

“Africa on the move”: diaspora, mobility, migration, languages, culture and economy

Researching transnational political, economic, linguistic and
cultural biographies in an inter- and transdisciplinary manner

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1. Introduction

Migration, movement of peoples and mobility in general are an ancient human phenomenon. The second half of the last century, however, brought with it a renewed dynamization of migration. The progressing globalization reveals a clear and ever-increasing flexibility and, to some extent, democratization of mobility, both of persons and of goods of material and intellectual nature. Due to the growing mobility and emergence of inter- and transnational networks in, for example, Europe, ever larger diaspora groups are formed, which actively maintain a cultural identity. Diasporas are understood as collectives that maintain relationships across borders with people (from the same countries/regions of origin) locally and/or in the countries of origin. Both financial and non-financial goods — e.g. knowledge — are exchanged on a daily basis.

Today, migrated persons can establish and, above all, maintain contact with their countries of origin faster and more cheaply than in the past. The knowledge and skills that migrated individuals can access can thus also be shared more quickly and easily with others in their countries of origin. Mohamoud (2009: 5), head of the African Diaspora Policy Center in Amsterdam, mentions, "This advantage enables diaspora communities to build up vast transnational networks (criss-crossing countries and continents) linking globalization to the local conditions of their respective countries of origin." The influence is reciprocal, as migrated individuals can also help change outdated ideologies in their new homes. They also bring with them enormous linguistic and cultural diversity and a different understanding of nature and the environment. Thus, movements of peoples cause interaction in the society, language, culture, politics, and economy of individual states. This interaction can be observed both at the national level — e.g., in the labour market in the receiving country — and at the international level — through foreign exchange and the transfer of intangible goods to countries of origin.

A single-disciplinary approach to migration and diaspora movements cannot encompass and adequately describe all related phenomena. Linguist Erfurt (2021: 147) highlights that the more concrete and specific questions about diaspora dynamics become, the more difficult it becomes to answer them with just one approach. Sociologist Jana Hönke (2017: 3) believes that traditional approaches, e.g., international relations, may have difficulty to adequately capture and examine the complexity of transnational dynamics. Complex interrelationships and phenomena in society cannot be categorized and studied exhaustively in a single discipline in a separable way. Therefore, a multifaceted conceptualization, theorization, and methodological approach is necessary to obtain a complete picture of the phenomena created by migration and diaspora formation.

Moreover, the majority of research conducted in Europe takes a look at societies, people and/or phenomena from the exogenous perspective. This means that observations, Africa on the move

descriptions and interpretations made by scholars are mostly made from an external perspective. In addition, the currently circulating public discourse on migration, e.g. in the media, shows a strong ambiguity in the description of migration movements. In the public discourse of Germany, for example, a clear tendency can be found in which migration is located between curse/blessing, gain/loss or problem/opportunity. The prevailing and currently valid discourse of society emerges from anonymous ordering and structuring of the current state of knowledge (Parr 2014). The interrogation and contemplation of the cultural and scientific knowledge of a generation — or even an era — is of central importance. The current discourse has a direct impact on the theories and methods of all scientific disciplines and also on fields of social action, such as integration policy, language policy, etc., both on a national and inter- or transnational level. However, a change in the epistemic approach to many societal issues can be observed in many scientific disciplines (Hönke 2017, Agnew 1994). Thus, a shift towards knowledge plurality can be observed. In these constellations, Eurocentric perspectives are placed within a universal knowledge system and are not considered as a central and objective knowledge system. This view has the central assumption that knowledge is always partial and moves and distributes in a circular way in society. This also shows that different disciplines do not always have to be up to date with the research findings of another discipline.

Under the title "Africa on the Move", a Summer School was held at the University of Mannheim from August 1-5, 2022, in which Afro-diaspora in Europe and the Americas (North, Central and South America) was examined in a transdisciplinary and multidimensional approach. The focus was on the interaction — on a social, economic, cultural, political, linguistic and artistic level — of African diaspora movements. On three days, the scientific disciplines of political science (Chapter 2), economics (Chapter 3) and linguistics (Chapter 4) were thematically focused. In addition, affected actors who deal with Afro-diaspora in the context of their civil society engagement or artistic, cultural work were discussed.

Literature:

Agnew, J. (1994). The Territorial Trap. The geographical assumptions of IRT. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1(1), 53–80.

Erfurt, J. (2021): Transkulturalität – Prozesse und Perspektiven. Tübingen: Narr Francke.

Hönke, J. & Müller, M.-M. (eds.) (2016). The Global Making of Policing. *Postcolonial Perspectives*: Routledge, 1-19.

Mohamoud, A. (2009): The EU, the African Diaspora in Europe, and its Impact on Democracy Building in Africa. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

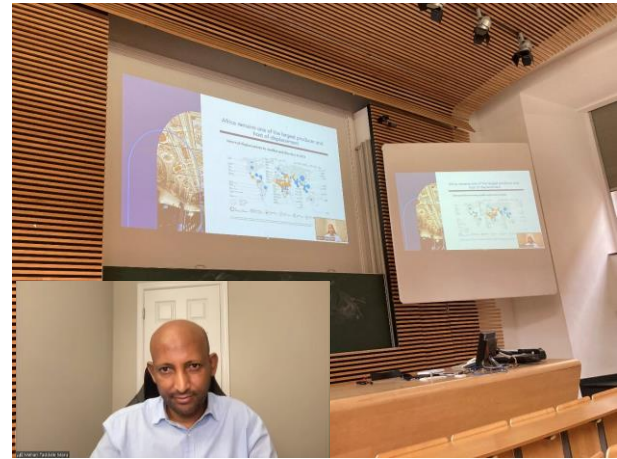
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2. Political Science

2.1. Migration policy-making in Africa: Determinants and implications for cooperation with Europe

Presentation: Mehari Maru

Mehari Maru is a professor at the school of Transnational Governance and Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute. He also holds a fellowship at the United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies, Bruges and was actively involved as an expert in different committees and commissions. His field of expertise is on topics dealing with migration and citizenship in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa. For the summer school, he gave a keynote based on his paper "Migration Policy-making in Africa: Determinants and Implications for Cooperation with Europe" (Maru, 2021).



Data shows that migration occurs predominantly within Africa between East and West. Historically, migration within Africa exceeds migration movements to other countries. Maru remarks that the data is biased because it relies on deportation documentation, disregarding undocumented migration. Africa remains one of the largest producers and hosts of displacement worldwide. Climate and health crises further reinforce this development.

In his article, Maru analyzes policy positions on migration to Europe from an African perspective. Migration policy in Africa is determined by the intrinsic link between migration and development, local political regimes and their values, capabilities and limitations, financial gains resulting from the cooperation with the EU, geographic proximity of states, and migration routes to Europe. A partnership requires a balance of values and interests. Maru names four critical factors for success: shared priorities, political support, resources, and implementation mechanisms. From a European perspective, migration is considered a crisis, leading to the EU implementing and supporting policies within Africa (e.g., the pan-African agenda of free movement) to reduce migration into Europe. However, the financial and political power asymmetry has caused a shift in African priorities towards policies that cater to European interests over African ones. Maru concludes with several recommendations. For one, migration diplomacy should be characterized by a continuous frank and sincere dialogue rather than focused on containing irregular migration to Europe with financial resources. The provision of legal pathways to Europe can reduce illegal migration and obstruct human trafficking and smuggling. Additionally, African implementation capabilities should be improved and decentralized to ensure that agreed-upon policies are actually lived in practice.

In the discussion, Maru briefly outlined that the diachronic development of African-European migration policies, i.e., the evolution of its framing over time, started as cooperative conversations and partnerships. There was openness to discuss diverging points, and where convergence could be achieved, actions were taken. 2015 saw the onset of a European panic that led to a patchwork of European domestic policies with money as a "troubleshooter" to ascertain power. This led to a disruption of the process, formerly based on conversation, discussion and mutual understanding. Maru pointed out that in such partnerships of unequals, the one with less power agrees on policies but then dodges their implementation. As a result, African countries are dragging their feet in areas of great importance for Europe, such as the remittance of migrants that do not qualify for asylum protection. There are areas where success has been achieved; most African countries have articulated their national migration policies and established reintegration projects. However, the improvements do not catch up to the pace Europe wants. The audience then asked whether ancient migration routes and traditions were considered, especially soft borders. When the countries were created as they are today, different ethnic groups got split. Maru answered that colonial borders were artificially imposed. He illustrated this point with a picture of the market in Okavu, which is situated directly on the international border between Uganda and Congo, and a family property located in three countries, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. The marginalization of ethnic groups within countries has led to resistance movements, rebellions, and criminal networks. Europe has helped find win-win solutions with the pan-African agenda of free movement, which allows for a softer border to allow free movement without documents rather than division.

Literature:

Maru, M. T. (2021). Migration Policy-making in Africa: Determinants and Implications for Cooperation with Europe. *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper No. RSC, 54*.

2.2. Paradigm shift or reinventing the wheel? Towards a research agenda on change and continuity in EU development policy

Presentation: Jan Orbie

Jan Orbie is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science at Ghent University in Belgium. His research focuses on the external relations of the EU and its global role. He focuses on critical and normative approaches to EU and international politics. For the summer school, he presented his paper "Paradigm Shift or Reinventing the Wheel? Towards a Research Agenda on Change and Continuity in EU Development" (Delputte & Orbie, 2020).



Orbie started his talk by pointing out that he realized that development policy is highly problematic. The notion of 'development', European people being developed, and other countries being underdeveloped and needing help and intervention can be seen as a continuation of colonial logic. Development policies emerged when formal colonialism started to disintegrate after the Second World War, which continued asymmetric power relations and exploitation, imposing our way of living. Orbie emphasized that good intentions do not really matter in this context, but power does. As a result, also the academic study of development is highly problematic. Studying the technicalities and efficiency of development policies legitimizes the whole notion of development policies and their colonial roots. He emphasized the need to question what science is when dealing with sensitive issues. Europe always had the notion that Europe and Africa form an organic union. The Eurafican mindset greatly influences European development policy. Many things are changing, with 'development policy' being rephrased as 'international partnerships'. In the article, the authors address whether these developments reflect a fundamental paradigm change.

To analyze whether there is change or continuity in the EU development policy, the authors utilize a circular framework with different levels of ideas. Paradigms are at the model's core, and programmatic and policy ideas build the outer two layers. *Paradigms* are internalized ideas, e.g., racism and capitalism, and are hard to change. *Policy ideas* describe the instruments used to obtain fixed goals, which can frequently change. *Programmatic ideas* form the middle, where goals are adjusted, but the fundamental paradigms remain. He illustrates the model with the migration-development nexus, where the trust fund on migration (*policy idea*) constitutes the instrument. This instrument is based on the belief in the root causes of migration (*programmatic idea*), i.e., the conviction that migration and development



are closely linked. It carries the notion that more developed people will be less inclined to migrate — which, as Orbie points out, is not necessarily true. The ideas rely on the paradigm that borders are the uncontested default situation in a system of nation-states, and mobility should be restricted (*paradigm*).

In their paper, the authors distinguish between three drives for paradigm changes: First, a (perceived) systemic crisis has to occur, which cannot be solved within the boundaries of existing paradigms. Second, alternative views have to be available. Third, a power change needs to happen. Orbie states that the problems in EU development policies are not seen as systemic failures, but the conclusion is that the policies have to be better to work. Alternative visions on post-development are marginalized, so the power dimension remains unfulfilled. He concludes that there are changes at the level of policy ideas but not when it comes to underlying paradigms. Orbie finally ends with a vision of hope because there are still new movements in Europe that fight for alternative visions.

The discussion started with a question on power relations and power distributions within the EU. Orbie elaborated that a lot of development research looks at the different views on development aid within the EU resulting from the different cultural and political backgrounds that have emerged historically. Thus, coordination on development issues is challenging. However, this approach means looking at the topic with a magnifying glass. Orbie tries to zoom out to look at the commonalities in the broader context of shared paradigms based on shared colonial backgrounds and perspectives. He emphasizes that the idea that 'they' are underdeveloped and need 'us' to help them develop our model is very strong across Europe. The audience then wanted to know how the EU arrives at unified decisions. Orbie answered that the European Commission is a large, powerful actor. Additionally, the EU provides many institutions, procedures, and mechanisms to coordinate its Member States' development policies. The major problem is that every member state wants to coordinate. However, nobody wants to be coordinated, which led to the EU not being very successful in their coordination attempts, representing one of the perceived failures in EU development policies. Thus, the EU implements more and other policies without addressing the fundamental political barriers.

Literature:

Delputte, S., & Orbie, J. (2020). Paradigm shift or reinventing the wheel? Towards a research agenda on change and continuity in EU development policy. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 16(2), 234-256.

2.3. Policy project: Africa in Focus ("Afrika im Blick")

Presentation: Martin Adelman

Martin Adelman is Managing Director at the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI), one of Germany's leading research institutes for comparative area studies and transregional studies. His research focuses on regional integration, inter-regionalism and development policy in Southern Africa. During the Summer School, he presented the research project "Africa in Focus – Stocktaking and Perspectives of a Deepened Cooperation of Actors in Baden-Württemberg and Africa", which was commissioned by the state government of Baden-Württemberg.



While Africa used to be a marginal issue in German foreign policy twenty years ago, the topic has gained much more attention in the meantime. Four major themes recur in German Africa policy: migration, green energy and climate protection, colonialism and restitution, and economic relations. There was a consensus in Baden-Württemberg politics that Africa cannot and should not be ignored any further. Adelman emphasized the obvious asymmetry between Baden-Württemberg as a German state and Africa as a continent with 54 heterogeneous states and more than 2000 languages. The project is designed as a study with a focus on politics in Baden-Württemberg and serves to objectify the political discussion. It represents an inventory of existing initiatives in order to strengthen co-operations and to be able to bundle processes and networks.

As part of "Africa in Focus," a participatory consultation process was launched in 2018/2019 that included data collection on existing initiatives, expert discussions with ministries and organizations, and meetings with stakeholders on individual topics. Thematic areas of the study include science and art, education, economy, administration, environment, municipal cooperation, civil society and migrants*. Adelman presents the area of 'science and art' as an example. Within the framework of university partnerships, exchange relationships are to be newly created and strengthened, enabling African students to spend time at Baden-Württemberg universities and vice versa. Common topics such as sustainability and digitization are also in focus. Overarching this, Adelman explains that Baden-Württemberg has been chosen as the starting point in the study; in other words, Baden-Württemberg initiatives that have an impact on Africa are the focus. The focus is directed inward to existing structures in the core functions of the state (esp. universities and school education). Rather, the state government should facilitate a platform of communication to foster dialogues between partners and support existing initiatives.

As a result, the study shows the need to strengthen the country's Africa competence both in the school sector and at the political level. It is proposed that an 'Africa Forum Baden-Württemberg' be established for the topic-specific networking of stakeholders. The topics of sustainability and digitization concern Africa and Baden-Württemberg in equal measure. Through talks with the federal government, Baden-Württemberg also has the opportunity to address issues that pose a problem for many actors in the state (e.g., visas for African partners). Financially, start-up funding is particularly needed to complement the federal government in promoting ideas that can give rise to larger projects.

The project initially had great political momentum. Since then, the project has fallen victim to the Corona pandemic. Intended budgetary funds were reallocated to existing projects and Corona emergency funds. In the meantime, the issue has also been overtaken by the Ukraine crisis; the funding issue is currently unresolved. An 'Africa Forum Baden-Württemberg' is planned for fall 2022, at which the project will be revisited.¹

The audience asked whether political cycles and the resulting changes in government posed a problem for the project. According to Adelman, the state ministry that commissioned the project remained in the hands of the Green Party, and the project 'Africa in Focus' continues to be listed in the coalition agreement. In contrast, the question of what will materialize in view of the current situation in the budget negotiations and in the individual ministries remains open. The discussion shifted to the role of science for political decisions. Adelman explains that peer-reviewed articles in journals tend not to enter the discourse, but politicians read concept papers and invite researchers to panel events. Ultimately, the perception depends on the understanding of science of the individual politicians, many of whom are open to the discourse. In fact, the question of what is implemented politically is more relevant.

Literature:

Adelman, M. (2019). „Afrika im Blick“ – Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven einer vertieften Kooperation von Akteuren in Baden-Württemberg und Afrika. *Konzeptpapier im Auftrag der Staatsministeriums Baden-Württemberg*.

¹ Editorial note: The Africa Forum BaWü meanwhile took place on October 27, 2022.

2.4. Interim conclusion

The three political science projects discussed during the summer school display different approaches to how the African diaspora shapes and is shaped by political discussions and policies.

Historically, European development aid has been characterized by power asymmetries and the view of Europe as the 'savior' and Africa as 'one to be saved'. In his talk, Orbie calls the notion of 'development aid' into question, viewing it as a continuation of colonial sentiments in a different cloak. The artificial African borders drawn with utter disregard for any local societies and ethnic belonging are one, even to this day, a discernible trace of colonialism. They illustrate the sledgehammer enforcement of the European paradigm of borders as default, as Orbie describes it. This idea opposes the nomadic traditions that had been enrooted in African societies. Maru mentions that European politics have supported the establishment of the pan-African agenda of free movement. It seems ironic that former colonial states responsible for the demarcation in the first place now help ease the resulting problems and conflicts by softening these borders.

The conclusion that genuine cooperation with Africa requires a partnership of equals is one common denominator in all presentations. Policies that are not in the interest of both sides will ultimately fail. It is left to be seen whether the open and honest dialogue Maru calls for is possible without a fundamental paradigm shift in European-African relations, which — according to Orbie's assessment — so far has not yet taken place (although he offers hope that such a change might take place in the future). Maybe this shift is already happening on a smaller scale in local undertakings organized jointly with African migrants, such as some of the initiatives Adelman contacted for his policy project.

Political science inherently benefits from interdisciplinary work. Research results from different academic areas, such as economics or sociology, are essential to inform political processes. Vice versa, other disciplines can learn from the new evaluations of development policies and interactions with Africa developed in political science to question established narratives and beliefs in their own fields. While research demands objectivity, one cannot deny that personal interests and paradigms shape the questions we ask and the way we phrase our hypotheses. Ultimately, it is up to researchers to be aware of these influences, to question themselves, and to be open to challenge and adjust their viewpoints if necessary.

3. Business & Economics

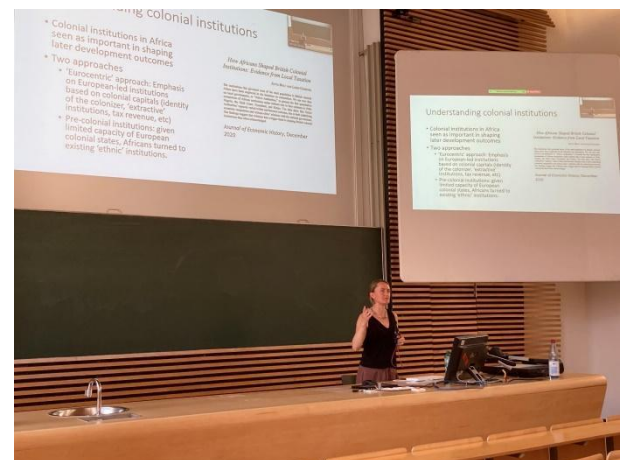
3.1. How Africans shaped British colonial institutions: Evidence from local taxation

Presentation: Leigh Gardner

Leigh Gardner is a Professor of Economic History at the London School of Economics and Political Science and a Research Associate in African economic history at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. Her research focuses on the history of public finance and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa. For the summer school, she gave a keynote based on her paper "How Africans Shaped British Colonial Institutions: Evidence from Local Taxation" (Bolt & Gardner, 2020), drawing references to other ongoing work.

In their article, the authors investigate differences between African institutions under the direct rule in four British colonies (Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Nyasaland, and Kenya) in 1948. Colonial institutions and legacies are seen as important for shaping African political and economic outcomes even after independence. Gardner emphasized that colonial institutions were an interaction of colonial powers and indigenous elites. The colonial powers did not have sufficient resources to govern the colonies and thus had to rely on existing local structures. Pre-colonial local institutions were not homogeneous but ranged from hierarchical complex, highly centralized kingdoms to horizontally-oriented societies. Research shows that local councils often constrained indigenous chiefs' power (Bolt et al., 2022). Over time, the Colonial government was increasingly decentralized, with Native authorities increasingly receiving the power to tax and responsibilities for provisions of government services.

For their analysis, the authors utilize district-level surveys on physical, economic, and political characteristics of Native authorities to quantitatively compare local government structures and their state capacity, measured by the Native Authorities' ability to collect tax revenue. State capacity influenced the capability of local governments to employ personnel, build schools, and invest in local infrastructure, which led to differences in the economic legacy after independence. Their results indicate that areas with greater market access obtained higher revenues. More autonomous Native authorities also had higher capacity, which Gardner related to a higher willingness to pay taxes when people felt they had a voice in where the revenues would be spent. The structure of local authorities also impacted revenue collection, with areas with a clear ruler achieving larger income. Gardner concluded that African institutions were a crucial component of British colonial rule in Africa, especially in rural areas.



Colonial institutions seemed to result from a dynamic relationship through the colonial period rather than just creatures of European imaginations or inheritances from the pre-colonial past.

The audience asked whether the establishment of Native authorities was typical for British colonies or common under French rule, too. Gardner answered that the key difference between French and British Africa was the extent of decentralization. In contrast to the British indirect rule, French colonies tended to implement a direct rule with a federal structure, working with transfers to poorer regions. However, the British and French differed on all levels and worked more pragmatically than dogmatic. The audience then wanted to know if subnational development complemented or substituted the national setup. Gardner answered that decentralization policy was applied everywhere and not focused on Native authorities with higher capacity. Gardner pointed out the importance of understanding spatial inequality when asked about the paper's learnings for modern times. The research highlights the inequalities between regions and the impact of institutional structures, helping to understand how institutions contribute to these inequalities and how they emerged.

Literature:

Bolt, J., & Gardner, L. (2020). How Africans shaped British colonial institutions: evidence from local taxation. *The Journal of Economic History*, 80(4), 1189-1223.

Bolt, J., Gardner, L., Kohler, J., Paine, J., & Robinson, J. A. (2022). African Political Institutions and the Impact of Colonialism. *Working Paper No. w30582, National Bureau of Economic Research*.

3.2. China in Africa: Competitor of the EU?

Presentation: Katja Kalkschmied

Katja Kalkschmied is a postdoc at the Chair of International Economics, Faculty of Management and Economics, Ruhr-University Bochum. Her research focuses on the role of China as a development financier, particularly in Africa. For the summer school, she presented her paper "China in Africa: Competitor of the EU?" (Ahrens & Kalkschmied, 2021).



The authors discuss and contrast Sino-African relations with African-European relations, investigating whether China and the EU are competing in Africa and how these competitions may hold opportunities and threats for Africa. Kalkschmied outlined how the EU and their traditional development strategies, which had modest success, started to face a rising Chinese presence in the last two decades, leading to increased economic activity. While Europe still provides the most development aid, trade and investment, China has become Africa's biggest economic partner.

In their approaches, European development paternalism faces Chinese smartness. On the one hand, the European model relies on a traditional donor-receiver relationship where reforms and values such as human rights and democracy are seen as a precondition for cooperation. The money transfers cement existing power asymmetries, promote corruption and deteriorate African firms' competitiveness. Kalkschmied calls the approach self-interested, utilizing development aid to protect European markets and societies and impose European ideas. On the other hand, the Chinese approach allows independent and country-specific development, following the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, no reform conditions and an emphasis on self-determination. Kalkschmied describes China's strategy as a pragmatic eye-to-eye approach framed as brotherly cooperation between developing countries to create win-win situations.

Kalkschmied concludes that there is more competition between Europe and Africa rather than cooperation. The two powers compete for access to natural resources and markets, political influence, geopolitical power and the proper development model. From an African perspective, it is unclear whether they can benefit or prevent them from reducing dependencies. It will be important to see how the powers are balanced and different approaches can complement each other rather than substitute one hegemonic power for another.

The audience asked about comparing theory and what can be seen in reality in the data in more empirical work. Kalkschmied answers that she sees a complementarity in the offers in

her data. Europe and China provide financing for different sectors and in different ways. China chooses physical infrastructure, whereas Europe supports more social infrastructure and policy reform projects. Ultimately, it depends on the African countries and their ability to manage the different offers. It was also called into question whether the time horizon so far has been long enough to assess the final implications. Kalkschmied replied that a short-term growth effect is visible, which is dying out slowly. It will take another 30 to 50 years to determine long-term costs and trade-offs in an equilibrium setting. The audience was also interested in Chinese workers stationed in Africa and related fears of crowding out of the labor market. Kalkschmied explained that Chinese firms usually bring their workers, transferring labor and capital income back to China. However, once the Chinese leave, the infrastructure will remain in Africa and have a positive effect. The final question was whether European officials were aware of Chinese influence and whether this awareness impacted their decisions. Kalkschmied replied that European officials were driven by what China was doing. European countries started to rethink their strategies and positions and have been adjusting them constantly. In this sense, competition potentially leads to positive results, pressuring people in power to change their ways. However, it is not yet researched how China and Europe approach their co-existence in Africa, whether they are avoiding each other or actively searching each other out to compete for influence.

Literature:

Ahrens, J., & Kalkschmied, K. (2021). China in Africa: Competitor of the EU? In: R. Wrobel (ed.), *Korea, the Iron Silk Road and the Belt and Road Initiative: soft power and hard power approaches*. Vol. 7 of the Series' Emerging Market Studies', Peter Lang Publishing House.

3.3. Diaspora entrepreneurs' push and pull institutional factors for investing in Africa

Presentation: Frank Nyame-Asiamah

Frank Nyame-Asiamah is a senior lecturer at the Business and Law faculty of the Leicester Castle Business School, De Montfort University (UK). Nyame-Asiamah's interests lie in interdisciplinary management research, with a particular focus on, amongst other topics, organizational learning and entrepreneurship. For the summer school, he

presented his project "Diaspora entrepreneurs' push and pull institutional factors for investing in Africa: Insights from African returnees from the United Kingdom" (Nyame-Asiamah et al., 2020).

Migrants contribute to a substantial share of the global gross domestic product. Part of this wealth is remitted to their home countries to improve development. The 'brain drain' commonly talked about when discussing the movement of Africans to other countries thus, instead has become a 'brain circulation'. In their host countries, the African diaspora faces many challenges, such as discrimination and restrictive policies.

Nyame-Asiamah and co-authors investigate the motivation of the African diaspora to invest in their home countries. They interview several African diaspora entrepreneurs living in the UK and developed businesses in their origin countries. Based on these case studies, the authors identify two types of motivation for the engagement: First, the entrepreneurs can be driven by the desire to support women, children and their communities in their origin countries. Second, enterprise-driven factors motivate them to support other diaspora businesses, apply Western expertise, and overcome institutional restrictions via self-employment. The authors use their interviews' data to develop a theoretical model. They conceptualize how diaspora entrepreneurs deal with incentivizing (pull) and discouraging (push) institutional factors to develop business enterprises in their countries of origin. Diaspora entrepreneurs must identify institutional opportunities and challenges in their origin and host country to develop strategies to overcome these challenges. E.g., unstable environments drive the diaspora out of their native countries but later become lucrative grounds for their business. The authors show that the entrepreneurs combine knowledge, skills and wealth they have obtained in their host country with support from trusted family, kinship and business ties in their countries of origin.

Nyame-Asiamah phrases implications for practice: Diaspora entrepreneurs should be inspired to capitalize on their individual experiences and knowledge and be motivated to rely on their agencies and social networks. A digital platform could be developed to foster and enhance ties between diaspora entrepreneurial ecosystems. Entrepreneurs must better utilize informal Africa on the move

Diaspora entrepreneurs' push and pull institutional factors for investing in Africa



By
Dr. Frank Nyame-Asiamah

Based on the paper co-authored by:
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Professor Yaw Debrah (Swansea)

institutions to bring their businesses in Africa forward. Policymakers in their origin countries could involve successful diaspora entrepreneurs to develop initiatives and programs to motivate investment and entrepreneurship. Additionally, confidence in African entrepreneurship can also be improved by taking a firm line in curbing corruption.

The audience wanted to know if active entrepreneurs could support new entrepreneurs. Nyame-Asiamah answered that the outcome of his research was shared with the minister of Ghana in a workshop on how to establish more businesses with the diaspora in Africa. The idea was that established entrepreneurs would attract newcomers and discuss how to shape policies in favor of these businesses. For diaspora and local entrepreneurs, he considers it important to strengthen African institutions to develop confidence in building businesses in Africa and attract others. Nyame-Asiamah mentions that one of his Ph.D. students is researching in Nigeria how to develop policies to meet the needs of entrepreneurs. He points out the need to employ a bottom-up approach involving micro and small-scale enterprises to build relevant programs at a local level. The audience also asked whether there was any data on the fraction of investment in Africa coming from the African diaspora. Nyame-Asiamah answers that this kind of entrepreneurship tends to be on a tiny scale, from small to medium-sized entrepreneurs. Advanced countries have more multinational enterprises investing large sums of money, so it is not easy to compare numbers. He cites statistics on foreign direct investment, according to which remittances make up around 5% of the gross domestic product in Ghana, which can be considered huge. Finally, Nyame-Asiamah again emphasizes the importance of policy initiatives to encourage people to start businesses in Africa. He mentions ongoing research on the effect of colonial institutions on female entrepreneurship in Africa. On the one hand, colonialism caused much damage. On the other hand, their data shows that many Africans went to the countries of the colonial powers and obtained the knowledge to start businesses in their origin countries later. Finally, the talk and discussion are summed up: The motives and scale of diaspora investment are different compared to investment from other groups, but all suffer from the lack of quality of formal institutions. The diaspora community can circumvent this challenge by utilizing informal ties.

Literature:

Nyame-Asiamah, F., Amoako, I. O., Amankwah-Amoah, J., & Debrah, Y. A. (2020). Diaspora entrepreneurs' push and pull institutional factors for investing in Africa: Insights from African returnees from the United Kingdom. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 152, 119876.

3.4. What you do (and what you don't) get when expanding the net – Evidence from forced taxpayer registrations in South Africa

Presentation: Kristina Strohmaier

Kristina Strohmaier is a Professor of Public Economics at the University Duisburg-Essen. In her research, she concentrates on public economics, particularly in taxation and education. For the summer school, she presented her paper "What You Do (and What You Don't) Get When Expanding the Net – Evidence from Forced Taxpayer Registrations in South Africa" (Lediga, Riedel & Strohmaier, 2020).

What You Do (Not) Get When Expanding the Net - Evidence from Forced Taxpayer Registrations in South Africa

Kristina Strohmaier - University of Duisburg-Essen
(joint with Collen Lediga and Nadine Riedel)

ZEW Mannheim - August 2022
Summer School "Africa on the move"



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The authors investigate an intervention by tax administrations in South Africa, where business tax and commercial registries were synchronized as a new way of enforcing tax compliance. They analyze the tax behavior of registered firms after the intervention. Tax evasion is a big problem worldwide, especially in low-income countries, which rely on tax revenues to provide public goods such as investment in infrastructure and education. Strohmaier emphasized that high numbers of informal firms are of particular concern. In South Africa, business taxes are only levied on incorporated firms. Incorporation includes several benefits, such as limited liability, better access to external capital and opportunities for transactions with other businesses and the government. Corporations registered in the commercial database are not automatically registered for tax purposes. The synchronization of the two registries in South Africa allowed the tax administration to forcefully register semi-formal firms, which had only been listed in the commercial registry so far.

The South African Revenue Service provided snapshots of the connection between business tax and commercial registry in 2008 and 2014, as well as the business tax returns of those firms that filed their taxes during the tax years 2009 to 2014. In the first step, the researchers show that many firms were added to the tax registry. However, to achieve the goal of increased tax revenue, forcefully registered firms also had to submit a tax return, be profitable, and pay their taxes owed. The data showed that only one in four firms submitted a tax return, of which only a fraction reported positive taxable income. Overall, around 1% of the taxpayers made a positive contribution, resulting in a relatively small increase in tax revenue. Secondly, the authors look at the intervention's effect on the future registration behavior of other firms. Comparing areas with large and small numbers of forcibly registered firms, they find evidence that the likelihood of registering in time increases in strongly treated areas where business owners learn from the enforcement of their networks. Other than these timing effects, compliance does not seem to improve significantly. Strohmaier concludes that the low-cost

intervention conducted by the South African Revenue Service was successful and could be adopted by other countries with non-synchronized tax and commercial registries. She highlights that, from a broad picture point of view, potential revenue gains of such measures might be rather small and should thus always be balanced against additional administrative and compliance costs imposed upon administration and taxpayers.

During the audience discussion, Strohmaier again elaborated that, once registered, firms had to submit tax returns retrospectively. Thus, the observed increase does not translate into yearly revenue gains but as a cumulative increase over the period when firms were non-compliant. The audience also wanted to know how audits were run in South Africa, whether there were regional differences and whether revenues were higher when forced registrations were combined with audits. Strohmaier explained that not many semi-formal firms were audited during their observation period; thus, the data was insufficient for a formal analysis. Then the audience wanted to know whether the disconnection between commercial and tax registries was also a problem in Europe. While Strohmaier could ascertain that tax registrations were done automatically, she did not know whether this was the case in all so-called developed countries. She guessed that most income countries follow the same procedure.

Literature:

Lediga, C., Riedel, N., & Strohmaier, K. (2020). What You Do (and What You Don't) Get When Expanding the Net-Evidence from Forced Taxpayer Registrations in South Africa. *Working Paper*. Available at SSRN 3616808.

3.5. Interim conclusion

The four projects presented during the summer school represent the wide variety of qualitative and quantitative research strategies in business and economics in the context of one seemingly narrow topic: 'Africa on the move'.

First, the projects cover different strategies to answer their research questions: Gardner presented a joint project that derives conclusions for the government's state capacity based on historical data from the 1950s correlations with different variables of interest. Strohmaier and co-authors rely on rich panel data, establishing causal links to determine the effectiveness of a recent policy intervention by tax administrations in South Africa. Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, Nyame-Asiamah and his co-authors conducted several interviews to conceptualize a model of diaspora entrepreneurship. Finally, Kalkschmied and co-author employed a qualitative analysis, shedding light on the dynamics of the European and Chinese engagement on the African continent by drawing from academic and institutional sources.

Second, the talks highlighted the many connections to other fields, especially political science. Research in business and economics aims to inform policymakers in preparing bills and designing support programs. Exemplary for this goal, Nyame-Asiamah and co-authors derive specific policy recommendations in his research and actively engage with African politicians to disseminate their learnings on how African entrepreneurship could be supported. In their article, Kalkschmied and co-author derive implications the European and Chinese development strategies have for Africa. Gardner focuses on historical causes for inequalities between regions and the role institutional structures play in these developments. Moreover, academic research can serve as an evaluation tool for enacted policies. Strohmaier and co-authors illustrate this with their study, showing that the synchronization of the business and tax registries can increase tax compliance and revenue, but only to a limited extent.

Overall, the different presentations displayed the connection between past and present, Europe and Africa, from the perspective of scholars in business and economics. The African diaspora is not a one-way street but has educational and economic consequences for both host and origin countries. In line with the topic of this summer school, it may be fruitful to think more about these interdependencies and differences and how they reflect on language, culture and economic consequences people face in the context of their heritage.

4. Linguistics

4.1. The Romance Languages in Africa (RoLA)

Presentation: Ursula Reutner

Ursula Reutner is a professor of Romance languages linguistics at the University in Passau. She presented an overview of her latest ongoing research project, Romance Languages in Africa (RoLA). The talk focused on Romance languages in Africa and the nexus between them within the continent.



The project Romance Languages in Africa (RoLA) is the first attempt to develop categorical documentation of the Romance languages in Africa. Within this project, 38 countries are studied to describe the presence and evolution of French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish in these territories. Each affiliate analyzes a specific linguistic (and geographical) area by examining the current situation of the languages using a set of criteria and a uniform structure that makes the comparison between languages possible. The levels to be laid out within this project are (1) a sociolinguistic situation and (2) a sketch of linguistic history, both concerning the internal diachronic variation as well as the external factors influencing the language change/maintenance.

After providing an overview of the project, Reutner exemplified by applying some of the criteria mentioned above to French in Africa. She approached the (1) sociolinguistic situation (distribution of additional languages, context of language choice, etc.), (2) linguistic history, external and internal language policy (and language use in official contexts such as school or administration/ codification, official texts, literature, purism, etc.), (3) regional variations of French and (4) structural linguistic (phonetics, lexicon, etc.).

It is fascinating to observe how French has linguistically and legally developed throughout colonization and after independence. The survey depicted the (socio)linguistic situation of 38 countries, of which 26 are French-speaking. Language and language use are a matter of power, empowerment, and participation. European languages are acquired partly in the private sphere. However, access to higher competencies — e.g., the standard and written language — that rely on institutions of legitimation, like schools, universities, etc., is reserved only for the economically privileged members of society. Political matters of official recognition of languages are still changing in Africa. Many countries recognize only European languages as official; autochthone languages, on the other hand, are either mentioned as "cultural heritage" or not mentioned in, e.g., constitutions. In multilingual societies, agreeing on one single official language is challenging in multilingual societies because even the autochthone languages, as

well as the European languages, present internal variation creating very diverse dialect continuums (of both autochthone languages and also European languages). Along the African continent, the intense and extent language contact led emerge a large variety of dialects based on the European languages. Some of these varieties are near the standard, and some others, like in, e.g., Cameroon (French + English-Camfranglais), Chad (French + Arabic) or Central African Republic (French + Sango), are typical language contact varieties. Some of these varieties are basilectal, others mesolectal and some acrolectal.

Some of the categories observed are (1) official status, (2) functionality (L1, vehicular language, etc.), and (3) spiritual/ritual practices (oral, written, etc.). The situation is very dynamic and depends on the regime and language legislation or prohibition.

During the discussion, Andrea Chagas asked Reutner if, in their research project, an ethnographic approach — to observe which kinds of linguistic artifacts (oral tradition — e.g., tonality maintained in a European language to add meaning vs. written tradition — e.g., development of literature, grammar, etc.) play a role in the African societies — was also taken into consideration.

Reutner answered that the way we think is our backbone and perspective. Their research project aims to document the current state of the Romance languages in the African continent. Their aim is achieved by applying the traditional rigid categories that allow linguists to create an observable and comparable object of study. Thus, it is difficult to analyze autonomously. We are trying to understand the present situation but are socialized as Europeans.

Reutner returned the question to Andrea Chagas, asking how she would approach this problem. Chagas replied that she took a cognitive approach and looked into developments not part of written language. She admitted that her approach is still highly criticized in traditional linguistics because it is based on speakers' subjective evaluations. Nonetheless, the perceptive and sociocognitive approaches seem more fruitful in studying the sociolinguistic situation of Spanish in Equatorial Guinea. Chagas then commented that the question of a paradigm shift seems to have become interdisciplinary and that there was rising interest and awareness. Self-reflection and objectivity may, perhaps, help to develop a better understanding in the future.

4.2. The Bakongo people on the move (to the Americas). The linguistic consequences of the slave trade through the comparison between Angolan Portuguese and Palenquero Creole

Presentation: Miguel Gutierrez Maté

Miguel Gutierrez Maté is an associate professor at the University of Augsburg. His research focuses on creole languages, Caribbean Spanish, and the influence of African languages in language contact settings on both sides of the Atlantic.

He presented his work on the linguistic consequences of slavery of the Bakongo people through the comparison of Angolan Portuguese and Palenquero. Maté concentrated on the Kikongo's linguistic patterns in his talk to analyze their influence on Ibero-Romanic languages. Kikongo was the first sub-Saharan language attested in the 16th century and described in the 17th century. Besides that, Kikongo had a big influence in Latin America, especially during the first boom of enslaved trade.

Today we still find remnants of Kikongo, e.g., in Cuban ritual songs and prayers (that are not understood by the people but still hold importance for ritual traditions). Direct remnants are found in Peru due to the influence of freed Africans migrating to Andean territories. Furthermore, Kikongo played a secondary role in Brazil in some works and had a primary influence in Colombia.

In order to study the Kikongo influence in Angolan Portuguese and Palenquero, Maté mapped 15 villages in Cabinda, Cacongo, Boco Zau, and Belize. His data allowed him to narrow down three kinds of speakers: (1) monolingual Kikongo speakers, (2) Kikongo and near standard Portuguese speakers, and (3) Kikongo and restructured Portuguese. The sociolinguistic situation of the Portuguese in Angola shows that Portuguese is only used for specific, mostly westernized social structures. While Portuguese is taught at school, people avoid speaking Portuguese and limit it to communicating with foreigners. Portuguese is also referred to as "Portuguese of the documents" spoken by wealthy people, whereas people from poorer areas speak restructured Portuguese ('as they like').

The importance of Kikongo Portuguese is that it allows linguists to rediscover the links between the variety of Portuguese spoken in Angola and some linguistic structures found in San Basilio de Palenque (Colombia). Ancestor speakers of the original Kikongo substrate were forced to migrate to Colombia and brought their linguistic diversity to the South American continent. Kikongo enslaved speakers were isolated in the new continent, and the language variety they



spoke underwent structural and sociolinguistic changes that led to its loss or change/transformation. These mixed varieties were the natural languages that contributed to the emergence of the Palenquero creole, which does not exist in Africa. In recent papers, collaborations between linguistics and geneticists have started to point out the link between Palenque and the Mayombe forest. Therefore, the analysis of Kikongo and its development in, e.g., Angola can help reconstruct the roots and also the evolution of Palenquero.

The audience wanted to know at which end of the creole language continuum he would position Palenquero. Maté answered that in Palenque, a language shift has already occurred; therefore, only the elderly now speak 'traditional' Palenquero. However, due to the increasing pride connected to the language and the African heritage, we can attest to a revitalization of Palenquero. Nowadays, Palenquero is taught at school as a second language. The variety of Palenquero being taught at school differ from the 'traditional' Palenquero since it, e.g., contains many new borrowed lexemes.

4.3. Cultural Activism and Afro-Hispanic Linguistics: Will Afro-Bolivian Spanish Become a "Language"?

Presentation: Sandro Sessarego

Sandro Sessarego is an associate professor of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Texas at Austin. Sessarego works mainly in the fields of contact linguistics, sociolinguistics and syntax. In his talk, he presented his research and also cultural activism toward Afro-Bolivian Spanish. His talk aimed to present the process of political acknowledgment of Afro-Bolivian Spanish. Three aspects were discussed: (1) threads and opportunities within the current political scenario, (2) visibility, and (3) role in and of education.



Even though Afro-Bolivian is not the only afro linguistic variety in the Americas, the status and recognition among the different linguistic varieties differ highly. For all marginalized varieties, it can be said that the process of legal and cultural acknowledgment is very slow. Papiamentu, e.g., became an official language in 2003, and in 2005 Palenquero was proclaimed "Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" by UNESCO. On the other side, the Afro-Bolivian does not enjoy the same recognition as the two other more popular and better-studied Spanish-based creoles.

Sessarego claimed that the awareness and attitudes towards the Spanish variety spoken by Afro-Bolivians have changed and may lead to a higher awareness of the existence of this variety. In the 90s, metalinguistic comments like "we speak broken Spanish" emerged in the discourse. People did not identify with these varieties; they were not consciously aware that their way of speaking was not only distinct but had the potential to index identity. The negative connotations and attitudes toward the Afro-Bolivian have changed, implicating a positive attitudinal change towards the vernacular. The explicit work of activists is helping create a positive discourse that allows Afro-Bolivians to create an identity through their language use. Technology and social media development also allow Afro-Bolivians to use this media to express their identity and cultural practices. Today, we can, e.g., find podcasts by activists who talk about their language and culture, history, etc. This work aims to create awareness, ABS in education, and provide cultural materials. One of these podcasts is Somos Afrobolivianos which gained international recognition when it won the Latin Podcast Award 2017. Other plans for 2017 included a Bolivia conference on ABS with local community members to involve politicians in the work and to enhance collaboration with the Instituto de la Lengua y Cultura Afroboliviana. At present, there are legal proposals to establish cultural programs in ABS, e.g., to create a scientific committee. Legal proposals have already led to the publication of articles

and more support for cultural projects such as conferences and events with local communities. Recent fieldwork took place in January 2022 in Bolivia, where Sessarego met Raymundo Nova, a teacher, researcher and activist who works on a new grammar. One current project is the translation of *The Little Prince* into ABS; another is an Afro-Hispanic language atlas. Other plans included a Linguistic Summer School in Bolivia in July 2022, a grammar of the traditional language, a corpus of natural speech, a storybook that recovers Afro-Bolivian oral narrative and the building of the AY section of the Atlas of Afro-Hispanic Languages.

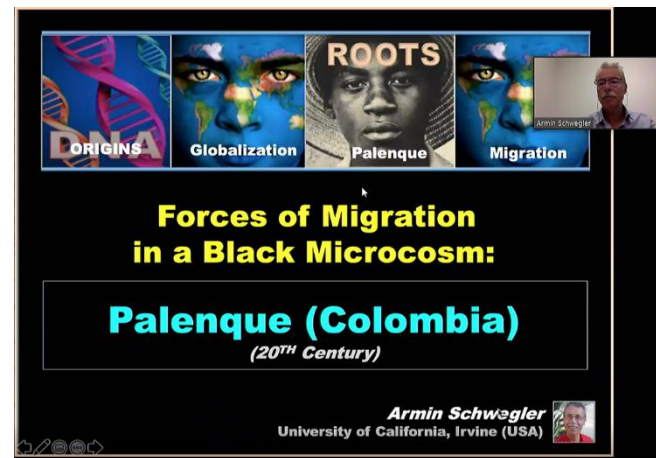
The audience wanted to know about the self-perception of the language community. What language do they think they speak? Is Spanish or Bolivian a dialect in their understanding? Sessarego answered that potentially most Afro-Bolivians are not aware of speaking something different. The idea of a "broken Spanish" is still internalized in some Afro-Bolivians. Many Bolivians are also unaware that there are Afro-Bolivian varieties, and only a few are recognized as an official language. However, some speakers of original varieties know that their language use does not resemble other standardized varieties of Spanish.

The audience then wanted to know what kind of 'officialization' Sessarego was about. He answered that the legal system in Bolivia is very different from that in Germany. Local municipalities have the power to create norms directly impacting issues related to language and culture. The new national institution is an understanding of the different local communities with local languages and cultures and moved the power to municipalities. The efficiency of the progress varies significantly between municipalities. The aim is to attain some kind of legal recognition in order to be able to launch different, e.g., educational programs.

4.4. Forces of Migration in a Black microcosm: Palenque (Colombia) during the 20th century

Presentation: Armin Schwegler

Armin Schwegler is a Professor Emeritus at the University of California, Irvine. His research emphasizes the study of human language (Romance vernaculars, Creoles, African languages) from a linguistic perspective while also exploring them in their social, cultural and historical contexts. During the past few years, this has led him to explore in depth how population genetics (DNA) helps reconstruct Latin America's deep African roots (slave trade).



Schwegler talked about the Colombian maroon ('run-away slave') community of Palenque and its social and linguistic changes during 20th century. Palenque's creole Lengua was relatively unknown when Schwegler first visited Palenque during the mid-1980s. Palenqueros' maroon ancestors escaped and built Palenque in the early part of the 16th century, while nearby Cartagena de Indias (the New World's major slave port) was characterized by heavily multilingualism, which included dozens of ethnic African languages as well as Spanish and several other European languages. Over time, this language contact led to the emergence of the Creole language, Palenquero, which despite its very strong Spanish lexical basis is by and large unintelligible to speakers of Spanish and/or other European languages.

For centuries, rural life in Palenque was self-contained, and occasional journeys (usually by mule) to Cartagena would take three days one way. Even after its official independence in the early part of the 18th century, Palenque remained mostly isolated. Due to this isolation and its poverty and perceived backwardness, Palenqueros and their language and culture became highly stigmatized. Today, Palenque may be described as "a little Africa in the Americas" since several sub-Saharan social and cultural practices have survived. It is important to understand, however, that the local creole is not an African language, but a New-World creation.

Migration from Palenque to the outside started in the 1920s. Gradually, material things such as transistor radios further connected Palenque to the outside world, bringing with itself notions of capitalism, public education, "proper language" (standard Spanish) and so forth to their community. These developments gradually intensified, and new ways of living were thus introduced to Palenque. The appeal of modern life brought in from neighboring urban areas (Cartagena, Barranquilla, Santa Marta, etc.) triggered a substantial outward migration of younger Palenqueros. After the first road had been built in 1957, a daily bus connection brought people to Cartagena to sell their goods or find job opportunities in the city. Gradually, their

language was abandoned by younger generations — a development that was further intensified by obligatory schooling in Spanish.

Today, the situation has drastically changed, as Palenque has become famous, having turned into an epicenter of sorts of Black awareness in Latin America. The former stigma has vanished, and academic tourism to Palenque is now common. Also, ever since the turn of this millennium, a process of creole language revitalization has taken place, so much so that Palenquero has now been given a new and unexpected lifeline (in the 1980s and 1990s, everyone — linguists included — agreed that due to generational Lengua abandonment, the creole was likely to disappear in the not-too-distant future).

During the Q&A period, the audience asked whether Schwegler could give an overview of African words that had been retained in Palenquero. Schwegler answered that in the 1980s, there were only about 20 Sub-Saharan words in everyday Palenquero, but that some of the elderly still remembered dozens of moribund African words. Prolonged efforts (by linguists, and local enthusiasts) eventually produced a list of about 300-400 words of African origins, most if not all of them derived from Kikongo (a Bantu language). Cultural revival and a strong newfound appreciation for “all things African” have reintroduced many of these words into current Palenquero speech, thus “re-Africanizing” their creole in ways that were absent during the 20th century when local culture and “old ways of acting and speaking” were still heavily stigmatized. Palenque's African heritage has thus become valued and resemiotized by the speakers themselves.

4.5. Interim conclusion

From a linguistic perspective, it can be observed that interest in the African influence on the varieties of Spanish, Portuguese, and their respective creole languages has greatly increased in the last two decades. In general, however, this field — the interface between African studies and Romance studies — has not yet been sufficiently explored to draw more accurate conclusions about the influence of African languages on Romance languages.

Projects such as RoLA provide the first systematic documentation of Romance languages on the African continent. These data provide an important basis for the study of other phenomena in African societies. On the other side of the Atlantic, it can be observed that the language awareness of Afrolatinxs is on the move. This can be seen both on a linguistic level — for example, through revitalization of their own languages or recycling of their own variety — and on a social level — for example, through the appointment of the first Afrolatinxs politicians.

Studies carried out in Africa today — such as the analysis of Angolan Portuguese — provide interesting conclusions that can be applied to the Kikongo influence on Spanish and Portuguese on the other sides of the Atlantic. Modern African studies thus works not only on the African continent, but extends its fields of research to all areas that were affected by enslavement. The connection is particularly strong in the Caribbean and Central and North America. Today we can observe that works, such as that of Sessarego, try to fill the research gap for the southern part of the continent, such as Bolivia.

Furthermore, it can be observed that civil society engagement in, for example, Peru and Palenque is indispensable for the preservation of varieties that have long been heavily stigmatized. At this point, it becomes clear how important it is for science to work together with society so that the knowledge that has emerged in scientific discourse can be disseminated. This is indispensable for reshaping existing language ideologies.

5. Activism

5.1. Media Visibility and New Narratives of the African Diaspora in Germany

Presentation: Ridal Carel Tchoukuegno



Ridal Carel Tchoukuegno is a journalist and activist. He runs the podcast Redlektion and works for SWR (Southwest Broadcasting), among others. His podcast deals with politics, (pop)culture and society.

Tchoukuegno directly involved his audience interactively in his lecture and confronted the listeners with the question which people from the Afro-diaspora and/or Afro-Germans were known to them. He also asked them what they associated with the term "diaspora" and how large they considered the Afro-diasporic group (both Africans and Afro-

Germans) in Germany to be. Well-known seemed to be mostly public figures, e.g. actors, musicians, etc. For the other two questions, a poll was held live via Mentimeter. The terms "migration" and "music" were at the top of the word cloud. Terms like "empowerment" or "displacement" were present, but far behind.

Was kommt euch in den Sinn wenn ihr "afrikanische Diaspora" hört?



Tchoukuegno then addressed the question of identity. He asked what being black means and how this label affects public identity. Skin color becomes identity politics and a black podcast is black because the host is black, not because the topics have to do with being black. The actual topics are overshadowed by the imposed identity. Tchoukuegno sees the media as the fourth estate with a duty to break out from this spiral. Diversity among experts should help to resolve the dilemma. In this context, less attention should be paid to the range of coverage, but rather the realities of life should be portrayed in a way that softens normativity. Quality before quantity plays an important role here: Up to now, black people have been depicted in large numbers, for example, in the portrayal of diseases such as monkeypox. These images reinforce the negative narrative of monkeypox as an African disease. Instead, he said, more diversity should be allowed in the selection of experts. He concluded his presentation with tips for newcomers to the media world. In particular, he called on people to cover topics that are not "assigned" from the outside and to try out many channels. It is important to build up a network.

The audience wanted to know if experts are also not being interviewed because of the lack of a network and how we can enable these networks to come together. It was questioned whether

it is because of us that we think people need to talk about racism. Tchoukuegno responded that the problem is identity politics. We could not address issues in a value-free way. It would be more important not to plan with the reach of the experts* but also to invite people with less reach if they (can) contribute important content to the topic. The audience also wanted to know how to counteract censorship. Tchoukuegno responded that we should not listen to people's reaction. We need to talk about facts and disregard White Tears. The focus should be on narratives, he said, and we must express our values through actions. This is important, he said, even if we risk being passed over or losing something.

5.2. Black Academy

Presentation: Nicole Amoussou

Mariette Nicole Afi Amoussou is a consultant & trainer for development education work. Nicole has been actively involved in international project work since 2010, including Benin, Germany, Togo, and Cameroon. Since 2012 she has advised and accompanied institutions and non-governmental organizations in the field of anti-racism sensitization and non-discriminatory process accompaniment. As a process facilitator, she designs pedagogical concepts for volunteer service organizations.



She is co-founder of the association MeineWelt e.V, PLACE e.V and the initiative PLACE for Africa. MeineWelt e.V., PLACE e.V and PLACE for Africa in in cooperation with the city of Mannheim and the Goethe-Institut Mannheim are launching the Black Academy project this year in decolonization to make black people's knowledge and perspectives even more visible.

MeineWelt e.V. is an association that participates in activist work in anti-racism, antidiscrimination, diversity and racial profiling. Amoussou introduced the project Black Academy. This project was launched by MeineWelt e.V., founded ten years ago by students from the so-called "Global South" who wanted to raise awareness about racism and discrimination with a focus on political education. The main goal of the Black Academy is to deconstruct prejudices and negative narratives about Black people and to address identity questions of what "being Black" means. The aim is to change the public image of black people in the media and in collective thinking. Today, the problem is the image of one homogeneous group of black people with a single narrative and history (cf. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie) based on skin color. Their Black identity is denied, and black people are discriminated against. The Black Academy seeks to support and empower Afro-descendants living in Germany and elsewhere in the world. The strategy is to establish valuing alternative discourses and develop a digital platform highlighting the expertise of people who position themselves as Black to make them visible and accessible. Thus, the project aims to diversify the 'single history' and contribute to a more inclusive and equitable world.

To achieve this goal, the Black Academy offers various courses in different languages. Thus, workshops and conferences help to make knowledge visible and provide a platform for innovative initiatives by Black people. Additionally, Black Academy seeks to communicate with authorities and advocate for full civil, political, economic and cultural rights for Blacks as foreseen by International Decade for People of African Descent 2015-2024. The Black

Academy is accessible via their website and e-mail contact www.black-academy.org and info@black-academy.org. With their project, the activists hope to build a concept for a more inclusive society in general that helps other initiatives and marginalized groups to work on their empowerment. Events and News are published on their social media sites.²

The audience asked about the academic section of the association and whether people were talking at universities. Amoussou says she works closely together with universities. She graduated from Worms University and noticed the lack of support for marginalized people in their academic lives. She had no tools that helped her raise awareness among other students and how to make knowledge accessible publicly. Black Academy also needs to bring this knowledge into universities because educated people still make mistakes that could be prevented with awareness, especially about discriminatory language. Even old knowledge from pre-colonizing eras could be revitalized. Furthermore, the Black Academy intends to invest in this topic in 2023 through the culture of remembrance.

The audience then asked about collaboration with private enterprises. Amoussou said the relationship is somewhat complicated because private enterprises usually deny the problem exists. NGOs and universities were open and motivated for educational work, but private enterprises just did lip service to diversity. The association found reaching out to private enterprises difficult, although they invited firms to their workshops. However, these were rarely answered. The audience then asked how white civilians could support the project. Amoussou said that the platform welcomes everyone who wants to help. However, the public focus should be on Black people. White must therefore be prepared to work in the background as an ally.

² Facebook: PLACE for Africa; Instagram: @placeforafrica; Twitter: @PlaceForAfrica1; Youtube: Place for Africa Verein Meine Welt.

5.3. Very Inspiring Persons

Presentation: Hussein Abdi, Maria Rigot

Maria Rigot and Hussein Abdi from Eine Weltforum e.V. presented the project Africa Days ("Afrikatage") and Very Inspiring Persons. Rigot has been involved in the association for about 15 years and is on the board of the association. Abdi is on the board of the Somali Cultural Association and also active in Eine Weltforum e.V.



The Eine Welt Forum offers various actions critical of consumption, such as walks in the city or workshops with schoolchildren. Furthermore, the association carries out migrant work and offers legal advice for refugees. Abdi read the speech of Susanne Kammer, the director of the office of the One World Forum, in which the world community as One World and thus the basic manifesto of the association was emphasized. The goals of the actions are global justice, environmental protection, global labour protection and quality of life. The core tasks in Mannheim include education, information and campaigns that point out global connections. In addition, the association offers project days and excursions for students and youth groups. The association advocates fair trade and critically questions colonial continuity in politics with an emphasis on knowledge acquisition and deconstruction of stereotypes. The association is non-commercial and brings together the expertise of many participating associations in events such as the Africa Days.

The exhibition VIP – Very Inspiring Persons shows photographs of committed people from the planning team of the Africa Days Mannheim, who wear T-shirts with portrait sketches of their heroines with reference to the African continent. Rigot told about Patrice Lumumba, the first head of government of the independent Congo, who worked to fight the causes of poverty on the African continent. Abdi introduced Edna Adan Ismail, the founder of a maternity hospital in Somaliland.

The audience wanted to know what other projects the One World Forum was currently working on. The following were listed as examples: a global classroom, a global field at the BuGa2023 with a view to the food of the future, Africa Days, Latin America Days, an educational project in the Luisenpark in the plant show house, harbour tours under colonial aspects, the VIP project in the historic streetcar, and much more.

5.4. Interim conclusion

Both activist and journalistic work in the German Afro-diasporic group address everyday, but by no means self-evident, issues and attempt to bring them to the attention of German society.

Tchoukuegno's work ties into identity work and awareness of the consequences of internalized racism on a referential level. Although the issue of racism is very current everywhere, many outdated stereotypes still apply today. Thus, a 'Black podcast' is Black because it is run by a Black person. The question arises as to why the topic does not define the podcast. Here we can see how Black people today are still evaluated using racial evaluation schemes. In journalism, we can observe that we are still dealing with implicit and internalized racism, as Tchoukuegno was able to point out in his talk.

In the activist field, the homogenization and ideologization of Black people is targeted. Programs are created that not only address racism, but also bring the cultures and traditions persons of African descent have after migration and pass them on to the next Afro-German generation. The activist work is very important, because only through the engagement and addressing of those affected can a conversation be established between actors and society.

The engagement on the activist and journalistic level allows to address being Black without an alien attribution. Many of the initiatives we can find today are sponsored by communities or established institutions, such as the Goethe Institute. Thus, a collaboration between activists and legitimizing institutions can be observed. The funding of such projects is of enormous importance, since activist work is part of social work and should be monetarily remunerated.

6. Culture

6.1. Entanglements – I am a child of the diaspora

Reading: Melanelle B. C. Hémêfa

Melanelle B. C. Hémêfa is a PhD candidate, poetess, author, speaker, moderator and educational consultant. She graduated from the University of Mannheim in 2021 with a degree in Romance Studies and History. Hémêfa addresses issues around anti-Black racism, Black feminism, post-colonialism, intersectionality, and empowerment from a



scholarly, activist, intersectional, and emotional perspective. Hémêfa stands for freedom, liberation, reflection, love, poetry, poetics, Black Feminism, African Descendants, self-determination, justice, change, West African Culture, fear, anger, despair, courage, and the struggle for a consciousness free of "-isms."

Hémêfa read two excerpts from her text "O le gbo gnea?" from the book "Resonanzen" ("Resonances"). Guided by Tchoukuegno, she commented on her writing process. Her text addresses "diasporic being." It was written at the festival "Resonances" with the theme assignment "Heritage" and contains elements in Ewe, Ewe, an African language spoken in many countries including Ghana and Togo.

The first excerpt deals with the topic of identity and can be understood as a symbol for self-image and identity from the mirror. In it, Hémêfa works her way from a fragmented self-image of pain and forlornness into a deep caesura in which she is interrupted by an alarm clock. Her self-loathing becomes a realization of a sense of strangeness in her reality that has led to an inner turmoil. Two souls dwell in her and two hearts beat. When asked what she had felt while writing the text, Hémêfa replied that she had been very agitated and that she had not dealt sufficiently with her inner turmoil up to that point. She had also asked whether it was all worth it. Tchoukuegno and Hémêfa picked up on the metaphor of the flower, describing how Hémêfa was absorbed in her art while spreading pollen from flowers. Hémêfa talked about how the image of the diaspora has changed from an exile to flower pollen flowing together or roots growing into each other. Hémêfa said it is important to give people the space to share their experiences of diaspora as subjective knowledge and expertise. She sees it as a common project in which all who are affected by diasporic movements can participate.

The second excerpt is about the loss of her grandmother and her grief. Hémêfa knew her grandmother little, as she lived in Togo and Hémêfa could not afford to travel there. It wasn't

until the funeral that she travelled with her mother and met a family she did not know. The pain of loss was deep, because she still wanted to experience so much with her grandmother. There also remained the question of whom she should mourn when she also did not know the family and her memories were 20 years old. Tchoukuegno asked by whom Hémêfa was carried today. She answered that today she has a network of a self-chosen family that is diverse in religion and identity. However, she said, it has always been black women who have carried her. Sharing about pain, she said, acts like therapy. But you have to find the moment to say goodbye to the pain, and you can also experience laughter and happiness. Tchoukuegno wanted to know what Hémêfa recommends to people who need to find themselves. Hémêfa says you need peace and a passion. For her, she says, it was writing. As an icebreaker she took a paper on which she wrote down everything in life fields like living conditions, body, work, etc. From this, a mind map was created. She realized that everything was connected and that she had to find the core area and break it open. She says art moves and liberates. You also need people who understand you and want to understand you.

Being a child of the diaspora brings many advantages and also disadvantages. The process of dis-rooting and rooting, grieving thousands of miles away. While migration can bring benefits, it also comes with many sacrifices that must be made for better living conditions.

Literature:

Hémêfa, M. B. C. (2022). *O le gbo gnea?* In: Otoo, S. D.; Oholi, J. & Ruhrfestspiele Recklinghausen (eds.): *Resonanzen – Schwarzes Literaturfestival: Eine Dokumentation*. Leipzig: Spector Books.

6.2. Movie: Mammy Water – In search of the water spirits in Nigeria

On the second evening of the summer school, we visited the gallery Maquis Mami Wata to dive into one of Nigeria's spiritual belief systems.

The evening started with a short introduction by the gallerist and artist Stefan Wäldele, who introduced the participants to the spiritual tradition of Mammy Wata. Andrea Chagas then contextualized the importance of acknowledging the spiritual practices embedded in many African cultures. This embeddedness is needed in order to reframe the "integration politic" and change it to an "inclusion politic".



In order to allow people to include themselves in European social settings, people living in the migrational 'receiving countries' (e.g., in Europe) need to get accustomed to spiritual and cultural practices that differ highly from, e.g. Catholicism, Islam or Judaism. The spiritual belief system of the Yoruba people (Ibibio, Ijaw and Igbo) is present on both sides of the Atlantic (Africa and the Americas). It plays a crucial role in the development of syncretic belief systems in the Americas (e.g., Santería (Cuba), Candomblé (Brazil, Uruguay, etc.), and Shangó (Trinidad). In Europe, a few Africans and Afro-European people practice worshipping their traditional deities in the diaspora. However, the extent of the practice is unknown since these practices are often kept secret.



The documentary "Mammy Water – In search of the water spirit in Nigeria" introduced the deity and ritual practices embedded in cultural traditions and social practices. Mammy water is one of the Pidgin English names used to refer to the water goddess, worshiped by the Ibibio, Ijaw, and Igbo peoples that live in southeastern Nigeria. This goddess has many names according to the tradition she belongs to. Mammy water is recognized as the mother that provides wealth, success and health to her children according to the tradition depicted in the documentary.

This documentary shows numerous rituals and ceremonies associated with worshipping the water goddess in the 80s of the last century. It can be seen that the worshipping and ceremonies depicted in the film are deeply embedded and rooted in sociocultural practices. Worshipping Mammy Water provides a social coherence built around spiritual and ritual practices. Jacob Olupona, professor of indigenous African religions at Harvard Divinity School and professor of African and African-American studies in Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences, for example, comments that "African spirituality simply acknowledges that beliefs and practices touch on and inform every facet of human life, and therefore African religion cannot be separated from the everyday or mundane" (Harvard Gazette, 2015). What Olupona points out can be clearly seen in the film since it shows how spirituality and rituals are incorporated into mundane everyday activities and also special festivities.

Culture

After the film, students asked about the significance of the color orange since it was very present in the film. Wäldele said that the color orange is associated with the deity. Andrea then added that orange represents the sacral chakra in the chakra system. This chakra represents creativity, creation, and desires and is water-related. Many symbolisms are recurrent in different spiritual practices and traditions (yoga, chakra system – Mammy Wata, water symbolism). Both belief systems do not have anything in common but share the same characteristics attributed to an element and a color. Exploring different cultures and spiritual practices can show us that in seemingly very distinct traditions, we can also find similarities that bring us together.

Literature:

Harvard Gazette (2015). The spirituality of Africa, accessible online at <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2015/10/the-spirituality-of-africa/>.

6.3. Passion & Skillz

Workshop: Remses Rafaela

Tambu is a drum-based music genre accompanied by a dance form that originated in the Dutch Antillean (predominantly in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao).

Tambú consists of two beats; *sla habri* and *sla será*. These two beats alternate to create a musical and spiritually rooted dialogue. *Tambú* is a fusion of different African dance and drum traditions. *Tambú* was banned in the ABC-Islands from the 1600s to 1956 because cultural practices of African descent were seen as subversive tools that could lead to the formal organization of the enslaved and, therefore, rebellion. Even though *Tambú* is not illegal today, there are specific restrictions regarding *tambú* practices in the ABC-Islands. *Tambú* is the only dance practice that cannot be practiced freely; a permit is required to perform a *Tambú* celebration. This shows that *Tambú* is still discriminated against due to its history at some level. On the other side, *Tambú* is also a symbol of pride and identity. In the European diaspora, different artists practice *Tambú*. Rafaela is one of them. He talked about the importance of freedom of expression and the recognition of ancient traditions. He explained that *Tambú* is not only about dancing; it is about learning to connect with self to be fully present. *Tambú* can be seen as a symbolic language used to transmit wisdom gathered about human existence (in the form of sound and movement) and transmitted from generation to generation in societies with this spiritual tradition.



With *Tambú*, you are asked to awaken your body with movements that allow you to access a state of mindfulness. You are invited to embody the present moment with the moments by activating the root chakra. *Tambú* practice consists of the drum beats and dancing movements that allow you to align your body with the drums creating a resemblance in energetical resonance. *Tambú* aims to ground the body in the present moment by activating the energies dormant in our root chakra (lower body: hips, legs, etc.)

The workshop started with a warm-up by moving our upper and lower bodies. After the warm-up, we moved to the traditional choreography by practicing different movements typical for *Tambú*.

We practiced the *Tambú* tradition together with eight students of the University of Mannheim and two external participants.

Music and dance traditions can be understood as cultural artifacts that allow the transfer of wisdom in oral cultures. Music, dances, songs, etc., are storytelling tools for societies that did not use to have a written tradition. Therefore, dance traditions accompanied by drum rhythms are the documents, genealogy, science and philosophies of cultures that were tagged as

primitive. Many African spiritual traditions also apply these dances and drum rhythms in their ritual practices. These practices have a spiritual intention and are led by spiritual leaders. In the Afro-Caribbean, unfortunately, a lot of the spiritual tradition has been lost. Therefore, these practices are seen by many only as "dancing styles". However, in the diaspora, you can see that professional multidisciplinary artists like Rafaela try to recall the knowledge that is dormant in the Americas.

These cultural expressions (dance, music, cartography, astronomy, etc.) are not only artistic expressions that emerged from certain cultures, but they document their understanding of human experience (history, geography, body, etc.) of those human civilizations that used the symbolic language to transmit knowledge and wisdom.

At the end of the workshop, we also talked about the influence Tambú and the musical tradition embedded in, e.g., hip hop. The African influence in today's music industry is undeniable.



This workshop aimed to deepen our understanding of cultural practices that developed syncretically in the "New World" through experiencing the culture. Students were able to expand their horizons and understand how "moving the body" can mean something if you pay attention to what you are doing. In the discussion after the workshop, the participants discussed how they felt after the intense three-hour "workout". Many reported feeling like time did not pass by and that they were very, very present. They were aware

of themselves and their surroundings. This confirmed to the students how these "songs" and "dances" send messages to our bodies and subconscious minds to create mindfulness. Students were especially interested in the modern influence of African rhythm(s) in modern pop- and hip-hop-culture.

6.4. Interim conclusion

The contributions from the art and culture scene gave an insight into the cultural customs of different cultures. With Hémêfa's contribution we were able to experience the reality, the pain, the sacrifice and also the empowerment that migration and growing up outside the home country of the parents brings. Hémêfa showed with her texts how migrants and children of migrated people create a new reality. The formation of diasporic groups is becoming more and more important. The points of connection are not based on nationality or mother tongue, but rather on shared experiences and realities.

The film Mammy Wata transported us to Nigeria in the 80s of the last century. During the evening in Maquis Mammy Wata we were allowed to immerse ourselves in the spiritual and cultural customs of southern Nigeria. The connection between Africa and Germany become visible in Wäldele's work as an artist and gallery owner, as he connects both worlds and builds bridges with his trans-identity as an Afro-German.

The dance workshop took us to Curaçao and showed us how African traditions continue to live on. We could also learn that today there is still a strong discrimination against cultural customs of African traditions. Tambú is not banned, but the official permit that Tambú events require illustrates that these traditions are still heavily policed today. Nevertheless, Rafaela was able to show us how diaspora groups in e.g. the Netherlands revive old traditions and revitalize them in Europe with the aim of later starting new projects in their home countries.

7. Summary & discussion

Migration and diasporas have a reciprocal impact on both countries of origin and destination. A large proportion of migratory movements, both intracontinental and beyond, originate in Africa. The complexity of the topic requires a transdisciplinary approach in order to adequately appreciate all related phenomena. The aim of the Summer School "Africa on the Move" was to bring together science and society. For this purpose, we chose three scientific disciplines: Political science, economics and linguistics. From society, we brought together actors from journalism, activism, art and culture. We wanted to question which discourses and, above all, which methods the scientific disciplines use to research the Afro-diaspora. Also, the participation of concerned actors, who in many cases maintain a different knowledge system than that of, for example, the West, is indispensable in the construction of such a discourse. The institutional and epistemic boundaries of science should therefore be expanded through a transdisciplinary approach by bringing together non-academic knowledge producers from civil society.

A paradigm shift can be observed in political science. The view of Africa as a continent that needs to be 'saved' by Western states, dating back to colonial times, is being questioned. Research shows that the imbalance in African-European relations caused by power asymmetries ultimately leads to the failure of migration policies. Instead, there is a call to move the discourse away from 'development aid' to a partnership of equals from which all sides can benefit.

In contrast, the basic understanding of the Western world as 'developed' nations and the still 'developing' African countries seems to continue to prevail in economics. In this field, questions are developed primarily with the concept of aid to Africa in mind. Based on the Western understanding of the market economy, the conditions in African countries are evaluated as to whether and with which measures this ideal can be achieved.

In linguistics, it can be observed that the interest in linguistic varieties of Romance languages with African influence is becoming more and more important. The first creole languages with Ibero-Romance lexifier languages have been officially recognized, thanks to the work of linguists and their collaboration with activists (Papiamento in 2003, Palenquero in 2005). Moreover, it can be observed that many of the projects dealing with the issue address the languages either from the language contact research or the comparativist (documentary) perspective. Currently, there is little sociolinguistic work being done (except for the aspects being studied in RoLA and the work of Sandra Schlumpf, who is doing a sociolinguistic study of Spanish in Equatorial Guinea).

Summary & discussion

In this Summer School we were able to look at the topic of migration, its influences, consequences and interactions from a multidimensional perspective. The scientific perspective already showed that there are great differences and sometimes even disagreements in the discourse that is maintained. Each discipline thus develops in parallel — for example, when interdisciplinary work is not traditionally done in one discipline — concepts and definitions with which to work. The Summer School made it possible to make direct comparisons and to observe how discourses develop in parallel.

The transdisciplinary approach, on the other hand, showed that it is not only the levels covered by scientific disciplines that make up the reality of people in a living society. In order to not only understand but also accept migrated people and their then, e.g. German, descendants, the receiving societies must familiarize themselves with the languages, cultures, arts and spiritualities. In order to create a true pluralistic society, it is not enough that the migrated persons learn the language of the new homeland. The society that welcomes migrants can also contribute to creating an open and pluralistic place for them.

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