledgement of experiences of geo-arbitrage and many more things (Sang 2015).

Mary almost worries about becoming like other expats, about letting this "new identity and new reality" stick for too long, that she does not see herself living here permanently. She says,

> *"We definitely know that we will move back to the States at the end. That this is a really interesting lifestyle but that ultimately it's not for us. And that it's too weird to be part of a small privileged community, that is within a culture that ultimately is not ours."* [45:43]

In conversation with my respondents on their discursive practices, what emerged was essentially the prevalence of 'expat' as an identity that had been constructed – socially and culturally – based upon an abundant lifestyle and vantage point of life as a foreigner. This identity was awarded to those whose trajectories were marked by privilege, power and an enhanced socio-economic status in the destination country. It is the allure of this life that was considered, by my respondents, to constitute the draw or attraction, and oftentimes the motivation, to migrate as a citizen in the global North to the global South. In doing so, they actually contributed to a framing of contemporary expats as the best brand of migrants.

"Flies around a trash heap"

The title of this section was taken from an extract of an interview I had with one of my primary respondents. We were in discussion about whether he had ever been pulled up by Senegalese immigration for traveling so frequently to the country (as he had spent close to 7 years residing in the country through visa-runs). He said he had never been, and implied that it would rarely be the case because it went against the interests of the Senegalese state. Below is a concise version of the extract:

> *"…to be honest, if the Senegalese government wanted to crackdown on that, they could. They could crack down on people who are basically economic migrants… They don't have an interest in doing that because they want, they want people like me in the country bringing… earning money outside of Senegal and bringing money into Senegal. Spending money here. I was earning money from American news organizations, from aid organizations and I was basically generating – even if it wasn't in the form of tax revenue – I'm spending money on an apartment here, I'm going out and stimulating the local economy. They have an interest in*

that…[…]… people ask what is Senegal's greatest resource? Its stability, its peace. Because it that stability and peace that allow for organizations working in West Africa, otherwise a very turbulent region, to be based here. To not be worried. To have international press bureaus, businesses. Not only that, but the flies around that trash heap – well not to call it a trash heap – but the people who sort of feed off that industry, they supply jobs for locals. They also attract internationals and like freelancers. And that's in general good for Senegal." [45:54 – 49:48]

The reason I chose to include this section is because a discursive practice that was often visible to me in many[30] justifications by North-South migrants of why they are 'expats', and how this is markedly different from "migrants today". A large part of their identities were constructed as harbingers of growth, development, opportunity and wealth. In doing so, they often referred to the quality of their education and skills as compared to members of the local population. This facet of their identity actually creates a discourse that is dangerously skewed in their favour – one in which they are always positioned as benefactors of development, and not as beneficiaries of the systems they are absorbed into.

The relative ease of access that North-South migrants have to job markets in their destination countries almost validates this self-perception, and thereby "reproduces colonial relations" that empower them vis-à-vis members of their host society. It essentially serves as a vital precursor to their migrations as it pre-empts their motivations to seek a better life and living outside their countries (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 125). What many times is not considered is the role that their 'symbolic power' plays facilitating their absorption into the labour market, which constitutes structural advantages (in the form of qualifications), whiteness and other forms of privilege (Lundström 2017) (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017) (Fechter and Walsh 2010).

The ease with which 'Westerners' or 'expats' are able to move to a different country, access a few opportunities and soon thereafter become 'experts' in a field was problematized by an acquaintance I made in Dakar, who seemed to use the terms 'Westerners'[31] and 'expats' interchangeably. He was a Congolese journalist, working for the same international news agency

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[30] Here I refer to observations from both formal and informal interviews I had on the subject.
[31] "I refer to these people as 'Westerners' due to the fact that, in Varanasi, differences between various Western nationalities seem to disappear when opposed with the 'Indian other'." (Korpela 2010, 1301)

as Chad, and was in town to cover the Presidential elections. Upon learning about my research, he opened up to me about his life and personal struggles to work in the field of journalism in DRC. Both his family and church were unsupportive, and they made him relocate to the city in hopes of him abandoning his ambitions. On the contrary, the city was an environment that allowed him to network and launch himself in the international journalism. He mentioned that the presence of international organizations and freelancers in a city opens doors for locals, in terms of professional growth.

However, there was a flipside to this story as he expressed that "Westerners in these organizations anyways tend to trust other Westerners more..". He narrated incidents wherein "expats" would come to DRC – sometimes without work – and easily stay on. They relied on local contacts as part of their networks to settle in, set up a base and find work. After a few consulting assignments, within a year or two, they would become "experts" on the subject. Once they got a big break, a feeling of superiority would plague their relationship with locals – even the ones that helped them access work. This is in line with the concept of "'ethnic capital' of whiteness and European origin, which on a symbolic plain, is often privileged in interaction and in the labour markets of the Global South." (Hayes and Perez-Gananz 2017, 129). Although they may both disagree with me on this, the case of Chad and Michael demonstrate instances of 'cultural capital' or 'ethnic capital' at work as a form of arbitrage (Lundström 2017, 81).

Chad arrived in Senegal without a job. At the face of it, he was at odds in the job market without knowledge of French (the regional language) or prior experience networking in Senegal's journalism and development sector. He had to learn about the context and about surviving as a freelancer. When I asked him what networks he used to tap into the job market, he said:

> *"At that point, there weren't really… it was like social, face-to-face social networking site. Especially at that point, the expat community was pretty small so if you were an American journalist, you would pretty quickly find the other American journalist who would introduce you to people who are, who could potentially help you out…"* [31:21]

He was also able to capitalize on previous work relationships from USA as the same international news corporation, the New York Times, was present in Senegal. He was also able to land work with the Voice of America, another American news outlet. When I asked him if his ease of access

was predetermined by his nationality, he initially agreed. But when I questioned further, he said it was actually his "world class education" that made that relationship possible. The point of problematizing this is not to cast doubt on the validity or quality of his credentials. Rather, it is to trace a continuity of the belief that creation of knowledge, skills, their value and standards are endemic to Western civilization, and see how this is operationalized in the context of migration, migrant-identity construction and geo-arbitrage.

Chad also makes multiple references to Senegal as being an appropriate context for those employed in the development sector, especially in reference to his ex-girlfriend getting an internship here.

> *"It's kind of like a starter country for development types. Your first job, internship –*
> *you go to "the field". Senegal isn't really the field, it's pretty tame. So this is where*
> *international aid workers come to sort of cut their teeth".* [08:22]

This can be interpreted as Senegal is a safe enough context in that it is fit for a novice or first-timer – it offers a milder version of what "the field" might look like. Even in its mildness, it provides enough of opportunity to grow and acclimatize to the region. As Chad shared, what was meant to be a 6-month internship for his ex-girlfriend transitioned into a job with the same organization, and they ended up living in Dakar for 3 years. Much in line with Farrer's findings, this positions Dakar as "a site of flows and connection, producing long-term settlers who may begin as short-term adventurers or sojourners." (Farrer 2010, 1225)

Similarly, the ease with which Michael found a job (which although temporary at first) is remarkable when compared to an Indian acquaintance I made, who had been trying to get a job at the same school for the last 2 years. Contrary to Michael who was not even aware of international teaching as a field when he started working, she had been dedicatedly training for years to be an international teacher. Of course, it is hard to know what the exact reasons for her unsuccessful attempts were. Yet, it is worth speculating the degree to which the school's selection process privileges US-American qualifications, especially if it's primary mode of recruitment is through fairs based out of USA. An incident shared by Mary also reflected an ethos harbored by the school's management of USA-based education being superior or better in quality. While this may or may not be true in relation to Senegal, it perhaps predisposes school authorities to viewing local hires of other global Southern nationalities differently.

There is undoubtedly a benefit that comes from the presence of individual North-South migrants and larger entities from the global North operating in Senegal. In discussion with Chad, he says:

> *"That pull in a lot of expats, that need… that have a standard for some jobs that for the most part Africa isn't willing to provide, or isn't ready to provide yet. Like a skillset that still needs to be imported for the time being. In the 8 years that I have spent here or in the developing world more or less, there have been huge gains in a ratio of expat to local staff on the local side. For the jobs that they still bring in – for which they still bring in, those expats earn more money, for sure."* [1:05:21]

As is visible above, there is an evident pattern of gains from this presence going to North-South migrants themselves through high-paying positions or the majority of staff in these organizations being taken up by expat staff. Even when there is local staff with comparable qualifications and skills, they do not benefit as much as expat staff. The following extract demonstrates this:

> *"If you find a Senegalese national who studied in the US or studied in France and had a master's degree from the same institution where you brought someone else, who has… that someone else had, like an American or French national has to do that job –* [swear word] *cha-ching! Like jackpot cause you… they're Senegalese nationals you don't have to pay them the expat contract and they have the skillset and education necessary to do that job. So yeah, totally in their* [organization's] *interest."* – 1:07:07

Therefore, labor from the host country in the global South is devalued in more than one way – as any qualifications from their home country is perceived as non-comparable to those of people coming from the global North, as their experience and expertise of their own regions is consistently overlooked in exchange for 'expats' who are considered 'experts' after two years of operating in the region, and as their remuneration or gains from their employers are always lower than their international counterparts irrespective of qualifications and skillsets. The source of this structural violence cannot simply be attributed to one stakeholder. The Senegalese government has placed restrictions on hiring of Senegalese teachers at the school where Mary and Michael work, out of fear that the extremely high remuneration package will result in a brain drain affecting the city's local schools.

All of these factors interact to create a number of structural advantages for North-South migrants in global South job markets that North-South migrants are beneficiaries of, whether intentionally or unintentionally. I use the term beneficiaries and not benefactors, they operate as benefactors through meso- to macro-level organizations and corporations. As individuals, they are beneficiaries of the very systems and economies that they propel and make up. This is visible in another way, as was pointed out by Mary:

> *"…something curious here is that we don't pay taxes. So that's something that's also like super problematic that we literally are like not benefitting the Senegalese government. And the expat population in Dakar is big! So it's not like well, you know, there's a hundred of us and ultimately we'll be a drop in the bucket. The fact that we don't pay taxes is weird. Okay, it seems like we all hire guards but like that's a super crappy position that nobody aspires to so it's not like … and like benefitting the local community? We shop at like Casino. How much is Casino really pumping money into here? How much do they pay local people?"* [1:38:02]

Casino is a supermarket which sells high-end food products, and is situated in Ngor, which is an area that once described to me by a British-Greek humanitarian worker as situated "between Almadies (white person bubble) and Virage (upmarket black people area)". Essentially, all the supermarkets, cafes, restaurants, clubs and bars – of which there are many – in that areas cater to the North-South migrant population living there. If you spend enough time at any of these places, you will realise that their management or ownership lies among the North-South migrant population as well. My interview with Paul, a long-time Senegalese resident of Dakar, confirmed this as well when I asked how North-South migrants' presence shapes his city:

> *"I guess it adds flavor to the city. It does... I know that there's a lot of businesses that cater to them. Because they're generally a very… demanding clientele. And so that tends to bring the level of service, quality of service up… Because these restaurants were mostly designed to cater to Europeans. Like if you go to Corniche des Almadies, no average Senegalese goes there… Certain neighborhoods have a connotation of being – I wouldn't say inaccessible – but for a specific kind of people. Like Almadies is our "luxurious" ritzy neighborhood. So you know that the restaurants, the business there when you go for example on a Sunday, on a Saturday and Sunday – you will see a lot of white faces. You will see a lot of… you*

will hear a lot of different languages that are probably not Wolof. The only Senegalese people that you see there are Senegalese people who actually have the money or spend a lot of time with the foreigners. But the Senegalese from the big neighborhoods – very unlikely. Very unlikely. They probably are the employees that work at the restaurant or in a bar. But they're not the costumers, not the patrons." [39:01 – 40:01]

All of the above extracts shed light on how there is definitely a complex dynamic created by North-South migration, and the assumption of North-South migrants being benefactors is based on very shaky grounds. Dakar's North-South migrant population as a whole, seems to be the primary beneficiaries of its own presence, by creating markets for each other as consumers and producers (Büscher and Vlassenroot 2010, S267). The local population definitely does gain from this through jobs and opportunities but the continuities in colonial social hierarchies as a by-product are hard to miss.

These hierarchies are made possible by the forms of cultural capital or symbolic power that North-South migrants have at their disposal, by virtue of their race, nationality and educational qualifications. De-constructing the role this kind of capital plays in making North-South migrations successful helps identify North-South migrants as beneficiaries of their own presence. It is not possible to negate the bearing this may have on North-South migrants' motivations and decisions to migrate, which is what makes it relevant to this research. It strikes home that expats are indeed a migrant group as well.

CONCLUSIONS

Using the disproportionate focus of current mainstream discourses on South-North migrants, this study seeks to explore the personal motivations of North-South migrants, in particular Euro-American migrants, in leaving their home countries by using Dakar, Senegal as a case study. As categories or groups of migrants that have been more politically charged than others, South-North migrants have been subjects of most academic and non-academic research till date. When research is seen an act of "legitimizing" perspectives, which have been typically western in the past, undoing the myopic focus on North-South migrants becomes a political undertaking. It cannot be denied that the intense scrutiny surrounding South-North flows creates a blindspot those moving in positions of power and legality, those who experience hypermobility and the effects their trajectories have on the environments and spaces they occupy. As a student of migration studies, the lack of discourses problematizing movements of North-South migrants has felt all the more pronounced for me, especially since North-South migrants constitute some of the most internationally mobile populations irrespective of their scale and temporality of movement.

What determines who is framed as a 'migrant' worth being documented, monitored or regulated depends on where you look. For example, the OECD records those crossing an international border for work or those who are foreign-born as 'immigrants'. In Senegal, those crossing into Senegal's borders from neighboring countries, those moving internally within Senegal or those emigrating out of Senegal to the global North constitute migrants. Across news and political debates, migrant identities are carved with labels such as 'illegal' and 'unwanted', and are commonly assigned origins such as African, Syrian, Mexican or Asian. These framings, especially in their popularity or dominance, speak to each other in terms of who usually occupies the subject position in migration discourses, especially at the governance level. Those creating such incomplete images lose sight of the more voluminous flows in other regions or directions, as North-South migration flows operate at the base of a range of industries situated in the global North that depend on and are rooted in supply chains based in the global South. In other words, a blind eye is turned to the trajectories of those who do not fit the typically publicized bill of 'illegal', 'undocumented' or 'economic' migrants, and whose movements are both a product of and contributor to the neocolonial nature of contemporary migration regimes.

Thus, this research uses a post-colonialist perspective and transnational approach to migration to argue that an expansion of popular understandings of 'migration' to include North-South flows

is necessary in order to redefine migration as an essential phenomenon of life. We must draw attention to the migrant identity of those moving from the global North to the global South in a bid to re-construct the universality of migration as a phenomenon, and more urgently, to counteract the hysteria and apocalyptic narratives surrounding migration in the global North, and the resulting highly securitized and lethal border regimes.

The capital of Senegal, Dakar presents an ideal context in which to carry out this research. Situated at the crossroads of various migration flows i.e. as a migrant-sending country and migrant-receiving from within and beyond African borders, it presents the above-mentioned dynamics in stark relief. Due to the porosity of its borders, and the proliferation of international organizations and corporations with regional headquarters in its capital, Senegal has developed a high 'expat' population overtime. Their presence has shaped the city and its economy in myriad ways. The country also has a strong French presence, reflecting its neocolonial features of governance. All of these factors present an interesting set of dynamics.

As this is probably the first research of its kind being attempted in the context of Senegal, I made a conscious decision to frame this research as an exploratory and qualitative one. To allow for the breadth of scope, I use a combined approach of grounded theory and ethnography. Having had direct access to multiple sites of study in Dakar over an extended period of time allowed me to use the field to guide my questions and research direction. Through ethnographic fieldwork, I spent a lot of time observing people, listening to them and their concerns, their social habits and relations with their environment, and taking notes. When I started my data collection, I felt I had an initial sense of what some promising points of inquiry into North-South migrant trajectories could be (e.g. all my questions on integration and interactions with the host society came from this time).

To explore North-South migrant motivations, I used the following broader points of enquiry as starting points in my data collection: the personal motivations of North-South migrants' in leaving their home countries, the various aspects considered by them in deciding if and where to move, the presence of those aspects in Senegal, what Senegal as context has to offer that their home countries do not, whether or not the personal motivations were satisfied through life in Senegaland other interesting themes that emerge from their life in Senegal that may have a bearing on their motivations to migrate to and/or remain in the host country. I then conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with four North-South migrants and one member of the local population. The analysis

of narrative interviews using a grounded theory approach helped me carve more data points, that eventually fed into the shape of this research. Using both a grounded theory and an ethnographic approach was a means of combining various types of data to compensate for their various weaknesses, a process also known as data triangulation.

My first central finding revealed evidence of North-South migrant motivations as being tied to the search for a better life. This was perhaps the strongest finding of this research, as it allows us to consider that North-South migrant motivations closely resemble South-North migrant motivations, in constituting a search for a better life. Respondents' motivations for leaving their home country were broadly structural and personal in nature. As a result of structural limitations such as economic fluctuations, it included restricted mobility within their local labor markets and presented the onset of a declining socio-political atmosphere triggered by the change of regime in their home countries. As a function of personal motivations, they involved accessing better work opportunities, access to an improved standard of living and aspirations of a better quality of life. How different are these to the motivations of South-North migrant groups that are demonized in media spaces today, be they labor migrants or asylum-seekers? In essence, not very different.

This in itself is an important step towards de-constructing the 'illegality' of migration and moving towards a construction of the 'universality' of migration. One may argue, as have my respondents, that North-South migrants' "need" to migrate is not as urgent as those of South-North migrants. Yet, three out of four respondents stated an inability to continue in their circumstances in their home countries prior to migration. Their recognition of how much of difference their migrations have made in their lives is testimony to this fact – be it ranging from a much greater savings potential, to experiencing newfound hypermobility, and to escaping the pressures and debts that come with having to "keep up" a social image of life in USA. All of these gains can be traced back to motivations. Their significance as "needs" has been glossed over time and again, because it is not war that drives them. It might be worth comparing how different this is to the reasons used to gloss over South-North economic migrants' needs that drive them to access refugee status in Europe. I admit that there is a lot to unpack across this analogy, but it is important to place these strategies of identity building and discursive practices on the same spectrum.

According to the second central finding, my respondents' motivations to continue living in Dakar were often an extension of their motivations to migrate. Respondents' attraction to Senegal and their motivations to continue living there include a lower cost of living for a comparable income

earned from international organizations, that comes with a stark change in their lifestyles which were the product of upward class mobility, increased savings potentials and an enhanced social status. In other words, they experienced a relative expansion of privilege as compared to life in their home country. Many respondents' narratives reflected instances of geo-arbitrage as a strategy of securing improved opportunities in the host country on the bases of cultural capital and symbolic power. Furthermore, being big fish in a small pond, respondents experienced enhanced professional and economic growth. These considerations and motivations are useful findings that could shed light on how and why similar destinations in the global South attract North-South migrant flows.

The third central finding saw the emergence of 'expat' as a strong identity built through discursive practices including, but not limited to self-labelling and identification. When asked whether they considered themselves migrants, half of my respondents said they did not. They considered themselves expats and that these two categories were different. Moving as an 'expat' meant being global and was usually reserved for those coming from a place of privilege in the global North, whilst moving as 'migrant' meant your movement stems from 'need' or 'desperation' and was usually reserved for those coming from global South. In fact, construction of the 'expat identity' operated at the base of glamorizing the lifestyle that came with it. This findings reflects a strong need to "decolonize" the language of migration, as such discursive practices end up building 'expats' as the best brand of migrants.

Critically, their trajectories relay strong colonial continuities in that they situate motivations in a landscape that allows N-S migrants to experience and capitalize on privilege. This is manifest in their ability to engage processes such as geo-arbitrage that, whether conscious or unconscious, can be said to pre-empt North-South migrant motivations. This in turn plays a critical role in shaping North-South migrants' self-perception as harbingers of growth and development, almost justifying the invisibility of their motivations as migrants. As this study reveals, there is definitely a complex dynamic created by North-South migration, and the assumption of North-South migrants being benefactors is based on very shaky grounds. Dakar's North-South migrant population as a whole, seems to be the primary beneficiaries of its own presence, by creating markets for each other as consumers and producers (Büscher and Vlassenroot 2010, S267). The local population definitely does gain from this through jobs and opportunities but the continuities in colonial social hierarchies as a by-product are hard to miss.

What works as structural discrimination for locals by devaluing their skills and knowledge, works as structural privilege for them in enabling them to create and benefit from economies and industries of their making. In a country like Senegal where development aid is a leading industry and pillar of welfare reforms, this disparity "may be undermining poverty-reduction initiatives before they even reach the community" (Ishbel McWha-Hermann in Carr and McWha-Hermann 2016). Similarly, at the outset, a majority of North-South migrants in Senegal do not contribute to host society in the form of tax revenue. Despite the fact that this is a function of macro-level policy frameworks, with probably little scope for individual agency, it is important to consider how or why we feel justified to use different yardsticks when assessing tax contributions of South-North migrants vis-à-vis North-South migrants.

While it is beyond the scope this paper to engage with validity of arguments demonizing South-North migrants groups on the basis of terrorism, security concerns, and as tax burdens, it is worth emphasizing that there exists strong evidence of similar perceptions on North-South migration in host countries with respect to their post-colonial agendas, challenge of sovereignty, and as is visible from findings of this research, impacts of their discursive practices and activities on host society. During the last stages of this research, there were a number of cases that presented evidence of how toxic this assumption can become when operationalized in the context of missionary work and developmental activities[32].

It is imperative to challenge this sense of legitimacy surrounding North-South migration and to question, to what extent is it self-derived? In the words of one of my respondents, we need to engage in exercises of "…looking at sort of the shadow-side of this experience and like picking up the rock and seeing what's underneath" is urgent. Thus, a fundamental redefinition of the very idea of a 'migrant' is needed to uncover processes that operate at the center of neocolonial border regimes. As this research shows, this process entails a decolonization of migration language that creates hierarchies among migrant identities, and a recognition of the fact that all those who move to do so for the same reason - to live a better life – irrespective of their access to a legal means.

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[32]   See   the   following   cases: https://allafrica.com/stories/201906140716.html; https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/23/british-man-arrested-on-suspicions-of-giving-bleach-based-cure-to-ugandans

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ANNEXURE A

<div align="center">

Confidentiality & Informed Consent Form

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Researcher Name:	Avantee Bansal
Institution Name:	University of Stavanger (UiS), Norway
Programme:	European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations (EMMIR)
Working Title:	North-South Migrations: Motivations and Trajectories in Dakar, Senegal
Research Period:	January – June 2019

PART I. INFORMATION SHEET

The current interview(s) are being conducted as part of the researcher's dissertation on North-South migration in Dakar, Senegal. Following are details of the research:

> **Abstract (*draft*):** This research is aimed at developing a deeper understanding of North-South migrants. The term 'North-South migrant' is being used loosely to refer to nationals of countries considered broadly to encompass the Global North (typically those in Europe, North America and Australia, New Zealand, Japan) who have migrated to areas in the Global South (typically including South & Central America, Africa, Asia and Oceania). North-South migration as a phenomenon has not been adequately explained in existing migration studies literature. Much less is known about the motivations, mobility, trajectories and networks of North-South migrants, as compared to other migrant groups and flows.

> In view of such gaps, this research seeks to study the personal motivation of Dakar-based North-South migrants and in particular, Euro-American migrants in immigrating outside their home countries. Also known as 'expats', the North-South migrants in question can be said to constitute a social sub-group within the larger expat community. By taking a broader view of migrant motivations, this research will also look at different aspects of their migration trajectories and temporality with the aim of generating a variety of data that could offer promising leads for further research. Therefore, this study is primarily exploratory in nature. It will be carried out using an ethnographic and grounded theory approach, wherein qualitative in-depth interview will be conducted with 5-10 respondents from the North-South migrant population and local / 'Senegalese' population subject to availability of time, resources and access.

Participants of this research must either be nationals of European or North American countries, who are currently residing in Dakar, Senegal, or members of the local population i.e. Senegalese nationals. Any engagement between the respondent and the researcher for the purpose of this research will be characterized by the following terms and conditions:

i) Participation, as a primary or secondary respondent, will be subject to explicit consent obtained either verbally or in writing through this form.

ii) Participation, as a primary or secondary respondent, will entail two interviews – a narrative interview and a semi-structured interview – both of which will be audio-recorded. Audio files will be used for transcription only, unless specifically consented to as otherwise.

iii) All information shared with the researcher by the respondent during the course of this research (including audio recordings, photographs, etc.) will be kept confidential. Anonymized transcripts may be shared with this dissertation's supervisor, Dr. Lotte Pelckmans (University of Copenhagen, Denmark). The researcher will make all efforts to ensure that information obtained is stored in a safe and secure manner.

iv) The researcher agrees to share with the respondent all copies of transcripts being used for review and verification by the respondent, in case he/she is interested. The respondent agrees to indicate his/her interest in reviewing such transcripts explicitly, before completion of the interview period.

v) Any information used in research papers, including but not limited to this dissertation, will be done so only upon anonymization of the respondent's identity and/or identifying details, after discussion and agreement with the respondent and as listed below:

- ☐ Name
- ☐ Organization / Institution
- ☐ Area of Residence
- ☐ Others _____

vi) The respondent may revoke consent / participation in the research at any point before 15ᵗʰ May 2019 in which case any information obtained cannot be used as part of current and future research.

vii) In case of publication of any research papers, including but not limited to this dissertation, using information obtain from the respondent, the researcher will share details of the same with the respondent using the following contact information:

Email: _____

Contact number: _____

PART II. CONSENT

I, _____, hereby provide my consent to participate in this research conducted by Avantee Bansal enrolled at the University of Stavanger (UiS), Norway as part of the programme European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations (EMMIR) during the period of January – June 2019 after having read and understood the above terms and conditions.

Respondent Signature: _____   Researcher Signature: _____

Date: _____   Place: _____

ANNEXURE B

NARRATIVE INTERVIEW TOOL (Primary Respondents)

The following questions were provided in the form of flash cards to all primary respondents i.e. North-South migrants. Respondents were instructed to include these points, giving them the depth and form they wished, as part of their narratives. This narrative-style interview helped limit my contributions as a researcher, apart from a few follow-up questions that did not exceed 30 minutes. The aim of this interview was to generate a narrative which provides an overview of the respondents' motivations to migrate, migration trajectory and life post-migration in the host context i.e. Dakar, Senegal, with minimal influence from the researcher and in keeping grounded theory's emphasis on allowing data to speak for itself. Post the interview, respondents were given the space to debrief if necessary.

///

- Where are you from?

- What made you want to leave your home country?
    - How did you plan / prepare for the shift (s)? What all did you have to take care of?

- Why Senegal out of all places?

- How was the process / journey?
    - Any challenges?

- Life in Senegal
    - Settling in
    - Upsides & Downsides
    - Integration into local community
    - Comparison to life in home country

- Future Plans

ANNEXURE C

MASTER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Primary Respondents)

The following interview schedule was drafted during the process of constant comparative analysis of all narrative interviews. This schedule was used as a tool in the formulation of customized interview schedules for all primary respondents, as it contained areas of inquiry and emerging themes across all of their narratives thereby allowing for comparable data collection in the second phase of interviews. The number of questions contained in the final customized interviews were lesser in number and were selected in view of the analysis of respondents' first interviews.

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- If I met you at a random party and asked you, "What do you do and where are you from?", what would you say

PERSONAL DETAILS
- Name
- Age
- Nationality
- Sex and/or Gender
- Profession
- Organization / Company
- Area of Residence in Dakar, Senegal
- Residing in Dakar, Senegal since _____
- Living with _____
- Preferred pseudonym + any other personal details to be kept confidential?

MOTIVATIONS / DECISION-MAKING PROCESS
1. Can you tell me about when you first realised you want to / have to move out of your home country?
2. What were your motivations to migrate out of your home country / think on those lines?
   a) What do your reasons mean? E.g. "a better life" – what does this mean for you? And do you think you found it here?
3. When did you first start thinking about migrating / moving? What caused it?

4. What were your motivations to migrate to Dakar, Senegal?

5. What made this move imaginable for you?

6. What had you heard about life in Dakar / Senegal / Africa?

   a) How and where did you find this information? What were the most influential sources of information for you? (e.g. friends' accounts, travelogue, book, etc.)

7. Has anyone in your family / friend circle ever lived in an 'expat' or migrant life, outside their home countries?

8. How would you describe your social identity or class in your home country? E.g. would you say you hailed from a middle class family?

PRE-DEPARTURE PLANNING / PREPARATION

1. What was the preparation you had to do to make this shift?

   a) You spoke of your insurance worries. Do you think this was a factor of your migration choices? Or is it a consequence of your mode of work?

2. What were the networks you relied upon in planning and executing your migration?

3. What regulations/policies determined the ease or difficulty of your migration?

   a) E.g. what sort of visa did you come in on? Was this difficult to obtain? Did the visa type correspond with your migration intentions? Did you have to extend your visas? How was this process?

4. How long did it take you to prepare for this transition / wrap up your life there?

5. What factors did you consider when deciding where to move? / What were you looking for when you decided to move to Senegal?

6. Did you know anyone here before you moved?

7. Did you have a job before your arrival here, or did you find one after arrival?

   a) What was the process like? Was there any bureaucracy?

8. Did you have to save a lot of money for this trip? If yes, how long did it take?

MOBILITY / TRAJECTORY / THE MOVE

1. Since how long have you been living out of your home country?

2. Have you migrated anywhere else previously, before / apart from Senegal?

   a) Why did you not move back home from the country you were previously in?

   b) Is this a lifestyle you intend on maintaining? Why?

3. What makes such migration possible for you?

4. Where is 'home' for you? Where is your family?

5. Did you face any difficulties in / during / after migration here? What strategies did you use to overcome them?

    a) At the border

    b) Experiences of Limbo - liminality i.e. a sense of ambiguity or disorientation that occurs during a transition period, when one no longer holds the pre-transition status and has not yet acquired a post-transition status. This can be experienced in terms of legality of stay, finding work, establishing a personal/social network, building adequate support structures, etc.

    c) Transferability of qualifications

6. Did you encounter any "migration intermediaries"?

7. Did you encounter any difficulties in the transferability of your qualifications / having your degree recognized by your employer?

POST-MIGRATION

1. Where do you live in Dakar? What made you choose this area? Did you consider any other areas? E.g. Almadies is often referred to as the 'expat bubble'.

2. Is Dakar different to what you imagined it to be? How? Why?

3. Who are the people that helped you settle down and e.g. find a job in Dakar? Can you tell me a little more about them?

4. Was it easy to come by opportunities for your professional growth in Dakar? How or through which networks/platforms did you encounter these opportunities?

    a) Are the work opportunities available here better than those available in your home country and / or previous destination?

    b) Are you here on a local or international work contract? / Being an expat, are you on a similar contract as your Senegalese/other expat colleagues or are there different contracts for international staff in your organization?

    c) Is there any disparity between your Senegalese/expat colleagues and you at work?

5. Did you have to adapt to life in Dakar? In what ways? How was this challenging, if at all?

6. Do you feel a chance / difference in your social identity here as compared to in your home country?

7. How does it feel when you visit back home? Does anything bring feelings of relief/regret on your decision to move out?

8. How welcoming has the host society / country been to you, as a migrant? / How have you been received here by the host society / country?

      a) How do you feel treated by the government here as a migrant? Any situations where you have been the subject of political / state opinion on immigration?

9. What does integration mean to you? How integrated do you feel with Dakar society / Senegal?

10. What have been some interactions that have defined your perception of the Senegalese people? How does this compare to your perceptions before arrival?

11. What factors have determined your success / establishment here?

      a) E.g. what was the role of your skills and qualifications in determining your mobility and success?

12. Outside work, what places do you frequent in Dakar? Who are some usual suspects in your regular social circles? Can you describe these places and people a bit?

      a) Does your social circle consist of Senegalese people as well? How did you meet them?

13. How are you perceived by society here?

14. Do you feel the expat population is segregated from the Senegalese population? Why so? Is this also the case at public places you visit? E.g. gym, beaches, etc.

15. How has life changed for you post migration? What has changed?

16. What effects do you think your presence/migration has here?

17. How do you think life would have turned out for you had you not migrated? What would have been different?

      a) How different is your lifestyle here as compared to what it was before / in your home country?

      b) Have your working conditions changed post migration? If yes, how and to what extent?

18. If you could move back to your home country now, would you? What would hold you back / make you want to leave?

      a) If you did move, what changes would occur in your lifestyle and work?

      b) If you did move, do you think you would be able to find opportunities readily on the other side?

19. (For respondents who are business owners in Dakar) Is there any state pressure / regulation requiring you to employ / give preference to local staff over international staff? What regulations govern your hiring decisions?

GENERAL

1. How different do you consider your migration to be from other forms of migration being discussed / problematized in the world today?

2. How do you relate to this colonial past of this country?

    a) Do you think this country's colonial past affects how you are perceived by / your relationships with the local population?

3. Do you find yourself having to negotiate race / racial differences in your everyday interactions? If yes, how do you go about it?

ANNEXURE D

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Secondary Respondent)

This schedule was used in the only formal interview conducted with a secondary respondent i.e. member of the Senegalese population and host society.

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1. According to you, what constitutes the migrant population here in Dakar? Which nationalities does this include?
2. How are these migrant groups described by yourself and other Senegalese, what kind of terminology and words are used to refer to them (e.g. Toubab? others?)
3. What or who is considered a "wanted migrant" here in Senegal?

4. Do you consider European / American 'expats' to be migrants?
5. How large is their community in Dakar?
   - Do you think they are present in large numbers?
   - What do you think is the reason behind such a large presence of expats in Dakar?
   - Why are firms/companies/organizations not employing Senegalese people for these positions?
   - Do Senegalese people face any barriers to entry for jobs/positions occupied by the expat population?

6. Why do you think they move out of their home countries?
7. Why do you think they move to Dakar, Senegal?
8. Do you feel the government needs to regulate their migration and activities in the country? What kind of discussions are there about this in Senegal? How does that differ from the positions of other countries in the subregion (e.g. mali, Niger, etc)
9. What effect do you think they have on Senegal?
10. How does their presence in Dakar affect you?

11. How do you view the presence of so many expats in Dakar? What do they mean for the economy, life, culture, crime and society here?

- What do they bring to the country / this city?

- What do they take from the country / this city?

- How do they affect Dakar on a social level?

- How do you think this country would do without them?

12. What skills do you think need to be imported in Senegal?

13. In your opinion, how well integrated are they?

- What does being well-integrated mean to you?

- What kind of economic activities do they engage in?

- What kind of social activities do they engage in?

- What are the interactions of the local population with them like?

- What are the most common sites of interaction?

14. How can the dominant relationship with / perception of these migrants be described?

- How do locals view French migrants here?

15. How does race figure in your interactions with 'expats/N-S migrants'? How do you negotiate this (if at all)?

16. What is it like to work with European / North American migrants? What are the differences or similarities in work cultures and attitudes?

17. Have you, or others that you know of, ever tried to migrate to Europe / North America to pursue a better life? Can you tell me a little more about their stories?

- What do you think restricts their mobility in the opposite direction i.e. from Global South > Global North?