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Table of Contents

Transnationalism in a Comparative Perspective

Transnationalism in a Comparative Perspective:	255
<i>An Introduction</i>	
GODFRIED ENGBERSEN, LINDA BAKKER, MARTA BIVAND ERDAL & ÖZGE BILGILI	
In Exile and in Touch	261
<i>Transnational Activities of Refugees in a Comparative Perspective</i>	
LINDA BAKKER, GODFRIED ENGBERSEN & JACO DAGEVOS	
Migrants' Multi-Sited Social Lives	283
<i>Interactions between Sociocultural Integration and Homeland Engagement</i>	
ÖZGE BILGILI	
Transnational Behavior in Comparative Perspective	305
<i>The Relationship between Immigrant Integration and Transnationalism in New York, El Paso, and Paris</i>	
ERNESTO CASTAÑEDA, MARIA CRISTINA MORALES & OLGA OCHOA	
Understanding Different Post-Return Experiences	335
<i>The Role of Preparedness, Return Motives and Family Expectations for Returned Migrants in Morocco</i>	
MASJA VAN MEETEREN, GODFRIED ENGBERSEN, ERIK SNEL & MARIJE FABER	
'This is My Home'	361
<i>Pakistani and Polish Migrants' Return Considerations as Articulations About 'Home'</i>	
MARTA BIVAND ERDAL	



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Transnationalism in a Comparative Perspective:

An Introduction

Godfried Engbersen, Linda Bakker, Marta Bivand Erdal & Özge Bilgili

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Since the publication of 'Nations Unbound' (Basch et al. 1994), studies on transnationalism have mushroomed. Despite ongoing debates about the nature of the concept, and the newness of the phenomenon, there is a growing consensus about the importance of taking into account migrants' multi-stranded social ties which link together societies of origin and settlement. There is also a strong push to move away from 'methodological nationalism' in order to better understand the manifold ties, identifications and activities of migrants and non-migrants across international borders (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002; Vertovec 2009).

The first generation of transnational studies focused strongly on transnational practices, such as economic transnationalism (including remittances), political transnationalism (social movements, diaspora politics), and identity formation, social remittances and ethnic entrepreneurship (see e.g. Guarnizo et al. 2003; Khagram & Levitt 2008). While many of these studies were based in the immigration-receiving context of the United States (see e.g. Portes et al. 1999; Itzighsohn and Saucedo 2002; Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004), soon after transnationalism theory was also incorporated into European migration studies (Snel et al. 2006; De Haas & Fokkema 2011; Erdal & Oeppen 2013). The European context offers highly relevant research sites for transnational studies, mainly because many of the EU countries today can be considered immigration countries with considerably large permanent migrant groups and continuous inflows that create new connections with diverse countries of origin. In relation to this, it is important to mention that the European Union (EU) 2004 and 2007 enlargements created a borderless zone that boosted existing transnational patterns within the EU and generated complex new ones. Moreover, European welfare states offer particular structural conditions for both

societal integration and for transnational engagements. For example, while, marginal social security and social assistance schemes in the United States may make it more difficult for migrants who have a weak attachment to the labour market to engage in transnational activities, this is less likely to be the case in Europe. In European countries, like the Netherlands or Norway, where the welfare state arrangements are more robust, migrants may be less dependent on the labour market for their income and social position. The resources they receive from the state and the rights they have to social security, housing, education and health care can then be used both for societal integration and transnational activities.

In the last decade, the idea of transnationalism has been connected to further issues such as citizenship, integration and return migration. At the same time, the first generation of qualitative and quantitative studies have been complemented by comparative studies, between groups and continents, and studies focusing more on the country of origin. Increasingly studies of migrant transnationalism also cover other categories of migrants, such as refugees, second generation migrants, return migrants and intra-EU labour migrants (Al-Ali et al. 2001; Horst 2006; Favell 2008; Engbersen et al. 2013; White 2013; King and Christou 2014).

Moreover, while in the first generation of transnational studies *theory formation* – including the introduction of sensitizing concepts and ideal types - was central, we now witness a stronger emphasis on *testing* some of the new theoretical perspectives, and on *refining* theoretical concepts, typologies and social mechanisms that explain the complex interactions between transnationalism, integration and return (Erdal & Oeppen 2013; Carling & Pettersen 2014). As a consequence, general theories are being specified resulting in more precise typologies and more focused agendas for future research. The geographical contexts and dynamics of specific migration corridors between sending and destination countries and regions, including different migrant categories, are increasingly being taken into account. Furthermore, the refinement of theories also contributes to sensitivity toward the nature of categories in migration studies. Including central categories relating to the mobility of people, where it is increasingly becoming clear that it is, for instance, not always straightforward to define who is or is not a return migrant in the context of sustained transnationalism.

This special issue analyses interrelated processes of immigrant integration, transnational practises and return migration intentions and experiences through a *comparative transnational lens*. The aim is to unravel how processes related to integration, transnationalism, and return interact and

to specify the conditions under which these processes may affect each other. One example is the strong remittance pattern among unemployed Somali refugees in the Netherlands and Norway in comparison with refugees that have a stronger labour market position. This pattern can be explained by taking into account the specific combination of resources available to refugees in these welfare states as well as the extensive needs of family members in Somalia. In other words: insights into host and home countries characteristics, as well as into the transnational ties of refugees, are crucial for understanding the nature and extent of transnational activities (see contribution Bakker et al. in this issue and Carling et al. 2012).

Another example is the act of obtaining the nationality of the destination country. On the one hand this is considered an important indicator of integration, whereas on the other hand this makes it much more likely for refugees to visit their country of origin (which is an indicator of socio-cultural transnationalism). While at first glance this may seem counterintuitive, acknowledging the lived-realities of refugees in European contexts, it becomes clear that visits to the country of origin may only be feasible after citizenship in the country of residence has been obtained, either for security or mobility related reasons; hence, processes of integration and transnationalism run parallel to one another (see contribution Bilgili in this issue).

Furthermore, this special issue highlights that the interactions and linkages between integration, transnational practices and return differ between migrant groups, as well as according to the situation in sending and destination countries. This strengthens the argument that more systematic comparative work across differing categories of migrants and across geographic contexts is needed. While significant differences, which need to be mapped, exist we also observe surprising similarities, which can help address the inherent challenges of preconceived common knowledge in the highly politicized and mediatized field of migration studies. Last, by focusing on diverse migrant groups and paying attention to the diversity within these groups, this special issue presents a broad view on transnationalism, that acknowledges variation in the degree of transnational linkages across cases. This way we contribute to addressing one of the main criticisms of the first generation studies of transnationalism, which often focused only on those migrants that are transnationally active, running the risk of overstating transnational involvement.

The first three articles - mainly based on (ethno-) survey data - have a distinctive comparative focus and explain how the socio-economic and/or social cultural integration of different migrant groups (refugees, labour

migrants and family migrants) produce specific patterns of transnational homeland engagement. They also take into account the situation in the origin country and the spatial and cultural distance between origin and destination countries. **Bakker et al.** explain different patterns of transnational activities of Somali, Iranian, Iraqi and Afghan refugees in the Netherlands in relation to their integration process (citizenship status, employment), and in relation to the economic and social situation in the origin countries. **Bilgili** shows that the socio-cultural integration of Afghan, Burundian, Ethiopian and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands and their socio-cultural homeland engagement are positively correlated. She also shows that specific group differences can be explained by taking into account the political and economic situation in the origin countries. **Castañeda et al.** examines transnationalism across migrant generational statuses in three urban centres: New York City, El Paso and Paris. In Paris he finds evidence of 'reactive transnationalism', in New York for 'resource-based transnationalism', and in El Paso for 'border transnationalism' shaped by proximity to the home country.

The other two articles deal with subjective *post-return experiences* and *return considerations* of different migrant groups. These two papers, mainly based on in-depth interviews, show migrants' agency in organising return or in managing ambivalence with regard to home, identity and belonging. Both papers emphasize, next to differences, the *similarities* in post-return experiences and in return considerations of migrants who have a different ethnic or national origin and who have resided in different European countries. **Van Meeteren et al.** explore positive, negative and mixed post-return experiences of Moroccan returnees who have lived in Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK. Drawing on qualitative interviews with return migrants in Morocco, they refine and contextualize the theory of 'returnee's preparedness' (Cassarino 2004). They also show that the ability to maintain transnational contacts with the destination country after return adds to positive post-return experiences, but only for migrants with specific return motives. **Erdal** explores return considerations of migrants with a Pakistani and Polish background in Norway. She analyses the ambivalence of migrants' return considerations, how they change over time, and how they often have little to do with actual return plans. She also explores how notions of 'home' are related to processes of transnational involvement and integration. Despite the contrast in geographic distance to the country of origin from Norway, and the differing lengths of stay between the two groups, predominantly from the 1970s onward in the case of Pakistani migrants, and predominantly since the 2004 EU-enlargement in that

of Polish, she finds striking similarities in migrants' considerations about the possibility of return migration.

Overall, this special issue shows that a transnational comparative lens sharpens our understanding of patterns of integration and return. Comparative analyses encourage us to explain group differences by taking into account migrants' particular social position and feelings related to integration and return, but also by bringing in institutional characteristics of host and home countries. It also forces us to go beyond national and ethnic categorizations when discussing the shared experiences and similar patterns of integration, return and transnationalism among different groups of migrants.

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In Exile and in Touch

Transnational Activities of Refugees in a Comparative Perspective

Linda Bakker, Godfried Engbersen & Jaco Dagevos

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Abstract

Studying transnational behaviour, i.e. interactions between the sending and receiving countries of international migrants, is especially interesting for refugees given their migration motive and history. Due to the flight, resources are lost and returning to the home country is often not an option; both are factors that might limit transnational behaviour. The central aim of this study is to explain the patterns of transnational behaviour for refugee groups in relation to their integration process. For this we use a large scale dataset (N=3950) which contains information on Somali, Iranian, Iraqi and Afghani refugees in the Netherlands. Along the lines of the ‘resource dependent’ thesis the analyses show that individual capacities, such as employment and Dutch nationality, are of major importance in explaining transnational activities of refugees. Second, this paper shows that the economic and social situation in the origin country should be taken into account for understanding the differences in transnational activities among refugee groups.

Keywords: Transnationalism, integration, remittances, social ties, refugee

1 Introduction

Interactions between the sending and receiving countries of international migrants are gauged in the concept of ‘transnationalism’. Glick Schiller et al. (1992) conceptualized it as ‘social processes whereby immigrants create social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders, and develop multiple familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political relations that span nations’. Studies on transnationalism among labour

migrants show that immigrants are increasingly leading dual lives; they maintain various transnational ties and find new ways for economic mobility via cross-border networks (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Portes et al. 2002). For refugees transnational behaviour might be less straightforward because of their migration motive and history. Johnson and Stoll (2008) argue for example that sending remittances to the country of origin is more stressful for refugee groups, because many of them arrive with a minimum of resources due to the spontaneous flight. Also refugees' possibilities to stay in contact with the origin country and the possibilities to return to the home country might be limited because the internet and phone network is not widely dispersed. Besides such practical reasons refugees might fear to perform any kind of transnational behaviour due to the threat of personal persecution (Mascini et al. 2012). Moreover, their perception of and identification with the home country might be distorted due to the ruling regime; therefore they might no longer want to be involved with the origin country (Díaz-Briquets and Pérez-López, 1997).

Previous research on transnationalism among refugee groups generally focussed on transnational political activities, such as the support of military actions or membership of a political organisation, advocacy or lobbying (Horst, 2008). Within the broader field of migration research, studies on transnationalism often focus on economic activities which are generally understood as sending money or goods (i.e. remittances) to the country of origin. Main topics are the determinants and mechanisms of remitting behaviour (DeSipio, 2002; Menjívar et al. 1998) and the (economic) impact of remitting on the local community of origin (see Marcelli and Lowell, 2005). Others showed the relevance of also studying socio-cultural activities, which can range from the reinforcement of national identity to involvement in everyday lives of family at home (Portes et al. 1999; Vertovec, 2001). Affordable communication and travel allows people nowadays to actively exchange between the host and home country. Therefore visiting the origin country and maintaining contact with family and friends at home are good indicators of socio-cultural transnational activities (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Snel et al. 2006). Until recently it was argued that refugee groups arrive in the host country with limited resources and thus do not have the capacities to perform such economic or socio-cultural transnational activities. Al-Ali et al. (2001a), while studying several aspects of transnationalism by the experience of Bosnians and Eritreans refugees in Europe, were among the first to show that refugee groups are also economically and socio-culturally transnationally active (see also Snel et al. 2006). In this paper we therefore aim to further study and explain

economic and socio-cultural transnationalism among refugee groups in terms of remittances and having contact with family and friends in the origin country and visiting the home country.

The contribution of this paper is twofold. We apply a comparative approach studying the differences in transnational behaviour between Afghani, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali refugees in the Netherlands using both a host country and origin country perspective. We use the conceptual framework of Al-Ali et al. (2011b) on individuals' *capacities* – or abilities - and their *desire* – or willingness - to participate in transnational activities. The desire is understood as the extent to which individuals and communities relate to the social, economic or political processes in their home and host country. Capacities refer to skills and resources available to the refugee but also to the internal organization of migrant communities. We combine this framework with the resource dependent and reactive transnationalism thesis of Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002). We stress that it is important to not only study capacities and desires of refugees in the host country to be able to be transnationally active, but also include the living conditions of the stay-behinds in the origin country. Former research already showed the importance of macro level characteristics, such as political and economic stability in the home country, in explaining transnationalism (Carling et al. 2012; Hagen-Zanker and Siegel, 2007; Lindley, 2008). However, a combined theoretical model including the individual situation in the host country and the context of the origin country is innovative. Based on this we thus expect differences between the four refugee groups under study with regard to their transnational behaviour. Our research question therefore reads: *how can transnational activities of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands be explained by individual capacities and desires in the host country? And how do these patterns differ between the four origin countries?*

For this study we use large survey data (N=3950) gathered by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) (Dourleijn and Dagevos, 2011), which contains extensive information on both transnational activities and diverse integration measures of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands; Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali. This allows us to conduct one of the first quantitative studies on transnational activities among refugees. We will bring in additional macro data that gives insight into the social and economic situation of the four origin countries.

2 Transnationalism: A theoretical framework in comparative perspective

Transnationalism is often studied in relation to integration in the destination country because these are assumed to be related mechanisms (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013; Snel et al. 2006). In the traditional view (Alba and Nee, 1997) transnational activities diminishes as the process of integration advances; this is also referred to as *'linear' transnationalism*. For example, a longer stay in the destination country enhances integration and simultaneously diminishes involvement in the origin country. Also it is often argued that involvement with the country of origin hinders engagement in the host society. This popular belief is not supported by academic research; ties with the country of origin can be combined with involvement in the host country (Carling, 2008; Marcelli and Lowell, 2005; Portes et al. 2002; Snel et al. 2006; Wong, 2007).

In response to this, two other mechanisms of transnationalism have been formulated. According to the *'resource dependent' transnationalism thesis* economic integration goes hand in hand with participation in transnational activities (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002). Capacities – skills and resources available to the refugee - in the host country, such as employment and legal status, enable migrants to send home remittances and visit the origin country. Mazzucato (2008) showed for Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands that those who invest in the home country are at the same time engaged in making a living in the Netherlands. In the case of *'reactive transnationalism'*, transnational activities emerge from a lack of satisfaction with the life in the host country (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002). Due to negative experiences in the host country, such as feelings of discrimination, immigrants retain a close band with the origin country (Glick Schiller and Fouron, 1998; Portes, 1999).

In this study we add another aspect to the mechanisms of resource dependent and reactive transnationalism: the situation in the origin country. Both mechanisms as formulated by Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) only involve the situation of migrants in the host country. We argue that, especially for refugees, the situation in the home country can also influence their transnational behaviour. Besides the resources that are available to refugees in the host country, we argue that also the resources available to the stay-behinds in the origin country can affect for example the demand for remittances (Lindley, 2008). At the same time we argue that not only the societal climate in the host country can affect the desire for transnational behaviour but also the (conflict) situation in the origin country. We

do not have direct data on these factors on the individual level. Instead we include macro data to sketch the different economic and social contexts of the origin countries.

Refugees are often studied as one group based on their shared 'refugee experience'. However, different refugee groups clearly fled from different situations in the origin country and have a different migration history. Iranian refugees are mostly higher educated and from the urban middle class wherefore they could afford to flee the country. They were generally most threatened by the regime of ayatollah Khomeini because of their modern lifestyle and fled in order to maintain their western values and way of life (Dourleijn and Dagevos, 2011; Ghorashi, 2005; Hessels, 2002). In contrast, Somali refugees are generally low educated men who leave behind their family and community in conflict and poverty (Dourleijn and Dagevos, 2011; Hessels, 2000; Nieuwhof and Mahamoud, 2000). The Afghani mostly fled due to the strict Taliban regime and the Iraqi to escape from the 'war on terrorism' (Hessels and Wassie, 2003).

Moreover, the situation of the refugee groups in the host country varies as well. The refugee population under study together constitutes 8% of the non-western population in Dutch society.¹ Of the four refugee groups under study the Iranian are the best economically integrated group in the Netherlands. Half of them are employed for more than 12h a week and almost 40% has achieved some form of higher education. Paradoxically, compared to the other refugee groups, they feel the least accepted in the Netherlands. In contrast, less than a third of the Somali group has a job and more than half of the Somalis are dependent on social benefits. Also their educational level is extremely low compared to the other refugee groups. They do however feel most accepted in the Netherlands. In terms of integration in the Netherlands the Iraqi group holds a middle position together with the Afghani. About a third is employed for more than 12h a week and half of them feel accepted in the Netherlands (Table 1).

Based on these two dimensions, the individual situation in the host country and situation in the origin country, we expect differences in transnational behaviour among the four refugee groups. We will use these two dimensions to derive hypotheses for the four refugee groups along the lines of resource dependent and reactive transnationalism.

Table 1: Description of research population

	Afghani	Iraqi	Iranian	Somali
Number in the Netherlands*	38,000	52,000	31,000	27,000
Socio-demographic background	Mixed	Mixed	Mostly from urban middle class	Young, single men; widows; minors without their parents
Mode of integration (in %) Source: SING09				
Employment	35	34	49	30
Education (=high)	23	26	35	6
Dutch nationality	77	70	80	59
Perceived acceptance (=high)	51	54	40	58
Exp discrimination	6	6	8	6

*In January 2010

3 Hypotheses: Situation host country

Employment and a secure legal status are considered to be important factors that influence refugees' capacity to be involved in transnational activities. Employment provides a salary and the possibility of savings. This enables refugees to both support family in the home country and to finance visits. Refugees with a refugee status often hold temporary and lower skilled jobs. Hence, in order to make a stable living in the host country, a secure legal status is necessary (Al-Ali et al. 2001b). Also a secure legal status enables refugees to travel to the country of origin. In our case, holding Dutch nationality means that they are entitled to the protection of the Dutch embassy and government in case of trouble (Muller, 2010). We argue that education and health are also important factors that can influence refugees' capacities to perform transnational activities. A higher educational level provides refugees better access to the labour market. Similarly, a good health state benefits refugees' success on the labour market. Following the mechanism of 'resource dependent' transnationalism, which states that (economic) integration goes hand in hand with participation in transnational activities, we propose the general hypothesis that *refugees with more individual capacities are more likely to perform both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities* (H₁: resource dependent transnationalism hypothesis). Applying this mechanism to the four refugee groups under study we would expect that the Iranian group has the most capacities to perform transnational behavior, since they are best economically

integrated. Similarly, we would expect that the Somali are the least transnational active, due to a lack of financial resources (Table 1).

Following the mechanism of 'reactive transnationalism' (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002) it can be argued that negative experiences in the host country, such as discrimination, will enhance the willingness – or desire – to engage in transnational activities. We thus expect that *refugees who personally experience discrimination in the host country are more likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities* (H2a: reactive transnationalism hypothesis). Additionally, positive experiences in the host country may also affect the desire to be engaged in transnational activities. Carling and Hoelscher (2013) argue that a feeling of acceptance in the Netherlands and a sense of belonging might diminish the desire to remain transnationally active. Thus, we expect that *refugees who perceive to be accepted in the host country are less likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities* (H2b). Since the Somali group feels most accepted in the Netherlands, we expect them to perform the least socio-cultural transnational activities. Iranians experience the most discrimination and along this line of reasoning we would thus expect them to perform most socio-cultural transnational activities. Discrimination and perceived acceptance are not two opposites on the same continuum. The first is an active and personal experience, whereas the latter represents the refugees' general view on the Netherlands as a tolerant and open country. Both hypotheses thus tap in to another mechanism to explain transnational behaviour and are therefore both included.

4 Hypotheses: Situation origin countries

The first obvious home related factor is the family the refugee has left behind. Clark and Drinkwater (2008) showed that remittances are more likely when parents still live in the home country. Having more distant relatives in the home country, like uncles and aunts, has no effect on the likelihood to remit. Also maintaining contact with the country of origin seems more likely when close relatives have been left behind. We thus argue that *refugees who left close relatives behind (i.e. partner and children) are more likely to perform both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities* (H3: close relatives hypothesis).

Besides the individual home country factors the economic and social macro level features of the countries under study (i.e. available resources in the home country) are important to consider in explaining transnational

behaviour. Hagen-Zanker and Siegel (2007) showed that the economic and political situation of the home country influences refugees' remittances behaviour. Negative economic changes in the home country can enhance the need for remittances whereas high inflation may discourage remittances sending. Also Sana and Massey (2005) showed that variation in the situation in the country of origin shapes remittances behaviour. Johnson and Stoll (2008) propose that a situation of conflict in the origin country may increase the demand for remittances. Refugees' from these countries might also be more inclined to remit due to feelings of social obligation. Carling et al. (2012) recently showed the importance of conflict in the origin country for understanding transnationalism. On-going conflict in the country of origin indeed exerts an upward pressure on remittances sending. This leads to the general expectation that refugees from origin countries with a poor economic situation or conflict situation are more likely to remit.

Looking specifically at the four countries under study we observe that the GDP per capita in Iran is with \$10,600 by far the highest compared to \$3,800 in Iraq, \$900 in Afghanistan and only \$600 in Somalia. Regarding the life expectancy at birth Iran and Iraq hold the best position with an average around 70 years, whereas this is 50 years in Somalia and only 45 years in Afghanistan. Also with regard to education we observe that around 75% of the population aged 15 years and older in Iran and Iraq can read and write, while 38% of the Somali and only 28% of the Afghan population aged 15 years and older is literate. Together these factors shape the Human Development Index (HDI) included in the United Nations Human Development report. The index of 2013 shows that Iran is in a state of high human development (.74), the situation in Iraq is ranked as medium (.59) and the situation of human development in Afghanistan (.37) and Somalia (.28) is (very) low (Table 2). Based on these indicators Iran seems to fare better than the other countries under study. On a distance Iraq follows and Somalia and Afghanistan hold the least favourable positions. More specifically, the low GDP per capita and the considerably low welfare level (i.e. literacy, life expectancy) in both Somalia and Afghanistan indicate a need for financial support in these countries. In addition, Somalia being a country in conflict², refugees from this origin country might feel more obliged to support family in the home country. We therefore hypothesize that *the likelihood of remittances sending (economic transnational activity) is highest to Somalia, followed by Afghanistan, Iraq and is the lowest to Iran* (H4: financial stress hypothesis).

Second, communication facilities and infrastructure in the origin coun-

try are crucial for having contact with family at home and for visiting the origin country. In general we would thus expect that refugees from origin countries with more communication facilities are more likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities. According to the CIA world factbook Iran has the most telephone and internet users, followed by Iraq and Afghanistan. Interestingly, Afghanistan has very little telephone lines in use, but four in ten residents do have a mobile phone. Communication possibilities are the worst in Somalia. Only seven out of hundred inhabitants have direct access to a telephone (line or cellular) and only one out of hundred is an internet user (Figure 1). Additionally, since Somali is a country in conflict, contact and visits might be dangerous or impossible. We thus hypothesize that *socio-cultural transnational activities are least likely to Somalia, followed by Afghanistan and Iraq and most likely to Iran* (H5: facilities hypothesis).

Table 2: Economic and social context of origin countries: indicators for urgency financial support

	Afghanistan	Iraq	Iran	Somalia
GDP per capita (US dollars)	900	3800	10600	600
Life expectancy at birth (years)	45	71	70	50
Literacy (%)	28	74	77	38
HDI	.37	.59	.74	.28

Source: CIA world factbook 2010 and United Nations Report 2012

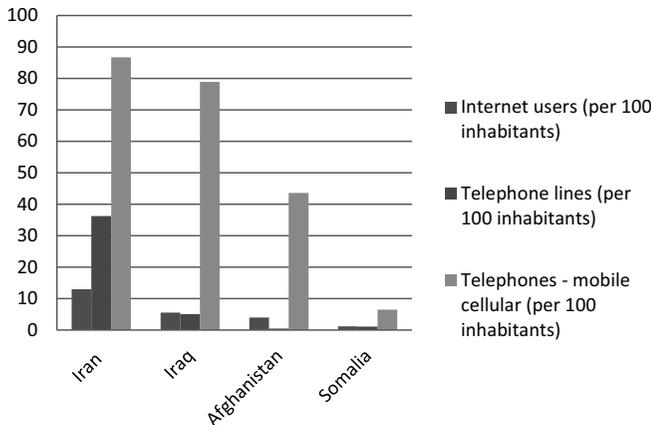


Figure 1: Origin countries technological infrastructure: indicator for communication possibilities

(Source: CIA world factbook 2010)

It should be noted that the formulated hypotheses based on the host and home country situation are complementary for explaining socio-cultural transnational behavior. However, for explaining the economic transnational behavior of refugees seemingly contradictory hypotheses (H1 and H4) are formulated. On the one hand, based on the host country situation we would expect Iranians to be the most frequent remitter, since this group is most resourceful. On the other hand, considering the home country situation, we expect the Somali group to perform most economic transnational activities due to the great urgency for financial support. All derived hypotheses are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Overview of hypotheses on the performance of transnational activities of refugees in the Netherlands based on the host and home country situation.

General hypothesis		Specific comparative hypothesis			
<i>Host country situation</i>	<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>Iranian</i>	<i>Iraqi</i>	<i>Afghani</i>	<i>Somali</i>
Resources/capacities H1: (+)	Economic and socio-cultural transnational activities	+	+/-	+/-	-
Reactive H2a: (disc: +) H2b: (acceptance: -)	Socio-cultural transnational activities	+	+/-	+/-	-
<i>Home country situation</i>	<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>Iranian</i>	<i>Iraqi</i>	<i>Afghani</i>	<i>Somali</i>
Partner/children in OC H3: (+)	Economic and socio-cultural transnational activities				
Economic resources/capacities H4: (-)	Economic transnational activities	-	+/-	+/-	+
Facilities / infrastructure H5: (+)	Socio-cultural transnational activities	+	+/-	+/-	-

5 Data and analyses

5.1 Data

In this study we will use the Survey Integration New Groups (SING2009) dataset gathered in 2009 by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). This cross-sectional dataset contains information on different dimensions of transnationalism and integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Iraqi, Somali, Iranian and Afghan individuals. A national two step random sample was drawn, in collaboration with Statistics Netherlands (CBS), from the Municipality Records (GBA). In the first step municipalities were randomly selected. A distinction was made between medium and small municipalities. The four large cities in the Netherlands, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague were included by

choice. From the selected municipalities respondents were randomly drawn. Within each refugee group about 1000 structured face-to-face interviews were conducted. In order to reach also those who had not yet mastered the Dutch language, bilingual interviewers were used for interviews with refugees who had resided in the Netherlands for a period shorter than five years.

Almost half of the sampled Afghan (49%) and Iraqi (48%) group participated; the response rate in the other groups was somewhat lower. Of the sampled Iranian group 44% participated and 38% of the Somali group did.³ The distribution of age and gender in the sample differs only slightly from the population. For example, Somali men are underrepresented and youngsters (in the age of 15-34) in the Afghani, Iraqi and Iranian group are underrepresented; therefore a weight was included (Dourleijn, 2010). Based on this procedure we can state that selectivity of the sample is limited and that sample is thus representative of the first generation refugee population from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Somalia in the Netherlands. In this study the determination of ethnicity is based on the country of birth.

The sample population consists of members of the Afghani, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali group with a granted status and aged 15 and above ($N=3950$). Since we are only interested in refugees with a flight experience and motive we excluded the second generation refugees ($n=91$), as well as refugees who came for work and study purposes ($n=86$). We did include family migrants ($n=662$) since they often fled along with their partner or parent. The survey asks for the main reason of migration. Consequently, one might not personally experience fear of personal persecution but decide to flee together or after a family member who did experience a fear of personal persecution. In such cases the main migration reason might be family reunification. We argue that this group thus also has a flight experience and that they are relevant with regard of the research question about transnational activities.

5.2 Method

We will test separate models for 1) economic and 2) socio-cultural transnational activities. Since economic transnational activities are measured with a dichotomous variable we will conduct binary logistic regression. Socio-cultural transnational activities are measured on an ordinal scale and thus an ordered logistic regression analysis is required.

5.3 Measures: Transnational activities

Economic transnational activities are generally understood as remittances: sending money or goods to the home country. In this study we will use the *occurrence of remittances* as the measure for economic transnational activities using the direct question: 'Did you send money or goods to your origin country in the past year?' (1=yes). We are not able to measure the intensity of the activity since we do not have information on the amount of remittances sent. Socio-cultural transnational activities are measured by *having contact with family* in the origin country (1=never, 2=occasionally, 3=frequent)⁴ and *visits to the origin country* (1=never, 2=occasionally, 3=each year), both on an ordinal scale.⁵

5.4 Measures: Capacities and desires

We have distinguished four possible indicators of capacities for performing transnational behavior. *Employment status* represents those refugees who are currently employed for more than 12h a week (1) versus unemployed people and those who are looking for employment (0). *Education* is measured in eight categories ranging from no education to university degree. We constructed a dummy for Dutch nationality in order to measure the effect of *legal status*. General *health* is based on self-evaluation and measured on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good).

Then, several factors which can affect the desire for refugees to engage in transnational activities are distinguished. Regarding the host country respondents were asked how often they personally *experienced discrimination* on a five-point scale ranging from 1=never to 5=very often. In order to measure *perceived acceptance* a mean scale out of four items is used (Cronbach's $\alpha=.77$). Respondents were asked to what extent they felt that 'In the Netherlands migrants get all the chances', 'As migrant in the Netherlands all your rights are respected', 'The Netherlands is a hospitable country for migrants' and 'The Netherlands is open to other (migrant) cultures' (categories 1=fully disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, 5=fully agree).

For the desires connected to the home country that can affect transnational behaviour we measure *having a partner and/or children in home country* with one dummy variable. Then, we control for *gender* (female = 1), *age*, *main reason of migration* (0= war, 1= fear of personal persecution, 2= family reunification, 3=other) and *wish to return* (1=yes). It should be noted that most refugees do realize that it often is not possible or realistic to return. Last, we use the natural log of the variable *length of stay* in years in order to prevent ourselves from extreme scores. In order to gain insight in possible differences among the refugee groups dummies per origin

country are included (Iran = ref). Summary statistics are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Description of dependent, independent and control variables

	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. dev.
<i>Dependent variables</i>					
Remittances	3764	0	1	.21	
Contact with family	3561	1	3	2.07	.71
Visit country of origin	2822	1	3	1.37	.55
<i>Independent variables</i>					
Employment status	3769	0	1	.37	
Education	3637	0	7	3.30	2.33
Dutch nationality (yes=1)	3769	0	1	.71	
Health	3764	1	5	3.73	1.08
Experienced discrimination	3655	1	5	1.86	1.04
Perceived acceptance	3736	1	5	3.74	.72
Partner/child in home country	3769	0	1	.04	
<i>Origin country (Iran= ref)</i>					
Afghanistan	3769	0	1	.26	
Iraq	3769	0	1	.25	
Somalia	3769	0	1	.25	
<i>Control variables</i>					
Female	3769	0	1	.47	
Age (in years)	3769	15	90	36.20	13.06
Length of stay (in years)	3769	1	42	12.31	4.80
Return wish (yes=1)	3493	0	1	.27	
<i>Reason of migration (other= ref)</i>					
War	3769	0	1	.41	
Fear of personal persecution	3769	0	1	.37	
Family reunification	3769	0	1	.17	

6 Results

6.1 Descriptive results

About a fifth of the research population has sent home money or goods in the past year (Table 5). In general the data show that most refugees send remittances to their parents in the country of origin and to other family members. A quarter of remittances sent by Afghani refugees go to organisations in Afghanistan. About a third of the research population has frequent contact with family at home and another 50% occasionally. Al-

most a quarter of the research population visits the country of origin occasionally. For another quarter a visit to the origin country is not possible. The Somali have the largest report of refugees who state that visiting the country of origin is not possible (Table 5). This might be an indication of conflict in the origin country which can hinder the performance of transnational activities. Further we observe that the Somali group has the largest share of remitters (29%) and the Iranian group the smallest (13%). The pattern of performing socio-cultural transnational activities strongly differs from that of the economic activities. Here the Iranian group has the highest percentage of maintaining contact with family at home and visiting the country of origin. The Somali followed by the Afghan group have the smallest share of refugees who perform socio-cultural transnational activities.

Table 5: Transnational activities per refugee group (in %)

	Total	Afghani	Iraqi	Iranian	Somali
<i>Send remittances</i>	21	24	17	13	29
<i>Contact: Never</i>	22	27	15	9	36
Occasionally	49	53	54	50	40
Frequent	29	20	32	41	24
<i>Visit: Never</i>	52	55	46	40	65
Occasionally	23	22	29	35	6
Once a year	3	1	3	9	.5
Not possible	22	21	22	16	28

The bivariate relations are shown in Table 6 and are in the expected directions. Identified resources, such as employment, education and having the Dutch nationality, are positively correlated with both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities. Also we observe that perceived acceptance in the Dutch society is negatively related to transnational activities. We will test whether these relations remain in a multivariate design, controlling for relevant background characteristics. Also we will further test the observed differences between refugee groups.

Table 6: Correlation matrix (Spearman correlation)

	Remit	Con- tact	Visit	Em- ployed	Edu- cation	Dutch nat	Health	Perc acc	Exp disc	P/C in OC
Remit	1.00									
Contact	.19	1.00								
Visit	.06	.41	1.00							
Employed	.12	.09	.11	1.00						
Education	.06	.20	.17	.25	1.00					
Dutch nat	.09	.11	.17	.21	.22	1.00				
Health	.11	-.00	.01	.20	.02	.01	1.00			
Perc acc	-.07	-.09	-.11	-.05	-.12	-.08	.10	1.00		
Exp disc	.07	.04	.03	.09	.14	.10	.00	-.31	1.00	
P/C in OC	.02	.05	.01	-.05	-.02	-.04	-.07	.01	.00	1.00

6.2 Multivariate results

The results of the binary logistic regression on the likelihood to send remittances (model 1) and the results of the ordered logistic regression on the odds of having contact with family in the country of origin (model 2) and on the odds of visiting the origin country (model 3) are presented in Table 7. We expected that the capacities of refugees would be positively related to both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities (H1: resource dependent hypothesis). Indeed the analyses show that having a job, a higher education and better general health increases the probability of sending home money or goods, to maintain contact with family in the home country and to visit the origin country. This supports the ‘resource dependent transnationalism’ thesis: socio-economic integration in the host country benefits transnationalism. For having the Dutch nationality we find that this increases the odds on performing socio-cultural transnational activities. Especially for explaining visiting behaviour to the origin country having the Dutch nationality is one of the most important predictors.

Second, we do not find support for the ‘reactive transnationalism’ thesis. Experienced discrimination has no effect on the odds of maintaining in contact with family at home. Hypothesis 2a is thus rejected. We do find support for the hypothesis that perceived acceptance is negatively related to the performance of socio-cultural transnational activities (H2b). Thus positive experiences in the host country (i.e. feelings of perceived acceptance) do decrease the odds on maintaining contact with family in the home country and visiting the origin country.

Third, we expected that having close relatives in the origin country would

increase the performance of both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities. We found convincing support for this hypothesis. Indeed, having a partner or child in the home country positively affects both remittances sending and maintaining contact with family at home (H₃).

Table 7: Logistic regression on the likelihood of having sent remittances in the past year (model 1) and ordered logistic regression on the likelihood of having contact with family in country of origin (model 2) and on the likelihood of visiting the country of origin (model 3); (odds ratios, standard errors between brackets)

	Model 1 (n=3375) Remittances	Model 2 (n=3099) Contact	Model 3 (n=2470) Visit
Origin country (Iran=ref)			
Afghanistan	2.98** (.45)	.35** (.04)	.38** (.05)
Iraq	1.98** (.30)	.73** (.07)	.68** (.08)
Somalia	3.66** (.61)	.34** (.04)	.09** (.02)
Employment	1.57** (.16)	1.24** (.10)	1.27* (.13)
Education	1.13** (.03)	1.08** (.02)	1.03
Dutch nationality	1.15	1.60** (.15)	2.37** (.35)
Health	1.17** (.06)	1.11** (.04)	1.11* (.06)
Experienced discrimination	-	1.02	.90* (.04)
Perceived acceptance	-	.87** (.05)	.80** (.06)
Partner/child in home country	2.03** (.47)	1.68** (.32)	1.38
Gender (female=1)	.96	1.51** (.11)	1.14
Age	.97** (.00)	1.01** (.00)	1.00
Length of stay (log)	1.88** (.24)	.62** (.05)	.91
Return wish	1.79** (.18)	2.49** (.21)	2.56** (.27)
Reason migration (other=ref)			
War	.66 [~]	1.18	1.10
Fear of personal persecution	.64 [~]	1.17	.95
Family reunification	.74	1.33	1.65 [~]
Chi ²	df(15)=332.9	df(17)=476.7	df (17)=442.0
Nagelkerke R ²	.10	.07	.12

Note: **p<.01, *p<.05, [~]p<.10

Family reunification in order to distinguish from other info on the model (chi2 and r2)

Obvious differences are found in the performance of economic and socio-cultural transnational activities among refugee groups. The likelihood of remitting is the largest for the Somali and Afghan group and the smallest for the Iranian group (Table 7). This is contrary to what we expected under the resource dependent transnationalism thesis. So, even though the socio-economic position of the Somalis in the Netherlands is the lowest of all refugee groups under study, which implies that they have the least capaci-

ties to perform transnational behaviour, they are the most frequent remitters. This finding is in line with former findings in Norway that, despite their low income, Somali refugees are the most regular remitters (Carling, 2008).

Also when individual capacities are included in the model these differences remain. Thus, the observed differences among the refugee groups are not solely due to the different modes of integration and individual capacities and desires. The analyses show that these factors alone cannot explain the observed differences among the refugee groups under study. This provides tentative support for the financial stress hypothesis (H4) since also characteristics of the origin country and stay-behinds are of importance in understanding the performance of transnational activities. Since Iran has significantly higher GDP per capita and generally leave relatively wealthy families behind we argue that financial support is possibly less needed. This can partly explain the lower percentage of remittance sending within the Iranian group. On the contrary, Somalia being a country in poverty and conflict, the demand for financial support might be strong; which can explain why Somali refugees are the most frequent remitters.

Similarly, looking at the differences in maintaining contact with the family at home and visiting the origin country we observe, in congruence with our expectation, that the Iranian group is most likely and the Somali and Afghan group least likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities. On the individual level this can partly be due to the feelings of perceived acceptance; Somalis feel most accepted and therefore perhaps have less desire to remain in contact with the origin country. However, these differences also remain when perceived acceptance is included in the model. This provides tentative support for the facilities hypothesis (H5), since the observed differences cannot be explained by the individual host country situation. It thus seems that indeed the limited communication possibilities and the current safety situation in Somalia can provide an explanation for the low likelihood of the Somali group to perform socio-cultural transnational activities. Again, since Iran is holding the best (welfare) position and has by far the most telephone and internet users it seems plausible for them to perform the most socio-cultural transnational activities.

7 Conclusion and discussion

In this paper we aimed to explain the performance of transnational activities of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands in a comparative perspective. First, we found support for the resource dependent transna-

tionalism thesis, since employment, education and health are important factors that affect the capacities of refugees to remit, to maintain contact with family in the country of origin and to visit the origin country. In other words, (economic) integration in the host country benefits the performance of transnational behaviour. Further, having the Dutch nationality is of great importance for performing socio-cultural transnational activities. This seems to indicate that for refugees the security, safety and protection provided by a Dutch passport enable them to maintain contact with and visit family in the origin country. Again, integration and transnationalism are compatible and even reinforcing.

In general we thus find that the mechanism of resource dependent transnationalism is confirmed for all refugee groups. However, looking at the separate refugee groups we conclude that there is more to it. Despite having a low level of economic integration in the host country, the Somali group is the most frequent remitter. Iranians, on the contrary, are better economically incorporated but the least frequent remitters. The simple general assumption that low-income migrants are not able to remit seems to be insufficient to explain the pattern of refugees' transnational behaviour. A possible explanation for this unexpected finding lies in the nature of the host country. The Netherlands is a social welfare state where everyone, also without employment, is provided with a basic income which lies almost at the level of the minimum wage. Thus, even refugees who do not hold a job do have the resources to remit.

Following from this paper we propose a second explanation for these seemingly contradictory findings: the origin country situation. The general welfare situation, according to the Human Development Index, in Somalia and Afghanistan is considerable worse compared to Iran. Therefore the potential need for financial support of the stay-behinds in Somalia is assumed to be larger. Moreover, considering the enormous relative wealth difference between Somalia and the Netherlands, each amount, even an amount of remittances that is considered to be small in the Netherlands, is of great value for stay-behinds in Somalia. Whereas the stay-behinds of Iranians, who more often are from middle class families, are less dependent on remittances from family abroad. In addition, due to limited internet and telephone facilities in Somalia, staying in contact with stay-behinds in the origin country is difficult. Last, conflict in the origin country can be a serious obstacle for visiting the home country. Again this applies mostly to Somalia, since this country is suffering from most conflict of the four countries under study. All together this paper provides tentative sup-

port for the importance of the economic and social situation in the origin country for explaining refugees' transnational behaviour.

In this study we showed the importance of both the resources *available* to refugees in the host country and the *potential need* for resources in the origin country for explaining refugees' transnational behaviour; it is a two-way process. Unfortunately we were not able to test the impact of country characteristics directly. Future research could take up the challenge and include such macro characteristics of the home country and more specific information on the stay-behinds in the analysis in order to test their separate effects.

This paper has clearly shown that the relation between integration and transnationalism for refugees is complex and intertwined. On the one hand, integration benefits the performance of transnational behaviour. Thus, having a job or good education enables refugees to remit and stay in touch. On the other hand, we should not lose out of sight that demands from the origin country do also affect refugees' behaviour. To conclude, the pattern of the performance of transnational activities of refugees is strongly characterised by resource dependent transnationalism. In addition, this paper drew attention to the importance of the economic and social situation in the origin country in explaining transnationalism for refugee groups.

Notes

1. Statistics Netherlands distinguishes between western and non-western countries. Western countries are all European countries including Central and Eastern Europe (except Turkey), North American countries, some Asian countries (Japan and Indonesia), and the countries in Oceania (Australia and New Zealand). Turkey and all countries in Latin and South America, Africa and Asia are considered non-western.
2. Somalia has the lowest rank (158) on the Global Peace Index 2012 (a product of Institute for Economics and Peace). Closely followed by Afghanistan (157), Iraq (155) and again Iran holds the best position (128), also regarding conflict.
3. This also means that the non-response is about 50% per group. The largest share of non-response is due to refusal. Not having reached respondents at home after 6 approaches is another reason for non-response. Those addresses that for unknown reasons have not been approached by the interviewers are also included in the non-response.
4. Those refugees who have no family in the origin country are excluded (n=203).
5. The category 'not possible to visit' was excluded from the analysis to explain visits to

the origin country. Note that these respondents are included in the models to explain remittances and contact behaviour.

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Migrants' Multi-Sited Social Lives

Interactions between Sociocultural Integration and Homeland Engagement

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Abstract

This paper challenges the assimilationist assumption that suggests migrants cannot be simultaneously embedded in multiple societies. Based on survey data collected among Afghan, Burundian, Ethiopian and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands, the paper shows that overall sociocultural integration in the Netherlands and sociocultural homeland engagement are significantly positively correlated. Moreover, it demonstrates that migrants with more contact with their co-ethnics in the Netherlands tend to engage more in sociocultural activities oriented towards their home country. Besides, the influence of favourable political and security situations and economic prospects in the home countries is brought to the fore in relation to migrant groups' sociocultural homeland engagement. The paper consequently highlights the prevalence of transnational ways of living and calls for theoretical adjustments in line with migrants' multi-sited social lives and more inclusive policy approaches that recognize the relevance of dual-citizenship in this contemporary context.

Keywords: Transnationalism, sociocultural integration, homeland engagement, return visits, migrants in the Netherlands

1 Introduction

In the past few decades, a growing number of social scientists have acknowledged that migrants do not simply assimilate into the host country and break off ties with their contacts in the home country (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). Instead, they maintain strong social, cultural and political

relationships with their homeland (Khagram and Levitt, 2008; Faist, 2013). In the existing literature, competing arguments are put forward as to how these relationships are interlinked with migrants' integration processes in the host country. The assimilation theory suggests a negative association and states that only migrants who are not successfully integrated in the host society will have the incentive to maintain more contact with the home society (Portes et al., 1999; Snel et al., 2006). Conversely, the transnational perspective proposes that host country and homeland experiences can influence each other positively (Morawska, 2003; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). Tsuda (2012) claims that integration in the host country may increase an individual's economic, social and cultural capitals, thus providing migrants with more opportunities, knowledge and incentives to contribute to their home country. In this paper, I seek to contribute to this debate by focusing on various components of the sociocultural dimension of migrant lives. Rather than treating integration processes in the host country and homeland engagement separately, I look at the inherent linkages between the two in order to respond to the following question: To what extent and in which ways is migrants' engagement in sociocultural activities oriented towards their home country linked to their sociocultural integration into the host country?

This question is of both societal and political relevance. From a development perspective, it is important to understand under which conditions migrants develop more sociocultural contact with their home country, especially given that social remittances are transferred through these relationships (Levitt, 1998). These transfers – including new ideas, practices, values, skills and identities – may alter people's behaviour and transform conceived notions about gender relations, democracy and so forth in sending communities, as well as contributing to development (Levitt, 1999). When we have a better understanding of migrants' sociocultural homeland engagement patterns, more inclusive and cohesive policies can be developed to augment the transfer and positive impact of social remittances. Furthermore, from an integration perspective, this research question allows us to challenge the assumption of incompatibility in embeddedness in multiple societies. This research does not show a negative association between integration and homeland engagement; rather, it provides evidence for the idea that migrants' can be simultaneously engaged in multiple societies without contradiction. Hence, the results of this research can be used in discussions regarding our understanding of integration and migrants' new ways of living. Consequently, the positive effects of migra-

tion can be enhanced for all parties involved through policies that better fit the current social realities.

In order to address the research question, I make use of survey data collected from first-generation adult Afghan, Burundian, Ethiopian and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands. Hosting distinct migrant groups and being an immigration country where both integration and development policies are hotly debated, the Netherlands provides an appropriate case to study various migrant groups simultaneously. The migrant groups in question differ from each other extensively with regards to their migration history and group composition in the Netherlands. The Moroccan community is the largest migrant community of the groups studied with about 356,000 individuals, which constitutes 2.1 per cent of the total Dutch population. The Afghan community of about 40,000 people is the second largest migrant community, one which has grown substantially since 2000. The Burundian migrant community is the smallest, with about 3000 people, while the Ethiopian migrant community is one of the largest within the African migrant community with about 12,000 individuals (Bilgili and Siegel 2012).¹ With respect to migration motivations, Moroccans are known as labour and family migrants, while the other groups consist primarily of individuals who, at least initially, have fled their country of origin for political and security reasons, and are now characterised by additional family and student migration (Bilgili and Siegel 2012). Accordingly, in this paper, I also make group comparisons in order to highlight the role of contextual factors in sociocultural homeland engagement.

2 Theory and hypotheses

2.1 Transnational migration research

To date, researchers have not come to a complete consensus with respect to how the interrelationship between integration and homeland engagement works. According to the assimilationist perspective, homeland engagement and integration are found on a uni-dimensional spectrum and essentially rule each other out. Tsuda (2012) explains the assimilationist argument by the limited character of resources at hand. He states that time and money in particular are resources of limited kind, and if these resources are consumed for one purpose, there is less left for other purposes. Based on this idea, it is possible to argue for a “zero-sum” relationship between integration and homeland engagement. Conversely, transnational migration theory suggests that there may be a more positive association

between integration in the host country and engagement in the homeland because they are separate yet compatible processes (Marcelli and Lowell, 2005; Levitt, 2008; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011). In line with the transnational perspective, several researchers have concluded early on that, in the North American context, migrants who are well integrated in the host country also cultivate relations with the home country (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Guarnizo et al., 2003; Portes et al., 2003; Tamaki, 2011).

In the European context, there is a new body of literature that looks into different dimensions of homeland engagement and paves the way for a rich discussion on the links between integration and homeland engagement. For example, in the political domain, while Koopmans and colleagues (2005) find political homeland engagement to be detrimental to integration, Mügge (2010) reaches the opposite conclusion and claims that these aspects are positively related. In their influential study on migrants in the Netherlands, Snel and colleagues (2006) have *not* found a negative correlation between social integration and feelings of belonging to the Dutch society and engagement in transnational activities. However, in the social domain, the work of Schans (2009) has shown a negative effect of duration of stay on frequency of contact with relatives in the country of origin. These studies all add to the growing debate surrounding transnationalism, but this field of research is still in its infancy. For a more in-depth discussion, sub-dimensions of a certain type of homeland engagement need to be comprehensively studied. Furthermore, incorporating new, emergent migrant groups with various migration histories to the literature allows us to speculate on the effects of group level and contextual factors in homeland engagement.

While recent research has attempted to fill these gaps (see Mazzucato, 2008; Van Bochove, 2010; Van Meeteren, 2012), the scope of these studies remains relatively small. More large-scale quantitative research on different migrant groups is needed in order to take the research a step further (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013). In this paper, I seek to address these limitations and bring together the integration and transnational migration literature, thus making a substantial contribution to the debate. Accordingly, in the following section, I develop a number of hypotheses regarding the four main components of sociocultural homeland engagement. Building upon the typology of home country related social and cultural activities developed by Al-Ali and co-authors (2001), in this paper I focus in particular on contact with their family and friends in the home country, return visits, association membership in the home country and home country related media and art consumption.

2.2 Links between sociocultural integration and homeland engagement

The underlying assumption of social integration is that the more migrants integrate to the host society, the less incentive they will have to remain in contact with their home country (Sana, 2005). As Tsuda (2012) explains, given their limited time and resources, migrants are forced to make a choice between the two contexts. Hence, simultaneously increased engagement in both contexts is not considered to be a plausible option. However, it can also be argued that the time and resources allocated to each of these social networks can be separate and independent. I argue that social contact with the host society is not necessarily linked to migrants' incentives to maintain contact with their family and friends in the home country, because these are distinct aspects of migrant lives. I first hypothesize that: (1) *Social contact with the Dutch society has no significant negative relationship with migrants' sociocultural homeland engagement.* In other words, I do not expect those who spend more time with the Dutch to be less likely to have contact with their family and friends in the home country, to make fewer return visits home, to continue to belong to associations or to consume home country media and art.

In addition, I take into account migrants' social contacts with co-ethnics in the host country as an integral part of social integration processes. Social integration is supposed to benefit migrants by providing them access to other resources and other (personal or organizational) networks that also enhance their resource base (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2009). Most research on social integration focuses only on migrants' engagement with the host society, ignoring that being embedded in the social life in the host country can also be realized through contacts with co-ethnics (Putnam, 2007; Vervoort et al., 2011). This idea has paved the way for a new strand of research on the effects of migrant networks on migrants' lives in the host country. More specifically, most research on this topic has been investigating the differential role of these contacts (migrant networks) on integration related issues compared to contacts with the native population.² However, this also raises the question as to whether contact with the natives and co-ethnics in the host country relate differently to migrants' sociocultural homeland engagement.

One possible view is that contact with co-ethnics in the host country functions as a substitute for contacts with the home country. However, I claim that a higher level of contact with co-ethnics can actually increase migrants' incentive to maintain more contact with family and friends in the home country. Those who spend more time with other co-ethnics may

accumulate more interest in home country affairs. It can be argued that these relations feed into each other and function as a way of reinforcing the relationships in both contexts. Therefore, regarding the simultaneity between relationships with co-ethnics and sociocultural homeland engagement, I argue that: (2) *Those who have more frequent contact with their co-ethnics are more likely to engage in sociocultural activities oriented towards the home country.*

Another factor which needs to be considered in the specificity to this research is the language that migrants use at home, as this is also regarded as an important indicator of sociocultural integration in the host country. Language use at home is of particular interest because it can be seen as an indicator both of language proficiency and of preferences (Veltman, 1983). If an individual speaks only or some of the host country language at home, this is seen as an indicator of the person's orientation towards the host country, while exclusive native language use may be interpreted as the person's stronger affiliation with their home country and culture (Phinney et al., 2001). Accordingly, it can be argued that those who speak only their native language may be significantly more likely to be involved in their home country. Conversely, from a transnational perspective, one can argue that migrant preferences to use some or only Dutch at home is not necessarily a hindrance to engaging in sociocultural activities oriented towards the home country. Those who speak Dutch at home may still have strong connections with family and friends in the home country. When controlling for other factors, language use may not have a significant effect on migrants' homeland engagement. Consequently, with regards to the link between language use in the Netherlands and engagement in sociocultural activities in the home country, I hypothesize that: (3) *No significant difference exists between those who use only their native language and those who speak only or some Dutch at home with regards to their engagement in sociocultural activities oriented towards their home country.*

I test these hypotheses about leisure time spending and language use at home against all four types of homeland-oriented activities as I do not foresee any significant differences between them. If the results hold for all outcome variables, it will facilitate stronger conclusions about the links between sociocultural integration and engagement in homeland-oriented sociocultural activities. However, if there are differences, it will be necessary to discuss the underlying meaning of each sociocultural activity.

With regard to association membership in the home country, I take into account association membership in the Netherlands to test the level of involvement in civic life across both contexts. I also test whether consump-

tion of home country related media and art is similar to the consumption of Dutch media and art. I conceptualize these aspects of migrants' lives as part of their social and cultural capital. Just as human capital is transferable from one country context to another (albeit imperfectly in most cases) (see Chiswick and Miller 2007, 2009; Basilio and Bauer, 2010), migrants can also transfer their social and cultural capital to the host country. I therefore posit that: (4) *Those who are a member of an association in the Netherlands are more likely to be a member of an association in the home country.* (5) *Those who consume Dutch media and art are more likely to consume home country related media and art.*

The hypotheses of this paper are developed in line with the transnational perspective as it seeks to accommodate more satisfactorily the new realities of migrants' lives. My conception of transnationalism is based on the possibility of simultaneous embeddedness in multiple contexts given the cross-border relationships that migrants develop with their home country while residing in the host country (Glick Schiller et al., 1992a, 1992b; Basch et al., 1994; Tsuda, 2012).

3 Data and methods

The data used in this paper was collected for the Migration and Development: A World in Motion project in the Netherlands in 2010-2011.³ During the fieldwork, 247 Moroccan, 351 Ethiopian, 165 Burundian and 259 Afghan households were interviewed, totalling 1,022 households.⁴ The data was collected among first-generation migrant households, and includes extensive information on household members' background characteristics, migration history, integration processes and homeland engagement. In total, information was gathered from 891 Moroccans, 682 Ethiopians, 348 Burundians and 824 Afghans. For one third of the surveys, stratified random sampling with quota system was used, while for the rest snowball sampling with many entry points we used due to logistic and practical challenges.

To give an overall idea about the sample, it can be stated that the distribution of gender is balanced. Approximately 70 per cent of the sample is composed of adults (18 and over). Only a small percentage of the sample is above retirement age (5.3%). Some 35 per cent of the sample is married. Considerable differences exist between the groups with respect to educational background. A higher proportion of individuals have low levels of education in the Moroccan sample (15% with no formal education), and the highest share of individual with tertiary education and above is

from the Ethiopian sample (34% with tertiary education). Finally, the naturalization rate is relatively high among all migrant groups, the highest being among the Afghans with 87 per cent and the lowest among the Burundians with about 47 per cent.

In this paper, I make use of different subsamples depending on the outcome variable. For contact with family and friends in the home country and return visits I use a subsample composed of first-generation respondents who were born in one of the four origin countries, as these questions were asked only to the main respondent from each household. For association membership in the home country and home country related media and art consumption I use a bigger sample, and include all first-generation migrants born in one of the four origin countries.

3.1 Dependent variables

There are four main components of sociocultural homeland engagement. The first two consist of frequency of contact with family and friends in the home country and whether the respondent makes temporary return visits. The frequency of contact is measured on an 8 point scale going from “no contact at all” to “every day” contact. Those who are in contact are then asked if and how often they go back to their country of origin. This question is answered with a 6 point scale ranging from “no visits” to “a few times every year”. In the analysis, I treat these as dummy variables. This means that rather than looking at the frequency, I make a distinction between migrants who have no contact at all with their home country and those who have at least some level of engagement.

Another way to operationalize sociocultural homeland engagement is to ask respondents if they are a member (active or inactive) of an association based in their home country. Types of associations given in the survey included religious organizations, sport or recreational groups, art, music or educational organizations, labour unions, political parties or humanitarian and charitable organizations. I also treat this variable as dichotomous and construct it in such a way as to identify only if the person is part of an organization or not. I also look at media and music consumption through the use of newspapers, music and internet. The questions in this section asked how often a member of the household listens to home country music, visits websites about the home country, or reads home country newspapers. The following frequency scale was used for these questions: 1=every day, 2=several times a week, 3=once or twice a week, 4=a few times a month, 5=less often/never. To construct a variable that encompasses all

these aspects, I add the scores of an individual for each question and create a continuous variable.

3.2 Independent variables

Social contacts in the Netherlands: Regarding social contacts, respondents were asked separately how often they spend time with the native Dutch or their ethnic community members during leisure time. There were six answer categories ranging from every day to never (1=everyday, 2=several times a week, 3=a few times a month, 4= several times a year, 5=less often and 6=never).

Associational membership in the Netherlands: The respondent is asked whether they are active or inactive member of an organization in the Netherlands. For the purposes of my analysis, rather than counting the number of organizations, I only look at whether someone is a member (active or inactive) or not.

Language use at home: The respondent is asked in what language they speak at home. For this question, the respondent was allowed to state Dutch, native language (if different from Dutch), partly Dutch and partly native language or other. From this variable, I create a dichotomous variable with which I make a distinction between those who speak only the home country language versus who speak some Dutch or only Dutch at home.

Media and art consumption: The variable is constructed in the same way as home country media and art consumption. The frequencies of consuming Dutch music, internet and newspapers are added in order to come up with a continuous variable.

Other control variables: These include country of birth, citizenship status, employment status, highest level of education (ISCED), years in the Netherlands, having family in the Netherlands, gender, age and marital status.

3.3 Analysis

Before performing the analysis, I conducted collinearity checks to determine whether I needed to leave out any variables based on the rule of having a condition number smaller than 35. I also checked correlations between variables before making the final decisions about the models. There was no problematic correlation between the independent variables (rule of thumb: correlation $< .6$). I then performed the appropriate statistical analysis depending on the structure of the variables. For social contact, return visits and association membership in the home country, I ran binary logistic regression, and for home country related media and art consumption, I used multivariate regression.

4 Descriptive analysis

4.1 Sociocultural homeland engagement

According to the survey results, a large proportion of migrants are in contact with their family and friends in the home country, with 87 per cent of the respondents stating that they have contact with their family and friends in the home country. About half of the respondents stated that they have made at least one trip back home since their arrival. However, there are clear differences between the migrant groups with respect to their homeland engagement through social contacts. Almost all Moroccan and Ethiopian migrants have contact with their family and friends in the home country, while the proportion of Afghans and Burundians who have contact with the homeland is less. A similar pattern is observed in the visits made to the home country. In particular, a large share of Moroccans, 91 per cent, makes temporary short visits back to Morocco, while a much smaller proportion of the other groups visit their home country.

Table 1 Sociocultural homeland engagement by country of birth (%)

	Moroccans	Afghans	Ethiopians	Burundians
Contact with home country				
No	6.5%	30.3%	2.0%	19.8%
Yes	93.5%	69.7%	98.0%	80.2%
Return visits to home country				
No	8.8%	64.3%	44.0%	75.8%
Yes	91.2%	35.7%	56.0%	24.2%
Association membership in home country				
No	81.0%	92.5%	77.9%	77.4%
Yes	19.0%	7.5%	22.1%	22.6%
Home country media and art consumption				
Low	57.1%	33.0%	11.9%	30.9%
Medium	25.4%	37.0%	26.2%	27.0%
High	17.5%	30.0%	61.7%	42.1%
N	411	644	451	235

I also observe that a large share of the migrants is not part of an organisation based in the home country; only 16 per cent of first-generation migrants are a member.⁵ Among those who are members, the largest proportion is Burundians, followed by Ethiopians and Moroccans. However, home country media and art consumption gives a different picture. Although the proportion of Afghans and Burundians who do not have contact with family and friends is relatively large compared to Moroccans and Ethiopians, their involvement in home country related media and art is relatively higher. Inter-

estingly, Moroccans who are one of the most active groups with respect to sociocultural homeland engagement do not show high levels of home country media and art consumption. However, this result should not be taken on its own considering that Moroccans also show low levels of consumption regarding Dutch art and media, as will be discussed below.

4.2 Sociocultural integration in the Netherlands

Overall, I observe similarities in the sociocultural integration patterns of Afghans and Burundians on the one hand, and between Ethiopians and Moroccans on the other hand. Almost 60 per cent of all migrants speak only their home country language at home. Burundians stand out as the group of migrants who seem to speak at least some Dutch at home (63%), while more than half of the other groups speak only their native language. When considering the frequency of contact with co-ethnics, I observe that the Burundians are by far the group who has the least contact with their co-ethnics (54%). They are followed by Afghans of which 47 per cent have infrequent contact with their co-ethnics.

Table 2 Sociocultural integration in the Netherlands by country of birth (%)

	Moroccans	Afghans	Ethiopians	Burundians
Language use at home				
Only or some Dutch	36.0%	40.8%	41.3%	63.1%
Home country language	64.0%	59.2%	58.7%	36.9%
Leisure time spending with co-ethnics				
Infrequently	13.0%	47.1%	39.9%	53.7%
Intermediate	24.3%	32.8%	39.9%	34.1%
Frequently	62.7%	20.1%	20.2%	12.2%
Leisure time spending with Dutch				
Infrequently	45.8%	20.9%	29.4%	19.7%
Intermediate	16.7%	15.6%	25.3%	14.2%
Frequently	37.5%	63.5%	45.3%	66.1%
Association membership in the Netherlands				
No	41.3%	40.2%	23.4%	11.9%
Yes	58.7%	59.8%	76.6%	88.1%
Dutch media and art consumption				
Low	59.4%	33.4%	45.8%	23.5%
Medium	23.8%	35.6%	23.6%	29.5%
High	16.8%	31.0%	30.6%	47.0%
N	411	644	451	235

While more than half of the Afghan (64%) and Burundian (66%) migrant population spend time with the Dutch population regularly and frequently, more than half of the Ethiopian (55%) and Moroccan (63%) spend time with the Dutch population infrequently. Furthermore, the survey data show that more than 65 per cent of the total sample is a member of at least one organization. Ethiopians and Burundians in particular stand out as migrant groups that are highly involved in associations. Finally, the results about the level of consuming Dutch music and media are relatively similar to spending leisure time with the Dutch population. About 60 per cent of the total sample can be considered to be oriented towards the Dutch population, but within the groups, Afghans and Burundians seem to be the migrants who are oriented the most towards the Dutch social and cultural life.

Having mapped the sociocultural integration and homeland engagement patterns of migrant groups on a descriptive level, I observe that the migrant groups overall seem to have a relatively high engagement in both contexts, but there are many differences that exist between the groups.

5 Main results

In this section, I test the hypotheses developed in the theory section. Firstly, I find that there is not enough evidence to suggest that having more contact with the Dutch society through leisure activities is negatively linked to engagement in sociocultural activities oriented towards the home country. Independent of leisure time spent with Dutch people, migrants have contact with family and friends in the home country⁶ or make return visits. The results also indicate that those with more contact with the Dutch are not less likely to be a member of an association in the home country or consume less home country related media and art. This is the first result that illustrates that engagement in sociocultural activities in the home country is not a substitute to social integration in the Netherlands, and that these processes can coexist without negatively influencing each other.

I also find that having more contact with co-ethnics in the Netherlands is positively related to more social contacts with friends and family in the home country (OR=1.20, $p < .05$), and home country related media and art consumption ($\beta = .21$, $p < .01$). Nevertheless, I do not find a significant correlation between this independent variable and return visits and association membership in the home country. This means that mi-

grants are equally likely to be part of an association or make return visits to the home country independent of their level of their contact with co-ethnics in the Netherlands.

Next, I look at language use at home as an indicator of sociocultural integration in the Netherlands. For all dependent variables, I reject the hypothesis regarding language use at home. Contrary to what I expected, the results show that those who speak only the native language at home are significantly more engaged in their home country. Only the coefficient of language use at home for return visits is marginally significant while the coefficients for the other sociocultural homeland activities have a higher significance level.

Table 3 Results for sociocultural homeland engagement

	Contact with family and friends in the home country Binary logistic regression Odds ratios	Return visits to the home country Binary logistic regression Odds ratios	Association membership in the home country Binary logistic regression Odds ratios	Home country related media and art consumption Multivariate regression Coefficients
Country of origin				
Morocco	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Afghanistan	0.23*** (.09)	0.04*** (.02)	0.27*** (.07)	2.20*** (.25)
Ethiopia	5.99*** (4.07)	0.26*** (.98)	0.47*** (.13)	3.41*** (.28)
Burundi	0.37** (.17)	0.04*** (.02)	0.94 (.27)	3.02*** (.33)
Highest level of education				
Primary	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Secondary	0.56** (.18)	0.78 (.22)	1.22 (.30)	.83*** (.22)
Tertiary	1.26 (.48)	0.83 (.25)	2.27*** (.58)	1.10*** (.25)
Employment status				
Employed	Ref.		Ref.	Ref.
Student	0.72 (.27)	0.74 (.21)	2.03*** (.54)	.30 (.26)
Unemployed	0.53*** (.20)	0.63* (.19)	1.72** (.48)	.75*** (.28)
Inactive	0.26*** (.12)	0.55* (.20)	1.34 (.42)	-.03 (.29)
Income per capita				
Low	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Middle	1.69** (.49)	0.96 (.23)	1.34* (.30)	-.18 (.20)
High	1.78* (.62)	1.81** (.50)	1.78*** (.45)	.17 (.24)

	Contact with family and friends in the home country Binary logistic regression Odds ratios	Return visits to the home country Binary logistic regression Odds ratios	Association membership in the home country Binary logistic regression Odds ratios	Home country related media and art consumption Multivariate regression Coefficients
Language use at home				
Only or some Dutch	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Only origin country language	1.86**(.51)	1.40*(.32)	1.97***(.40)	1.26***(.20)
Leisure time with Dutch	0.98(.08)	0.96(.06)	1.00(.06)	.68(.06)
Leisure time with co-ethnics	1.20**(.13)	0.92(.07)	1.12*(.09)	.21***(.08)
Association membership in the Netherlands			4.13***(.94)	
Dutch media and art consumption				.21***(.03)
Legal Status (Citizenship)				
Only Dutch or dual citizenship	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Only origin country citizenship	1.28(.51)	0.37***(.10)	0.84(.20)	.39*(.39)
Years in NL>5 years	1.55(.70)	1.55*(.53)	0.45***(.13)	-.40(.32)
Control variables				
Family in NL	1.24(.38)	2.18***(.55)	0.36***(.09)	-.84***(.25)
Female	1.00(.29)	0.95(.19)	0.63**(.11)	-.54***(.18)
Married	1.71*(.57)	1.60**(.34)	2.12***(.51)	.95***(.23)
Age	1.08*(.06)	1.03(.05)	1.04(.05)	.18***(.04)
Age squared	0.99(.00)	.99(.05)	.99(.00)	-.00***(.00)
Constant	0.45(.69)	4.87(6.20)	0.02***(.02)	-4.79***(1.07)
Observations	793	773	1,346	1,294
Pseudo R-squared	.23	.30	.20	Adjusted R-Squared .35

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Finally, it is significantly more likely that those who are a member of an organization in the Netherlands (OR=4.13, p-2 sided<.01) are also a member of an organization in the home country. The results regarding home country related media and art consumption based on multivariate regression are parallel to findings on association membership. In other words, if a

migrant consumes more Dutch media and art ($\beta=.21$, $p<.01$), they are also significantly more likely to consume more home country related media and art, and these behaviours are therefore not negatively related to each other.

The control variables included in the models also provide interesting insight into who engages in sociocultural activities oriented towards the home country. Within the scope of this paper, it is worthwhile mentioning one of the results that is extremely relevant for development and integration policy making; the analysis shows that those who have only origin country citizenship (OR=.37, $p<.01$) are significantly less likely to make trips back home. This means that those who have only Dutch citizenship or dual citizenship make more visits to the home country.

6 Migrant group differences in sociocultural homeland engagement

When considering the relationship between country of origin and sociocultural homeland engagement (see Table 3), I observe that variation exists with respect to different types of activities. Compared to Moroccans, Ethiopians have significantly more contact with their family and friends in the home country, while Afghans and Burundians have significantly less contact. However, Moroccans are significantly more likely than all other groups to make return visits home. Although Ethiopians have more contact with family and friends, they are not more likely to make visits back home. Moroccans are also more likely to be part of an association in the home country than Ethiopians and Afghans, but the difference between Moroccans and Burundians is not significant in this regard. While these results suggest that Moroccans are the most active group in sociocultural homeland engagement, this view is challenged by their home country related media and art consumption. The other three groups are significantly more likely to consume home country related media and art than Moroccans. What, then, can be said about group level differences?

With Burundians and Afghans having fewer social contacts with family and friends in their home countries overall, it can be argued that, due to the unstable political and security situation in Burundi and Afghanistan, social networks may have been largely disrupted (Cernea, 1990; Marx, 1990). Many family members and friends of Burundians and Afghans may also have fled their country of origin to live in other parts of the world. More importantly, Burundians and Afghans may even have experienced

losses in their network due to conflict in their home country. Conversely, it may be easier for Moroccans to maintain contact with their relatives in Morocco.

Moreover, the fact that Moroccans are the ones that make the most visits can initially be explained by the shorter distance between the Netherlands and Morocco and, consequently, cheaper travelling costs. Moreover, in Morocco, as an emigration country, return visits are an important phenomenon especially during the summer time. It is part of the migrant culture to spend time in the home country and bring back goods and gifts to family and friends in Morocco. In fact, it has become such a common phenomenon that the Moroccan government has engaged in special activities to facilitate these visits for Moroccans. For instance, "Opération transit", managed by the Fondation Mohammed V pour la Solidarité since 2000, is an initiative whose objective is to reduce the delays, harassment and abuse that migrants experience at the borders, and to accelerate various administrative procedures for returning migrant visitors (Bilgili and Weyel, 2009). This is a key example of how the Moroccan state has changed its relationship with Moroccans abroad and developed its diaspora engagement policies since the 1990s (de Haas, 2007).

Interestingly, after controlling for individual level characteristics, I found that Moroccans are significantly more likely to be a member of a homeland association compared to Afghans and Ethiopians. This difference can be explained by the fact that Moroccans continue to keep up relations with their local community organizations and mosques more easily due to frequent visits back to the home country. The smaller difference between Burundians and Moroccans can perhaps be explained by the increased involvement of the Burundian community in the politics of their home country, due to homeland engagement being a more selective behaviour among those who have a strong interest in the affairs of their home country (see 'Selective transnationalism' in Levitt et al., 2003).

A final point of interest relates to the consistency among migrants in terms of engaging in different types of sociocultural activities. The Ethiopian migrant group is clearly involved equally in all dimensions of homeland engagement, except for return visits which may be restricted by temporary migration plans, costly travel prices, and the fact that the majority of the migrants are students. However, less consistency is observed among the other groups. For example, while maintaining high levels of social contact with family and friends in Morocco, it seems that the Moroccan migrants do not follow news, visit websites or listen to music from their home country as much as the other migrant groups. Conversely, Burun-

dians and Afghans who do not have much contact with relatives in the home country seem to consume much more media and art oriented towards their home country. Why is there not a consistency between the different dimensions of sociocultural homeland engagement?

One possible answer to this question may be that media and art consumption is a substitute for social contacts with family and friends. On the one hand, Moroccans who are able to contact their family in Morocco more often and more easily learn about their country's affairs through these contacts rather than via more formal channels such as reading newspapers and surfing the Internet. On the other hand, Afghans and Burundians who face challenges in maintaining strong relations with their acquaintances but are still interested in their home country affairs consume more media. In this regard, it is important to recognize that while we assume to measure similar aspects of a certain dimension of a life, these intriguing results show us that different types of homeland oriented activities may have diverse meanings for migrants. Finally, given that the Moroccan community in the Netherlands is larger and more well-established, they may be more interested in what is produced and happening among Moroccans in the Netherlands rather than in Morocco itself. In this regard, the overall size, concentration, social cohesion and embeddedness of a migrant community may influence the overall engagement of a migrant group in their home country's media and art. It would be interesting in future studies to further examine the role of such contextual and group level factors in order to fully understand how integration and homeland engagement are interlinked.

7 Conclusion

From its beginnings, the transnational perspective has been critical towards exclusive integration to the host country and hence of classical assimilation theory (Faist, 2000). Unlike the integration theories that are bounded by the nation-state, transnational migration theory regards the lives of traditional migrants as "a continuous flow of people, goods, money, ideas that transgress national boundaries and in so doing connects physical, social, economic and political spaces" (Mazzucato, 2005). It is this notion of connectivity that distinguishes transnational migration theory from previous integration theories. Taking this idea as my starting point, in this paper I have shown that multiple patterns and different levels of sociocultural integration and homeland engagement exist within migrant

groups. I have then investigated the links between sociocultural integration and homeland engagement, and demonstrated that there is not enough evidence to suggest a negative association between the two. Consequently, it is fitting to suggest that migrants can be simultaneously embedded in multiple contexts, and treating homeland engagement and integration as separate issues leads to an incomplete view of migration and ultimately to ineffectual policies (Mazzucato, 2008).

Furthermore, in the introduction, I emphasized the particular importance of sociocultural homeland engagement as it provides the channels through which social remittances are transferred. If migrants who are socioculturally integrated are equally likely to maintain contacts with their home country as those who are primarily concerned with their co-ethnic community in the Netherlands, this may give us some indication of the quality differences in transfer of social remittances. The more time migrants spend with the host society, the more new and different sociocultural capital they accumulate.

Levitt (1998) argues that migrants who interact more with the host society learn more about different features of the new culture and reflect more intensively on existing practices. In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that more socioculturally integrated migrants may have other types of knowledge and information to share with their family and friends in the home country. This certainly does not mean that co-ethnically oriented migrants do not have anything to offer back. On the contrary, even if they do not “actively explore their new world”, they can still take in new ideas and practices by “observing the world around them, listening to the how other describe it, or learn about it by reading the newspaper or watching television” (Levitt, 1998: 931). Yet, being bounded to their ethnic community; they may be weaker and draw on fewer sources.

Those who have obtained a higher level of sociocultural integration can be considered as “purposeful innovators” who actively absorb new ideas and practices to expand and extend their cultural repertoire. Given the difference in their approach, this group may be likely to have more versatile, productive and innovative practices and knowledge to transfer. Considering that my research did not show that this group is less interested in their home country, it would be important to develop ways to engage them more actively in development-oriented initiatives.

With regard to civic engagement and media and art consumption, I confirmed the hypotheses of significant positive association. In line with the conclusion Itzighson and Saucedo (2002) arrive to, based on the ex-

periences of Latin American migrants in the US, I conclude that engagement in these aspects of life in both the home and host countries are positively related to each other. This means that those who are more involved in the sociocultural life of their home country are also likely to be more involved in these dimensions of life in the Netherlands. The most important conclusion to be drawn from this result is that if migrants seem to be less involved in civic life or to participate less in cultural activities in the host country, this cannot directly be interpreted as “little interest of integration” as discussed in the public discourse according to which migrants are to be blamed for their lack of engagement in social affairs in the host country.

It is important to emphasize that migrants' may be transferring their cultural capital from one context to the other, and therefore a positive association is found between the two types of behaviour. This strongly supports the idea of multiple embeddedness, and highlights the complementarity between social contact with co-ethnics and sociocultural homeland engagement. A plausible way to enhance the positive association between integration and development may be to further encourage the active involvement of migrants in both their home and host countries, without compelling them to make a choice about permanent residence.

Finally, while host country citizenship seems to be of little importance for engagement in some types of sociocultural activities that do not demand physical presence in the home country, it is important because of the capability it gives to migrants for return visits. While Tamaki (2011) and Waldinger (2008) have found American citizenship of high relevance for return visits in the North American context, in this paper, I have shown that having dual citizenship is significantly positively linked to return visits compared to having only home country citizenship. In other words, dual citizenship is strongly linked to more mobility, allowing migrants to be simultaneously embedded in multiple contexts. Having only origin country citizenship can be considered as a precarious legal status in the Netherlands, and this makes it more difficult for migrants to make visits. Citizenship status can thus be an important facilitator of home country engagement: not only does it imply a connectedness to and identification with the society, but is also an instrument that facilitates international travel. This interpretation opens an important discussion about how legal integration can in fact be an influential pre-condition for certain types of sociocultural homeland engagement, and how integration related indicators may in fact be positively linked to home country engagement.

Notes

1. These data gathered from the Central Bureau of Statistics (2011) include first- and second-generation migrants.
2. These studies include issues such as accommodation, knowledge exchange about life in the host country and job search mechanism etc. (see Aguilera, 2002; Ryan et al., 2008; Aguilera and Massey, 2003; Jacobs and Tillie, 2004).
3. For the survey: http://mgsog.merit.unu.edu/ISademie/docs/RMFM_nl_household_survey.pdf
4. These 1,022 surveyed households were distributed across 11 provinces of the Netherlands. In line with the concentration of migrant populations in bigger cities and urban areas, 51.7 per cent of the surveys were conducted in Noord-Holland (11.3%) and Zuid-Holland (40.4%) where the largest cities of the Netherlands – Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague – are located.
5. Van Bochove (2012) also indicates in her research that being part of a home country association is exceptional among middle class migrants in Rotterdam.
6. As discussed earlier, these contacts can be maintained through various channels such as telephone calls, e-mails, letters, and chats but also visits both to and from the home country.

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Transnational Behavior in Comparative Perspective

The Relationship between Immigrant Integration and Transnationalism in New York, El Paso, and Paris

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Abstract

This paper examines transnationalism across migrant generational statuses in three urban centers. The objective of this study is to explore how immigrant integration influences the maintenance of social and economic connections with the communities-of-origin. To accomplish this objective we examine the impact of socio-economic status and generational status (first to third) on whether respondents remit, visit their communities-of-origin, or desire to return. The data for this study is based on survey data collected in New York City, New York, U.S.A.; El Paso, Texas, U.S.A.; and Paris, France. We find that transnational practices differ across the three locations. In Paris we find evidence of reactive transnationalism – looking abroad due to exclusion in the new society. In New York, however, there is more support for resource-based transnationalism – better legal and socioeconomic integration that allows for more transnational involvement. Transnationalism in El Paso differs from NYC and Paris in large part due to being located along the U.S.-Mexico border. Surprisingly, we find that El Paso respondents are less transnational than those in Paris or New York when it comes to remittances, visiting, and the desire to return to the sending community. We conclude by proposing a new typology of transnationalism that accentuates the contextual aspects of these practices.

Keywords: migrant transnationalism, reactive transnationalism, remittances, third generation, incorporation

1 Introduction

Transnationalism can be simply defined as the back and forth movement and exchanges between migrant sending and receiving communities. Transnationalism has historically been a characteristic of migration (Espiritu, 1997; Foner, 1997; Gamio, [1930] 1971; Glenn, 2002; Massey, Alarcon, Durand, & González, 1987; Sayad, 2004; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918), but it is not until recently that it has become an object of study in itself. The pioneering research on transnationalism discovered this phenomenon through ethnographic work with immigrant communities and the connections they kept with their migrant-sending communities (Glick Schiller, 2003; Levitt, 2001; R. C. Smith, 1998, 2006). For the most part, comparisons were made through secondary sources or through the comparison of fieldwork findings (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton-Blanc, 1994; Glick Schiller & Fouron, 1998; R. C. Smith, 2003). Most recently, important articles have analyzed this phenomena from quantitative and comparative perspectives (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011; Dekker & Siegel, 2013; Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003; Portes, Haller, & Guarnizo, 2002; Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006). Despite such advances, the study of transnationalism has mostly been applied to the first generation and less attention has been given to the transnational behavior of the children and grandchildren of migrants. This paper seeks to narrow this gap.

In this study we examine various migrant-sending and receiving sites (New York, El Paso, and Paris) and describe transnational patterns across several immigrant generations (1st, 1.5, 2nd, and 3rd) to further examine the relationship between transnationalism and integration. In particular, our objectives are to examine the association between socioeconomic status and immigrant generation and whether or not 1) they visit the country-of-origin, 2) send remittances, and/or 3) wish to return. In addition, we evaluate the reactive transnationalism hypothesis, where negative integration results in more visits and identification with the sending community (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002). Furthermore, the socio-economic connections that individuals maintain with their communities-of-origin will be assessed as indicators of transnationalism. The examination of these patterns of transnationalism will focus on individuals of Latin American descent in El Paso and New York City (NYC), and individuals of North African-origin in Paris, France.

This paper is comparative on many levels (Martiniello, 2013). It compares transnational behavior across generations, models of integration, immigrant groups, and geographical settings. It utilizes descriptive statis-

tics to examine the various patterns of transnationalism of immigrants living in three cities Paris, El Paso, and NYC. It compares two practices of immigrant integration, the American one with *de facto laissez-faire* multicultural immigrant integration and the French case with a republican expectation of full assimilation (Bloemraad & Provine, 2013; Bowen, 2007; Lacorne, 2003). Lastly, it examines differential locations that allow for a comparison between remote and border forms of transnationalism, thus contributing to scholarly discussions about the degree to which geographical proximity matters in regards to transnational behavior.

2 Transnationalism within Migration Studies

Traditionally, migration studies in the U.S. have focused on the processes of immigrant integration into their host society (Alba & Nee, 2003; Brubaker, 2004; Gordon, 1964; Itzigsohn, 2009). Recently, scholarly attention has turned to transnationalism. The term “transnationalism” is used in various contexts and thus requires further clarification. In its broadest sense, transnationalism is the movement of capital, people, and ideas back and forth political borders. Classic examples of transnationalism are corporations such as Sony, HSBC, or Citibank which have headquarters in one country but branches and operations across multiple nation-states (Sassen, 2001). Scholars use a transnational lens to understand a series of presences, identities, and movements that do not map easily within the geographical borders of contemporary nation-states.

Migration scholars use the term transnationalism to describe migration while taking into account the twin processes of emigration and immigration (Sayad, 2004, 2006) and the social ties that keep emigrants connected to their communities-of-origin (R. C. Smith, 2006; Tilly, 2007). This approach can also be taken for internal migration, in which case the sending and receiving communities are part of the same national territory, but may have enough cultural, ethnic, or economic differences to be studied under this methodological framework (Besserer, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2009).

Transnationalism provides a framework to simultaneously consider the role of the sending and receiving communities in migrant behavior. In contrast to migration that largely focuses on long-term settlement, transnationalism examines the social, political, and economic processes at both sending and receiving communities. Historically migration has not entailed the complete severance of ties with the sending society (Foner, 2000; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918). Transnational studies show the strong

connections that migrants share with their native country (R. C. Smith, 2006). Even exiles, political refugees, asylum seekers, and those migrating to escape violence may engage in their own form of transnationalism (Dufoix, 2008). We call this “refugee transnationalism,” which occurs when groups escape a political regime and engage politically in the diaspora, send money, and create plans for regime change in the country-of-origin but we do not discuss it here for lack of space.

Transnationalism gained scholarly attention in the 1990s (Basch, et al., 1994; Kearney, 1995; M. P. Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). Over the last several decades, the academic sub-field of migrant transnationalism has grown considerably. A great deal of effort has been spent on “proving” its existence by adding new case studies and debating whether it is a novel phenomenon or if it has historically existed before it was recognized and labeled as transnationalism (Foner, 2000; Morawska, 2001). Some groundbreaking work in the field includes the introduction of the concept of social remittances to discuss cultural changes at the migrant-sending side (Levitt, 1998, 2001); the documentation of the role of religious institutions in transnationalism (Levitt, 2007; Mooney, 2009; Pasura, 2011); the study of the involvement of the sending state in fostering ties with the diaspora (Cano & Delano, 2007; Delano, 2011; Fitzgerald, 2009; Iskander, 2006; R. C. Smith, 2003), and transnational parenting (Abrego, 2009; Åkesson, Carling, & Drotbohm, 2012; Castañeda & Buck, 2011, 2014; Dreby, 2010; Suarez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002). Building upon on this literature, we ask to what extent does first, 1.5, second, and third generations engage in transnational activities (Levitt & Waters, 2002)?

Given the relative novelty of transnationalism as a theoretical perspective and its particular emphasis on multi-sited field research as a method (Marcus, 1995), there is still a lively debate about its theoretical implications, procedural definition, and to how to operationalize it through survey data collection and analysis. More research is needed on how transnationalism interacts with migrant integration and/or migrants’ desire to return to their country of birth. This gap is in part attributed to the amount of labor required to obtain rich qualitative and quantitative data for immigrants of different generations in different locations. This articles starts to fill in this gap.

3 Transnational Behavior and Socio-economic Status in the Receiving Society

Few studies address the relationship between integration and transnationalism. Among the classic works that do address this interaction – albeit in passing – some pose that when faced with low wages, a stigmatized socio-economic position, and discrimination, immigrants look to their sending communities for the status that they perceive to be lacking in their host community (Basch, et al., 1994; Sayad, 2004; R. C. Smith, 2006). On the other hand, some researchers have used survey data to show that the more legally, culturally, and socially integrated a migrant is, the more likely it is that he or she will be able to engage in collective transnational activities (Portes, Escobar, & Arana, 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).

A study by José Itzigsohn and Silvia Giorguli-Saucedo (2002) is one of the most cited empirical papers discussing incorporation and transnationalism. Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo (2002) compared the transnational participation of Colombians in two New York neighborhoods, with those of residents in neighborhoods with high concentrations of migrants from the Dominican Republic in Providence, Rhode Island, and with heavily El Salvadorian neighborhoods in Los Angeles, California and Washington, DC. They note the importance of comparative analysis for understanding incorporation and sociocultural transnationalism arguing that “conclusions and theories derived from the analysis of only one immigrant group are bound to be limited in their explanatory powers” (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002, p. 767). This paper builds on their work by comparing transnational practices across different sites using the same approach. Yet, while Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo compare immigrant groups in several U.S. cities and concentrate on the first immigrant generation, this paper extends their analysis by comparing multiple generations of immigrants living in three cities located in two different countries.

3.1 Reactive Transnationalism and Resource Based Transnationalism

We draw from the literature to analyze whether transnationalism – operationalized as remitting, visiting, and wishing to return – is strongest for those of high socioeconomic status (SES), and for those who are the most and the least integrated immigrants.

We use Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo’s (2002) term of “reactive transnationalism” to talk about heavy engagement in transnational activity in order to ameliorate the discrimination and low social status in the place of

destination. According to this view, high levels of transnational participation among migrants serve as a palliative and act as an escape from the effects of low social status in their host society. It is called reactive, because it is compensatory to social exclusion.

Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo's (2002) use the term "Resource Based Transnationalism" to describe how successful integration and economic success in the place of destination can also lead to high levels of transnationalism. Biculturalism and other forms of interaction with the country-of-origin can be sources of pride, uniqueness, and increased social status for successful and structurally integrated immigrants. Under this scenario, migrants are able to successfully engage with people in their country-of-origin, because of the migrants' achievements and accumulated resources (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). As such, successful immigrants and their progeny have the resources to "maintain a foot in both worlds" and draw from the benefits of brokering between the two societies (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008, p. 20).

Reactive transnationalism and resource base transnationalism can also be considered in terms of associations between transnationalism and integration. For instance, migrant integration is positively correlated to transnational participation such that the more legally, culturally, economically, and socially integrated a migrant is, the more likely he or she will be to engage in collective transnational activities (Portes, et al., 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006), which supports the resource based transnationalism perspective. Yet, transnational activity may also be high when immigrant integration is very low, or when the immigrant is faced with low wages, a stigmatized socio-economic position, and racialization (Sayad, 2004; R. C. Smith, 2006). In these situations immigrants may look to the sending communities for the status that they lack in their host community. For example, dark skinned immigrants from the Caribbean may be categorized as blacks in New York and Boston, but in their country-of-origin their identity is not determined solely by skin color (Basch, et al., 1994; Levitt, 2001; Roth, 2012).

4 Methods and Data

Data for this study comes from ethno-surveys – which collect quantitative data, open-ended narratives, and contextual information (Massey, 1987; Massey & Zenteno, 2000) – conducted in Paris, France (N=65), New York City, New York, USA (N=363), and El Paso, Texas, USA (N=1038). Ethno-

surveys with similar questions were written in English and translated into Spanish and French. The surveys were conducted by the first author and trained research teams at different times: Paris (2007-2008), New York City (2009-2010), and El Paso, Texas (2011-2012). Insights also come from extensive fieldwork conducted by the first author in Paris, New York, El Paso, and in migrant-sending communities in Mexico, Morocco, and Algeria.

El Paso is a traditional migrant destination, historically a gateway city for immigrants from Mexico with a considerable population of 3rd and later immigrant generations. Data for New York is restricted to Latina/o immigrants (mostly Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans). In contrast to El Paso, Mexican migration to New York is much more recent and only got intensified in the last 30 years (Smith, 2006). Puerto Ricans in the New York (44) and El Paso (2) samples were included in the analysis as “transnationals” because despite being U.S. citizens from a U.S. territory their movement to and from the island and experiences with social integration in the mainland U.S. parallel those of other Latina/os.

The comparison is made with North Africans in the Paris metropolitan area. France was a colonial power in the North African countries of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia; this created early migration flows to Paris (Lucassen, 2005; Sayad, 2006; Silverstein, 2004). Current migration from North Africa to France has slowed and is mainly driven by family reunification.

In contrast to studies that only survey immigrants who are perceived to exhibit high levels of transnational behavior due to their membership in hometown associations or ownership of ethnic businesses, we recruited respondents from across the metropolitan regions in question in order to be able to speak about transnational behaviors in and beyond ethnic enclaves (Castañeda, 2012a).

It is extremely difficult to use traditional random sampling strategies to survey migrants and especially undocumented immigrants, because they are highly mobile, hidden, and vulnerable populations (Singer, 1999). Therefore we used purposeful sampling techniques (Neuman, 2011). In particular, we sampled with the following considerations in mind, a) heterogeneity of respondents (different ages, professions, education levels, and immigrant generational statuses), b) representation of all main geographic areas in the cities and towns studied (Castañeda, 2012a), and c) saturation of responses, stopping when new answers continued to echo previous ones (See table 1). Surveys were conducted face to face.

Table 1 Sample Descriptive Statistics

	El Paso	NYC	Paris
Mean Age	36.42	32.63	32.18
(Std. Dev.)	(15.57)	(11.68)	(12.41)
Percent Female	54.2	51.2	24.6
Percent Latinos	100	100	0
Percent North African	0	0	100
Percent Undocumented Migrants	6.4	18.9	0
Years of Education Mean	12.54	13.56	13.37
(Std. Dev.)	(3.62)	(3.24)	(3.29)
Sample Size	1038	363	65

4.1 Operationalization of Variables and Data Analysis

The dependent variables are indicators of transnationalism based on the following questions:

Do you go back to visit your town/city of birth [or that of your parents]? (1= yes, 0 = no);

Do you send money back to your town/city of birth [or that of your parents]? (1= yes, 0 = no);

Do you plan to move back to your town/city of birth [or that of your parents]? (1= yes, 0 = no);

Do you think your life is better as a result of migrating? (1= yes, 0 = no).

The survey data was entered and analyzed with the SPSS 21 statistical package. Descriptive statistics and bivariate analysis were used to examine the research objectives. Data was analyzed for each location individually, because different sample sizes and frames impede the usage of statistical tests to compare across locations. The statistics are provided for descriptive analysis and theory making. The specific quantitative results are not meant to be generalizable to the whole immigrant and ethnic population of the city in question. Therefore the small samples and differences in sample size do not affect the descriptive analyses and the hypothesis advanced.

A primary independent variable is immigrant generation. We define the first generation as those born abroad and immigrating after 16 years of age. We define the 1.5 generation as those who migrated before the age of 16. The second immigrant generation is defined as those born in the country of residence with at least one parent born abroad. We define the third generation as when some or all grandparents were born abroad. The second and third generation individuals are citizens of the respective countries in which they reside given that both the U.S. and France have established *jus soli* laws (Brubaker, 1992; Weil, 2005).

The second independent variable is socio-economic status. This variable was created to assess the resource-based transnationalism hypothesis. We divided our samples into low, medium, and high Socio-Economic Status (SES). In El Paso, SES is an index measure consisting of occupation, years of education, and yearly household income (low = less than \$30,000; middle = \$30,001-\$60,000; and high = more than \$60,001; all figures in U.S. dollars). In New York and Paris, SES is an index consisting of occupation and years of education. The operationalization of SES as low, medium, and high in these locations was also informed by ethnographic data that helped to contextualized how SES or class is conceptualized differently across locations. To code the SES variable, members of the research team with at least one year of field experience in each location determined the cutoffs for low, medium, and high SES. We used inter-coder reliability methods to assess the coding consistency. Initially each coder categorized cases independently; then, the coders met to compare codes and agreed on a code in case of disagreement. Given that SES is relational and thus varies across locations, we believe that this qualitative assessment is an improvement to pure self-report or a quantitative measure based on only one dimension.

Asking people of Algerian-origin in Paris if they plan to go back to live in Algeria is a very sensitive topic, given that many French people often ask them the question rhetorically as a push out of the country. I often heard French individuals asking “Why do Algerians migrate to France if they wanted Algeria to become independent from France?” Thus the direct question about return was taken out of the ethno-surveys conducted in Paris. While this question was not asked directly of North Africans, interviewees were asked if they would like to live in another country if they could, and they were also asked how their lives would be different if they lived in the country-of-origin. Those who answered that they wished they could live in their country-of-origin or their family’s ancestral home, and those who explicitly brought up return migration, were coded as wishing to return. We were able to capture the desire to return in this manner, but we suspect that this may have resulted in an underestimation of the wish to return among North Africans in France.

5 Multi-sited Comparisons of Transnational Behavior

By comparing immigrant integration patterns and transnational behavior in different receiving cities and countries, interesting patterns appear. Figure 2 illustrates a summary of the transnational behaviors in all three

locations. The sample of residents of North African origin living in Paris demonstrated the highest percentage of people visiting the country-of-origin and desiring to return. The percentage of those remitting is slightly higher for New York than Paris, and much lower in El Paso.

Latina/os in El Paso experience transnationalism somewhat differently than the respondents in the other locations. They are less likely to visit their place-of-origin, less likely to remit, and much less likely to wish to return. These outcomes point to the role of geographic proximity in shaping transnationalism. People residing in El Paso can visit Ciudad Juárez, Mexico with relative ease (if they have proper documentation). Additionally, it is possible that respondents remit money through Mexican channels or via the visitation of people from Ciudad Juárez and Northern Mexico. We will elaborate more on this issue below.

The transnational behavior of El Paso residents also varies in terms of visitation to the place-of-origin. We suspect that for many immigrants from other parts of Mexico visiting Ciudad Juárez may be enough to take what Robert Smith (2006) calls “a long drink of *mexicanidad*.” El Paso itself may also fill the need to connect with Mexican culture. El Paso is 83 percent Latina/o, mostly Mexican, with the majority of the population speaking Spanish and embracing Mexican culture. Therefore, residing in El Paso can diminish the nostalgic elements Mexican immigrants usually have, which reduces the need to return to the home country except for family visits and functions. Border dynamics both distance and connect U.S. residents to and from Mexico (Heyman, 2012; Vila, 2000).

In the following graph we provide a summary of transnationalism practices such as visits, remittances, and desire to return.

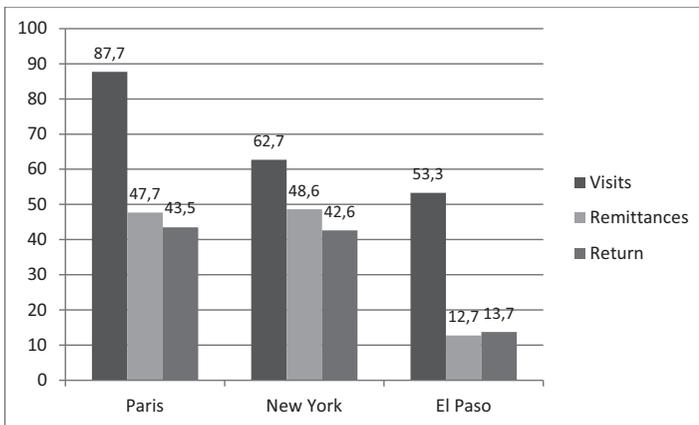


Figure 2 Percent Remittances, Visits, and Wish to Return Paris, New York, El Paso

Figure 2 shows the percentage of respondents who sent remittances or visited their hometown or ancestors' place-of-origin for all SES and immigrant generations.

6 Socioeconomic Status and Tendency to Visit, Remit, and Desire to Return to Hometown or Ancestral Place-of-origin

6.1 Remittances and SES

Table 3 Percent Remittances by SES, El Paso, New York, Paris

El Paso		Chi Square
Low	13.8	1.903
Medium	10.5	
High	10.8	
Total	12.9	
NYC		
Low	50.9	1.300
Medium	46.7	
High	41.9	
Total	48.2	
Paris		
Low	38.7	4.631*
Medium	68.4	
High	40	
Total	47.7	

* p. <.1

High remittance activity was found in Paris (47.7%) and in New York City (48.2%); it was considerably less in El Paso (12.9%). While the low level of economic remittances in El Paso may be a surprising, there are several reasons that explain this outcome. First, we suspect that the low-level of economic remittances is attributed to the proximity to Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico. Being at the U.S.-Mexico border makes it easier for El Paso residents to receive visitors from Mexico. Indeed, results show that over half (51.6%) of all Latina/os surveyed in El Paso receive visitors from their place-of-origin, which means that the Latina/o residents can provide economic support for family members who come to visit. This is particularly the case for the first and 1.5 generations who received the most visits. It is also possible for Latina/os who have family members in Mexico to send money directly or through family/friends and not think of this as

“remittances” given that they do not have to rely on Western Union or other financial intermediaries. Moreover, there are many second and third generation immigrants, who are settled in El Paso and therefore have fewer ties to their sending communities. This translates into lower participation rates in these transnational activities with only about half of first generation Latina/os sending money, and 2.3 percent of the third generation sending remittances (table 7).

When examining variations by SES we find that in Paris, North Africans with medium SES remit the most of any group (68.4%), while low and high SES groups have much lower and comparable percentages (38.7% and 40%). On the other hand, there are some indications of reactive transnationalism in New York City and El Paso. In particular, New York City, Latina/os with low SES are more likely to remit (50.9%), followed by medium (46.7%), and high SES (41.9). Thus, in NYC the low-wage immigrants display the highest levels of economic transnationalism. In El Paso Latina/os with low SES are more likely to send remittances (13.8%), while about 10.5 percent of individuals with high and medium SES remit (chi-square 7.047, $p < .05$).

6.2 Visits and SES

Table 4 Percent Visits to Hometown by SES, El Paso, New York, Paris

El Paso	Chi Square	
Low	51.9	6.571*
Medium	62.4	
High	44.4	
Total	53	
NYC		
Low	54.7	9.973**
Medium	70.2	
High	74.4	
Total	62.7	
Paris		
Low	87.1	.666 ^a
Medium	84.2	
High	93.3	
Total	87.7	

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$ ^a Few answered “No” across SES, making the χ^2 meaningless

Next we examine another form of transnationalism – visits to the country-of-origin. Examining the percentage of respondents who visit their places-of-origin, Paris (87.7%) is the most transnational, followed by New York (62.7%), and El Paso (53%). Below we examine whether respondents visited the country-of-origin varies by SES in all locations.

In Paris, across all socioeconomic statuses a great majority of respondents visited their countries-of-origin. Specifically, those with high SES visited the most (93.3%), but it is not remarkably higher than those with low (87.1%) or medium SES (84.2%). There is a considerable percentage of Maghrebi French who no longer have close relatives to remit to, yet they keep visiting their country-of-origin (see section on return). Regardless of the socioeconomic status of French residents of North African-origin, they are very likely to visit their ancestral home-country. This seems to support the reactive transnationalism hypothesis, where involvement in transnational activity is a way to deal with discrimination and limited social statuses in the receiving community. In terms of discrimination, 46.2 percent of first generation and 50 percent of the second generation of North Africans in Paris reported being negatively affected by reactions to their skin color (see Table 7). Maghrebis in Paris report more frequent visits home in comparison to Latina/os in New York. Analysis conducted (but not shown) illustrate that multiple immigrant generations of Maghrebis with varying degrees of social status and levels of education, have high levels of transnationalism in terms of the number of visits to North Africa, also supporting the reactive transnationalism hypothesis.

In New York, Latina/o migrants with lower SES are less likely to visit the country-of-origin. Specifically, 74.4 percent of those with high and 70.2 percent of those with medium SES visit their country-of-origin compared to only 54.7 percent of those with low SES (chi square = 9.973, $p < .01$) (Table 4). Thus, the results for New York respondents in terms of visits to the country-of-origin are more reflective of resource-based transnationalism where successful integration also encourages transnationalism.

In El Paso, those of medium SES were most likely to visit the sending community or family's place-of-origin (62.4%), which is not necessarily Ciudad Juárez, followed by Latina/os with low SES (51.9%), and those with high SES (44.4%) (chi square = 6.571, $p < .05$). The question does arise about why the visits to the country-of-origin are not higher in El Paso given the proximity to Mexico. To start with, El Paso is a heavily militarized border with long waiting lines to cross the international

bridges. Moreover, El Paso offers ample Mexican food products, and Spanish is widely used. As such, it satisfies the yearning to visit Mexico for nostalgia as discussed earlier. Also, since the outbreak of the cartel wars in Mexico, going to Ciudad Juárez has become more dangerous, deterring many from visiting (Campbell, 2009; Morales, Morales, Menchaca, & Sebastian, 2013).

The question could be raised of whether Latina/os visit Ciudad Juárez instead of visiting their hometown or place-of-origin. Table 5 differentiates between visits to Ciudad Juárez and the sending community for Latina/os in El Paso. To start with, about 59 percent of those who are born in Juárez visit the city. Among those who were born in other parts of Northern Mexico about 52 percent visit Juárez and about 55 percent visit their sending community (in this case other locations in Northern Mexico that are not Juárez). Among those born in Southern Mexico and who reside in El Paso, 57 percent visit Juárez, but only about 45 percent visit their sending community. In this case we see that geographical distance does play a role in decreasing the likelihood of visiting the place-of-origin. Those from Southern Mexico visit home less than those from Northern Mexico and less than those from Ciudad Juárez. This signals that visiting Ciudad Juárez may partly satisfy the wish to experience Mexico without having to spend the time and money necessary to return to their sending community. In the following table, we differentiate between visiting El Paso's cross-border city of Ciudad Juárez and visiting more interior parts of Mexico (see Table 5).

Table 5 Percent of Transnational Movements of Foreign-born Mexicans in El Paso

Place of Birth	Visits to Juarez	Visits to Sending Community
Ciudad Juarez	59.3	59
Northern Mexico	52.3	54.6
Southern Mexico	57	45.4

6.3 Desire to Return by SES

A question that is becoming more central to the literature is return migration (Gmelch, 1980). Figure 6 presents data on the desire to return by SES and location. Overwhelming, Latina/os in El Paso have little desire to return (14%), while in New York and Paris approximately 40 percent of individuals wish to return. Examining variations by SES, in El Paso there are some indications of reactive transnationalism with those with low SES being almost twice as likely to wish to return (16.2%) than those with medium SES (6.8%) (chi square = 7.980, $p < .05$). However,

Latina/os with high SES occupy a mid-level position in terms of desire to return (9.8%). In New York, there are no striking differences among the social classes with about 40 percent of Latina/os in each SES strata wishing to return. Similarly in Paris, slightly over 40 percent of low and middle class Latina/os wish to return, while 46.7 percent of high SES Latina/os wish to return.

Table 6 Percent Desire to Return by SES, El Paso and New York

El Paso	Chi Square	
Low	16.2	7.980*
Medium	6.8	
High	9.8	
Total	14	
NYC		
Low	42.2	.423
Medium	40.2	
High	46.2	
Total	42	
Paris		
Low	42.9	.081
Medium	42.1	
High	46.7	
Total	43.5	

* p. <.05

7 Transnational Activity, Immigrant Generation, and Social Integration

Some interesting patterns in transnational behavior appear when examining the results by generational status. In El Paso, first generation immigrants visit their place-of-origin more than other generations. In contrast, the 1.5 and second generation Latina/os in New York visits more often than the first generation. In the New York sample, 61.9 percent of first generation immigrants send remittances. This is consistent with data that indicates that first generation migrants in New York stressed that the primary reason for migration was to send remittances home. Immigration into El Paso, on the other hand, is historically older and there are more individuals of second and higher generations who remit less.

In El Paso the plans of return are relatively low across generations. The

Table 7 Transnational Behavior and Incorporation by Immigrant Generation

	El Paso Latinos			NYC Latinos			Paris* N.Africans			
	1 st	1.5	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	1.5	2	3	1 st	2 nd
Transnational Behavior										
% visit place of origin	60.8	47.3	51.4	41.2	56.2	72.2	64.1	50	88.9	92.3
% parents visit place of origin	44.3	48.9	56.5	46	33.9	48.9	48.1	30	81.3	95.8
% remit	51.9	23.7	22.1	2.3	61.9	48	25.6	11.1	55.6	50
% wish to return	17.4	7.5	14.7	8.8	48	39.6	36.8	20	60	32
Incorporation Variables										
Mean years abroad (Std. Dev.)	18.43 (14.07)	28.31 (13.78)	-	-	14.17 (9.48)	20.408 (9.82)	-	-	11.15 (15.36)	-
% Better off post-migration	90	96.9	91.2	89.1	90.5	91.4	94	90	31.3	28.6
% SES										
Low	76.6	59.9	50.7	61.7	58	49.5	42.5	28.6	33.3	53.8
Middle	21.3	32.7	40.6	32.7	34	34.3	38.8	64.3	29.6	26.9
High	2.1	7.4	8.6	5.6	8	16.2	18.8	7.1	37	19.2
% Negative effects due to skin color/physical appearance	6.9	7.7	14.1	18.5	14.5	12	7.2	14.3	46.2	50
% Belonging	59.5	61.1	63.3	54.6	68.7	73.9	61.3	76.9	19.2	19.2
N	309	168	390	171	166	100	83	14	27	26

*Findings for 1.5 and 3rd generation for Paris are not reported due to small sample sizes (8 and 4 respectively).

1st generation has the highest percentage of people planning to move back but less than twenty percent. In contrast, almost half of first generation Latina/os in New York dream of going back to Latin American or the Caribbean (48%). Qualitative studies of North African migration in Paris indicate that the desire to return is very high across generations and especially for Algerians (Sayad, 2006). The qualitative data gathered shows a certain “dream of return” paired with an understanding of the low feasibility of such a possibility (see section on return below).

To measure socioeconomic integration of newcomers, we include years living abroad and prospects of social mobility in comparison with that of others in the country-of-origin. These data were only reported for the first and 1.5 generation (Table 7).

In regards to social integration, Latina/os in El Paso feel more integrated into the community. An overwhelming majority, 90 percent and above, of Latina/os in El Paso and in New York perceive they were better off after migration. North Africans in Paris, on the other hand, are less certain about their upward mobility. In El Paso and New York, experiences with discrimination were similar across generational status. Moreover, higher levels of discrimination were reported in New York than in El Paso. An open-ended social integration question concerned whether immigrants “felt part of a community” and we find important variations by generational status. In El Paso, a bicultural border community, it is the second generation that feels the most integrated into a community; on the other hand, in New York it is the third generation that had the highest degree of social integration (76.9%). The qualitative data contextualizes the quantitative findings. For instance, many dark-skinned and informally dressed Latina/os reported being racially profiled by the New York Police Department in the streets and specially in the subway, yet they did not feel overwhelmingly discriminated against in the city at large. Many Parisian immigrants also mentioned having experienced racism and racial profiling in the metro. Furthermore, in Paris many individuals of North African-origin saw themselves as “foreigners” despite being citizens. Hometown associations and ethnic organizations are not perceived positively in Paris (Castañeda, 2012b). Indeed, most North Africans in Paris have internalized the French rejection of religious and ethnic clubs, although they continue to feel excluded from the local and national French community. Indeed, French North Africans feel stigmatized, regardless of their citizenship status, and often live in residentially segregated neighborhoods (Castañeda, 2012a).

8 Reactive Transnationalism and the Barriers to Return

In this section we introduce qualitative data associated with the high levels of exclusion and discrimination among North Africans in Paris (Beaman, 2012; Castañeda, 2012a). Many French people of North African-origin find meaning and validation through going back home –the *bled* as they call it. Samir, a *beur* (French citizen whose family comes from the Kabylia region of Algeria) is at the end of a *sejour* (short stay) in the Kabylie area of Algeria, claimed:

As a kid, I did everything not to come here [town in mountainous rural Algeria], at least 1,000 meters high, without water or electricity. I had the impression of living in hell. Today, there is not one year when I don't say to myself, man how are you going to find a way in your crazy life to come for some days and say hi to your ancestors' land ... A visceral need to find myself there, to find again the smells, the sounds that make a memory; To listen to ... a neighbor talk to me in Kabyle, that beautiful language To place myself in the terrace of a café and to see in front –to discover like if it was the first time– those mountains, majestic and proud ... you feel proud of yourself because you have understood a little more what happiness is like...¹ (Samir 2012).

The quote above demonstrates how essential the homeland becomes for migrants, and the yearning to return not only to reconnect with the home community but to regain their sense of pride and happiness. In this case these visits are embedded with childhood memories that became more valuable as he matured. Samir describes the language and physical beauty of Kabylia, but the quote also conveys a sense of pride associated with his homeland. This can be understood as being in implicit contrast to his life experiences in France. He wrote the words quoted above on his Facebook page in October 2012, to which a friend of his replied:

Magnificent vision of reality, happiness is at the place-of-origin. I do not speak only for myself; my country [France] disappoints me [more] day by day. I find joy and hope in my friends from the Maghreb that have in them the charm, the life, and everything else from that beautiful region. But oh well, one struggles to be happy wherever God has placed us!²

This quote and the response epitomize how French citizens of North African-origin often create an idealized contrast between their homeland and France. Yet moving back to North Africa is unlikely for these migrants

because of the cultural differentiation or “dissimilation” that immigrants face vis-à-vis the country-of-origin (Fitzgerald, 2009). Even these nostalgic visits are often plagued with conflicting emotions:

You are lucky... and I am happy for you! I had the goose bumps imagining your visit. I love my [bled] homeland so much... In regards to myself, I am apprehensive to go there because of administrative pressures and other reasons... after our last visit, my daughter has promised not to set foot there again ... Unfortunately, I feel like a stranger in my country, like I feel a stranger in France always because of the racists that lead this country! [Jasmin]³

People change after emigrating and may longer fit in the country-of-origin after leaving (Fitzgerald, 2009). Furthermore, the sending places also change. Interviewees provided evidence about the illusiveness of return in the open-ended questions in the ethno-survey. For example, a North African in Paris wrote: “In Algeria there have been changes for the worse; you no longer find your points of reference. I returned in 1994 and I did not recognize my village. There had been much rural immigration to the town.”⁴

These sentiments share a likelihood to the experiences of Mexican Americans who often feel that they are “neither from here nor from there,” that they are “not Mexican enough for Mexicans nor American enough for Americans” (Jiménez, 2010). Their return to Mexico is therefore neither a feasible nor preferred option. As table 6 shows, the number of Latina/o immigrants who report that they plan or would like to return to their country of birth or that of their ancestors is very low except among the first and 1.5 generations in New York. For example, Lucia, a Mexican immigrant, says:

I think that I am divided... “I consider Mexico my home, but I think of my home as [the United States] because here I have had many opportunities and this is where I live. So I am confused when I think about home (Boehm, 2012, p. 31)

Permanent return migration is often not realistic so transnationalism can either be a state of limbo or it may allow immigrants to try to enjoy the best of both worlds. It is clear that although Lucia thinks partially of these two countries as her home and feels fragmented when thinking about home. This is especially the case when it comes to family celebrations, because she is part of a transnational nuclear family. Despite the fact that

these families find ways of preserving relationships that transcend the border; physical barriers, laws, and scarce resources pose real challenges to family unity (Castañeda & Buck, 2014). Another barrier for permanent return migration is the lack of financial success in the receiving society and the shame associated with that. One interviewee explains:

[In the United States] I go from the house I live in to work and from work back to the house. I do not go out often. I miss my hometown. I wish I could go back... [but] I cannot. I have not saved enough. The people would laugh at me. They would say that I am a failure that I did not succeed and that I came to the U.S. for nothing (Abraham, Guerrero, August 2006).

As the quote above illustrates even if first generation immigrants are not economically successful or happy abroad, they do not think about returning as the best solution. Exceptions to this pattern are when immigrants are responding to large structural changes like an economic crisis that drastically increases unemployment among immigrants. Returning under these conditions is not as stigmatized because it is not perceived as the immigrant's fault.

9 Discussion and Conclusions

Based on ethno-survey data from Paris, New York City, and El Paso we illustrate the contextual aspects associated with some transnational practices. As such, geography matters and shapes transnational behavior. In particular, we find that the relative geography of the sites of origin and destination shape transnationalism behavior. Thus, we suggest a new typology for understanding transnationalism. We propose to differentiate between “remote transnationalism” – where individuals' country-of-origin is farther away in contrast to being in close proximity to the country-of-origin – and “border transnationalism” – where there is physical and cultural proximity to the country-of-origin.

We have compared transnational practices (remittances, visits, desire to return) in three very different urban contexts. We compared transnational behavior within urban centers across SES and immigrant generation. An interesting finding is that closeness to the border does not translate to more visits, remittances, or desire to move back to the home country as would one expect. Indeed many residents of El Paso rarely visit Mexico even though it is relatively cheaper and easier to visit. We suspect that this

Table 8 Types of Transnationalism

	Reactive Transnationalism	Resource-based Transnationalism	Border Transnationalism
Arguments	Occurs when immigrants and their descendants are not satisfied with their standing in their new society. Transnationalism appears as nostalgia for a better past, and the idealization of a better future outside of poverty and racialization within the host society.	Individuals in this category have the legal status and the economic resources needed to cross political borders back and forth with ease. This transnationalism and cosmopolitanism is resource based (Calhoun, 2003).	Occurs among the individuals and organizations which experience a constant crossing of international borders for economic, social, and cultural reasons. The point of entry is also in geographical proximity. Yet it does not mean that all border residents remit or cross often.
Assumptions	Countries have mutually exclusive cultures and one may have to look elsewhere for better religious and cultural integration.	May be seen as the weakening of the nation state (Sassen, 1996), post-national membership (Soysal, 1994), and citizenship <i>à la carte</i> (Fitzgerald, 2009).	People can go back and forth freely in a border city when they have the proper documents (if crime is low in both sides of the border).
The Implied Effects	Transnationalism is practiced to obtain the dignity, identity, and cultural purity lost by family's migration and downward assimilation. Transnationalism often remains aspirational since a return is not practical and many cultural differences remain.	Transnationalism erases border flows and allows for new business and cultural connections but is limited to a small group. This is true of professionals, scientists, and elites but cannot be generalized to all migrants.	It is embodied in bilingualism and biculturalism and is a form of everyday transnationalism, e.g. people living in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico but working or studying in El Paso, Texas, USA who do not remit per se but carry cash with them and spend it in either country. Border residents may experience many of the positive effects of transnationalism without the need to remit or visit often.
Implications Regarding Remittances and Development of Sending Community	Remittances are not part of the return aspirations of second and third generation individuals since they have little money to remit and few family members to remit to. Transnationalism expresses itself more through nostalgic tourism, music, and cultural consumption.	Educated cadres, professionals, and business owners can make productive investments in host and sending countries and help through charitable donations yet the number of people in this position is relatively small (Ong, 1999; Saxenian, 2006).	Brokerage, back and forth movement as a strategy to overcome poverty and marginalization. Contingent on citizenship, residency or visas (Campbell & Lachica, 2013).

is in part attributed to the recent increase in insecurity and in Mexican culture being a large part of El Paso's society. El Paso also varied from New York City and Paris in terms of plans for return migration and economic remittances. These different dynamics at the U.S.-Mexico border leads us to conclude that there is a "border transnationalism" shaped by proximity to the home country.

Table 8 illustrates the variations among different forms of transnationalism including those in the literature (reactive transnationalism and resource-based transnationalism), which are types of remote transnationalism in contrast to border transnationalism that we are proposing.

The table above (Table 8) points to new directions in which to examine several forms of transnationalism. Examining some transnational patterns – remittances, visits to the country-of-origin, and desire to return – was fruitful to illustrate the various dynamics involved in transnationalism. Moreover, examining how transnationalism occurs in three different cities (El Paso, New York, and Paris) and among two different groups (Latina/os and North Africans) points to the importance of contextualizing transnational behaviors. Below we highlight some specific findings.

First, SES does not consistently predict remitting behavior; it had some influence on visiting the ancestral nation and in the desire for return migration in both New York and Paris. Specifically, in Paris, those of medium socioeconomic status remit the most. This may be attributed to the fact that those who are of the lowest socio-economic strata in Paris are unemployed in our sample and therefore do not have funds for economic remittances. Those with high SES, on the other hand, can afford to bring their whole family to France to visit and are also the most likely to be granted proper documentation for their family. Moreover, while limited sample sizes did not allow for simultaneous analyses of the remittance behavior by SES and generational status, background analysis did reveal that the second and third-generation immigrants tend to have higher SES levels than the 1st and 1.5 generations, yet later generation individuals probably have fewer close family members in the country-of-origin.

A second finding concerns the association between perceptions of social integration and transnationalism. In particular, the less included an immigrant group feels within their receiving society, the more likely they aspire to act transnationally. This is consistent with what Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo (2002) call reactive transnationalism. Interestingly, in Paris, the most objectively successful and integrated immigrants are, the most transnational they are. We believe this is due to the fact that North African immigrants and their children, even when economically estab-

lished, feel excluded from mainstream French society and thus engage in reactive transnationalism and nostalgic tourism to North Africa. These respondents also dream of a hypothetical migratory return, although a permanent return of second and third-generation-immigrants rarely occurs for structural and cultural reasons (Castañeda, 2013). In accordance with the reactive transnationalism perspective, immigrants with low social standing in El Paso, New York City, and especially in Paris, engage in more transnational practices to escape their exclusion.

A third finding relates to the influence of SES on the frequency of visits to the country-of-origin. Even before the economic crisis, Latin American immigrants reported in larger numbers a desire to return to their places of birth. Among all groups observed and surveyed, Mexican professionals and graduate students, along with North African business owners, showed the highest level of transnationalism in terms of number of visits and contact with their home countries. This was aided by their socioeconomic success due to integration into their receiving societies. Thus, different types of transnationalism vary according to the position that immigrants and their descendants have in their host societies.

A fourth finding relates to desire for permanent return migration. The processes and behaviors of transnationalism are also relevant to different immigrant incorporation regimes. Thus, why immigrants look “back home” is strongly affected by their level of structural and subjective integration into their new places of residence. Significant transnational activity, in the form of self-identification, visits, and remittances is demonstrated among later generations of French citizens of North African descent who often do not speak Arabic, but may feel the need to frequent a place where they perceive themselves as having more esteem and respect. This speaks clearly about their social position in France. As such, transnational behavior among North Africans in Paris is reflective of the reactive transnationalism hypothesis.

In sum, the data provided in this comparative analysis adds to the evidence for the existence of a reactive transnationalism among immigrants and their children when they do not have a positive integration experience. Generally, the different transnational behaviors – remittances, visits to the home country, and desire for return migration – point to variations in transnational patterns in the three locations. In particular, we argue that in Paris there are more indications of reactive transnationalism while in New York City there is more evidence of a resource based transnationalism. We also proposed a new typology – border transnationalism – to describe transnational behavior in El Paso.

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Notes

1. « *[C'est l'histoire d'une semaine au bled qui s'achève. Enfin, presque reste demain] Gamin, je faisais tout pour ne pas venir ici... Un mois à 1000m d'altitude, sans eau ou électricité; l'impression de vivre en enfer. Aujourd'hui, il n'y a pas une année où je me dis Bordel comment vas-tu trouver dans ta vie d'abruti quelques jours pour venir saluer la terre de tes ancêtres... Un besoin viscéral de me retrouver là, de retrouver les odeurs, de retrouver tous ces sons qui construisent une mémoire, d'entendre Maéva, une gamine de 5 ans, ma voisine me parler en kabyle, cette belle langue, un mix d'anglais et d'anglais...de voir le sourire de Maéva alors qu'elle dévore les bonbons de France. Et puis de me poser sur une terrasse de café et regarder droit devant moi; découvrir, comme si c'était la première fois ces montagnes, majestueuses et fières... [Et puis j'ai pensé à Arnaud Baur et Anissa Reve, qui m'ont accompagné au bled pour fêter mes 40 balais, j'ai pensé Bordel Copé qu'il aille se faire enfiler ce Chien, pas de temps à perdre avec ce bouffon, ici, j'avais mieux, j'avais la classe internationale; des amis comme ça que tu trouves nulle part, sauf si t'as de la chance, et des parents aussi marrants que beau, aussi ouverts que généreux et que tu te dis marliche même si demain tu Crèves comme un cleps au bord de la route, tu auras eu au moins le droit à une semaine inoubliable...Et tu souris, avec tes belles dents toutes blanches, tu pourrais même presque mettre ta main dans le slibard devant tout le monde tellement tu kiffes ta race], t'es même fier de toi parce que tu as compris un peu plus à quoi ça pouvait ressembler le Bonheur »*
2. « *Magnifique vision de la réalité, le bonheur est à la source, enfin je parle pas pour moi mon pays me déçoit de jour en jour, je retrouve la joie et l'espoir en mes amis du Maghreb qui portent le charme, la vie et tout et tout de cette belle région. Mais bon on se bat pour être heureux là où Dieu nous a mis!* »
3. « *Tu as de la chance ..., et j'en suis contente pour toi! j'ai eu la chair de poule en imaginant ton séjour, tellement j'aime mon bled....en ce qui me concerne, j'appréhende d'y aller à*

causes des pressions administratives et autres...ma fille depuis notre dernier séjour a juré de ne plus mettre les pieds la-bàs... malheureusement , je me sens étrangère dans mon pays, comme je me sens étrangère en France à cause toujours des racistes qui dirigent le pays! » Jasmin Khayi

4. « En Algérie il ya eu une régression, vous ne retrouvez pas vos repères. J'ai retourne en 1994 et j'ai pas reconnu ma ville (migration rurale dans la ville). »

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Understanding Different Post-Return Experiences

The Role of Preparedness, Return Motives and Family Expectations for Returned Migrants in Morocco

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Abstract

Studies aimed at understanding different post-return experiences point at various factors that are involved. In this article, we show the importance of striving for a contextualized understanding of post-return experiences as different factors appear to be important in different cases. Our study sets out to seek the value of the theory of preparedness proposed by Cassarino and simultaneously contribute to further contextualization of this theory through a qualitative study conducted in Morocco. Drawing on 44 qualitative interviews with a diverse set of returned migrants we scrutinize how mechanisms related to intersections between factors commonly found to be important in the literature take shape to make different factors important in different cases. For example, we show how the ability to keep transnational contacts with the destination country after return adds to positive post-return experiences, but only for migrants with specific return motives. In doing so, this article contributes to theory specification and contextualization.

Keywords: return migration, Morocco, transnationalism, return motivations, preparedness, transnational obligations, post-return experiences, immigration, family expectations, the Netherlands

1 Introduction

A large body of research exists on return intentions or motivations (e.g. Fokkema, 2011; Hunter, 2010). Owing to the increased interest in the migration development nexus, the role of returnees in the development of origin

countries has also been receiving a lot of attention in recent years (Sinatti, 2011). There is not so much research on how to explain different post-return experiences, however. This is an important lacuna as, ultimately, in order to have potential for development, return migration must largely be a positive experience for the individual returnee (see Van Houte and Davids, 2008).

The few studies that have been conducted on the matter of explaining different post-return experiences point at different factors such as human capital, transnational contacts, social networks, socio-economic integration in the destination country, legal status, and gender (see Cassarino, 2004 for an overview). However, so far we still know too little about which factors are important in which cases, let alone how such factors intersect to shape different outcomes. This is important, as Van Houte and Davids (2008) found that post-return experiences have several dimensions “which are inter-related and reinforce each other.” To build a theory that allows us to understand different post-return experiences, we need to gain an understanding of such intersections and must hence develop contextualised theory.

To date, however, mostly single case studies have been conducted that focus on a specific type of migrant such as labour migrants (Carling, 2004; De Bree et al., 2010; Sinatti, 2011), migrants of the second generation (Reynolds, 2010), or refugees (Al-Ali et al., 2001; Jansen, 2011), and in a specific national or local context that offers little scope for theory-building beyond these contexts. The opportunities that these contexts offer are likely to affect the experiences of returned migrants and are variable through time, as policies affecting the lives of returned migrants are subject to change (Bhatt and Roberts, 2012; Carling, 2004; Cerase, 1974). Furthermore, because of the growing diversity of migratory categories it is necessary to differentiate between migrants who return for different reasons, as their post-return experiences have been found to vary accordingly (Van Houte and Davids, 2008). Since the phenomenon of return migration is so multifaceted and contextual, and researchers have largely focused on single case studies, it has proved difficult to build theory from the available empirical work that can reach beyond the specific national or local contexts it is embedded in.

Nevertheless, some theoretical work to explain different post-return experiences does exist. Trying to combine and build on the insights of previous studies, Cassarino (2004; 2008) introduced a theory of ‘preparedness’ – grounded in quantitative research of his own as well as studies conducted by others – that attempts to explain different post-return experiences across different contexts. In doing so, it offers tentative hypotheses concerning contextual differences that shape different outcomes. Our study sets out to seek its value and to contribute to its further specification

and refinement through a qualitative study conducted among returned migrants in Morocco. We do so on the basis of 44 qualitative interviews with a diverse set of returned migrants in Morocco: labour migrants, family migrants, students, adventurers, illegal migrants and marriage migrants.

2 Explaining different post-return experiences

Return migrants may be defined as people who move “back to their homelands to resettle” (Gmelch, 1980: 136). This means we do not consider migrants who return for a vacation or an extended visit as return migrants. Return migration is not always a matter of free choice: some return migrants were forced to leave by public authorities or because of some personal or natural disaster. Therefore, return migration is not always the natural outcome of a migration cycle or the equivalent of ‘going home’. In addition, while return is meant to be permanent for some, others may have the intention to re-migrate one day (Van Houte and Davids, 2008).

A large body of research seeks to explain *why* migrants return, focusing on the individual and contextual factors that contribute to return migration (e.g. Bastia, 2011; Hunter, 2010). Another strand of literature explores how returned migrants contribute to the development of the country of origin (Sinatti, 2011). In this paper, we focus on yet another aspect of return migration: understanding different post-return experiences. Various previous studies have found that there are different types of post-return experiences. In a qualitative study of returned migrants in Cape Verde, for example, Carling (2004: 121) finds two types of return migrants: ‘classic returnees’ who return with economic success, and ‘empty-handed returnees’ who return no better off than when they left.

As we shall see, in our study post-return experiences vary as well. While some of our returnees are outspokenly positive, others express mixed feelings or even have negative perceptions regarding their return to the origin country. Our empirical analysis focuses on trying to understand such different post-return experiences. After all, not only does an increased understanding of different post-return experiences have value in itself, but the better the experiences, the more likely the returned migrants will be able to contribute to the development of their country of origin (see Van Houte and Davids, 2008 for detailed argumentation). Two perspectives can be distinguished in the literature from which the question of understanding post-return experiences is generally approached. The first perspective tries to explain differences in actual economic and social conditions of returned

migrants. The second perspective focuses on explaining differences in migrant's own subjective perceptions. Most studies have analysed along the lines of the latter perspective (De Bree et al., 2010; Gmelch, 1980, Van Houte and Davids, 2008), and in this study we will do the same.

Both types of studies offer explanations for differences in post-return experiences. In our study, we try to build on their research findings, theories and hypotheses. For example, Constant and Massey (2002) find that whether return is an expression of success or failure depends on the original migration motives of migrants: 'some migrants are short-term earners seeking to reach an earning target while others are permanent migrants seeking to maximise lifetime earnings' (Constant and Massey, 2002: 27). In a seminal study on Italian returnees from the United States, Cerase (1974) developed one of the first typologies of return migrants. His typology of returnees shows that situational and contextual factors in both the destination country and the origin country need to be taken into account when understanding differences in post-return experiences. Many other factors can be distilled from the literature that have been found to affect post-return experiences, such as 'return expectations' and the opportunities that migrants find in their origin countries and host countries (Gmelch 1980). Van Houte and Davids (2008) argue for a 'holistic approach' by asserting that returned migrants' post-return experiences can only be understood by taking experiences during previous migration phases into account, especially with regard to their living conditions in the country from which they returned.

Classic explanations centre on human capital approaches or emphasise migrants' socio-economic position in the destination country (Cassarino, 2004). The degree of agency that migrants are able to exert in their return decision is also believed to make a substantial difference (Bhatt and Roberts, 2012; De Bree, 2010). In addition, generational differences are often pointed at (Jansen, 2011; Jeffery and Murison, 2011, Van Houte and Davids, 2008), and return is found to be undertaken strategically at different stages of the life cycle (Ley and Kobayashi, 2005). Moreover, many scholars have underlined the gendered nature of return experiences (Gmelch, 1980; Reynolds, 2010; Van Houte and Davids, 2008).

The transnational turn in migration studies has not only revived interest in the study of return migration (Sinatti, 2011), but has also led scholars to emphasise the importance of the role of transnational practices in explaining different post-return experiences. Within the research strand connected to return migration, it is argued that the ability to mobilise resources through transnational diaspora links is what explains different post-return experiences (Cassarino, 2004). Reynolds (2010) for example

shows that social capital resources generated through the family can be instrumental in facilitating return migration. In addition, recent research finds that it is not just transnational practices that take place before return that are crucial, but that transnational practices after return shape different post-return experiences as well. De Bree et al. (2010), for example, find that feelings of belonging have to be renegotiated upon return and that this is done in different ways. For some, transnational practices are fundamental to establishing post-return belonging, while this is less important for others. Like the transnational approach to return migration, social network theory views returned migrants as bearers of tangible and intangible resources (e.g. social capital, human capital) (Cassarino, 2004: 265). However, within this approach the networks from which these resources can be mobilised do not have to be linked to the diasporas (Cassarino 2004). As such, access to material and institutional resources from a variety of sources has been found to make a difference (Whatt and Roberts, 2012).

In an attempt to combine and build on the insights of previous studies as briefly outlined above, Cassarino (2004; 2008) introduces the concept of ‘preparedness’ to explain different post-return experiences. Preparedness pertains to both the willingness and the readiness of migrants to return. The first aspect relates to the extent to which return is a voluntary¹ act, the latter to the extent to which the returnee is able to mobilise adequate resources to facilitate a successful return. In a large-scale survey among returned migrants in Tunisia, Algiers and Morocco, Cassarino (2008) finds that how migrants perceive their return is thus clearly related to their willingness to return. The returnee’s preparedness is also related to his or her readiness to return, which in turn depends on the tangible (financial capital) and intangible (social capital, human capital in terms of skills and education) resources the returnee is able to mobilise (see Figure 1).

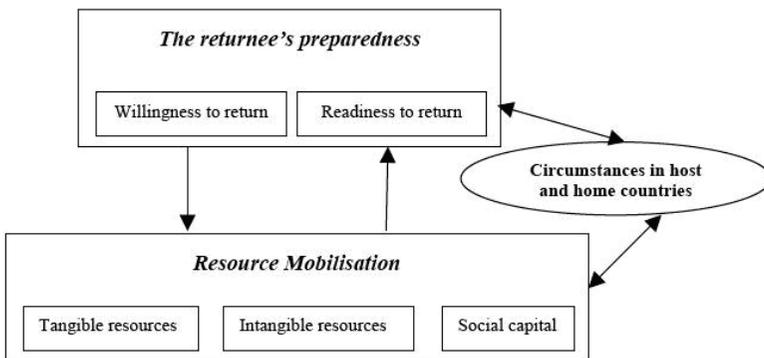


Figure 1 Conceptual model by Cassarino (2004: 271)

Cassarino (2004) hypothesises three levels of preparedness that lead to different post-return experiences. The first category of migrants is highly prepared which allows them to organise their return more or less autonomously while mobilising the resources needed. According to Cassarino (2004: 274), this group most likely consists of migrants who resided in the destination country for between four and fifteen years, on average. The second group has low levels of preparedness and pertains to migrants 'whose length of stay abroad was too short to allow tangible and intangible resources to be mobilised.' On average, this group is hypothesised to have remained between 6 months and 3 years in the destination country. The third category of returned migrants has little to no preparedness. These are migrants who were for example subjected to forced repatriation. These migrants face difficult conditions after return and may contemplate re-migrating. According to Cassarino, their average stay abroad was less than 6 months.

In a later study, Cassarino (2008) indeed found that the returnee's preparedness is related to the duration of stay abroad, at least for some return migrants. For example, if return migrants have been away too long (for more than 10 years), they have less chance of becoming an entrepreneur after return. On the other hand, if their duration of stay is too short (less than 2 years), returnees will have gained little expertise or experience to use to their benefit in the origin country (Cassarino, 2008: 24).

Our analysis of Moroccan returnees has been fed by the theoretical framework offered by Cassarino, and through it, by the insights from studies on which it is built. We have used these insights as sensitising concepts guiding our analysis. By doing so, we were able to identify some opportunities to further refine and elaborate the theory proposed by Cassarino. For example, whereas Cassarino hypothesises about the relations between post-return experiences, levels of preparedness and variables such as length of stay, return motivations and status in the destination country, we often found such relations to be different in our empirical study of Moroccan returned migrants. Our analysis offers insights that increase our understanding of how and why different factors intersect to shape different outcomes, thereby contributing to a theoretical understanding of how different post-return experiences come about.

3 Data and methods

We conducted 44 in-depth semi-structured interviews with returned migrants in Morocco, more specifically in the urban and suburban areas of Rabat and Nador. The interviews were conducted under the auspices of THEMIS (Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Systems), a NORFACE research project designed to address gaps in contemporary theory on migration processes. Data on 12 different migration corridors was collected, connecting regions in three origin countries (Brazil, Morocco, Ukraine) to specific locations in four popular Western European destination countries (The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom). In this article we focus solely on return migration to Morocco. The interviewed returned migrants have all resided in Western Europe, more specifically in the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal or the UK, for at least three months. Respondents were selected via key informants, community organisations, schools and mosques, and through the networks of our interviewers. We used purposive snowball sampling to locate our respondents while aiming for diversity among them. Our sample of respondents is not representative for the population of return migrants in Morocco. However, by using purposive sampling methods we have tried to capture a varied set of respondents in terms of length of stay abroad, time period of stay abroad, time of return, age, and gender (see Table 1).

The interviews were semi-structured and conducted in 2011 and 2012, lasted around one hour and were held at people's homes or in cafés. The interviews were held in Moroccan Arabic, Berber or English. The interviews were gathered through a local partnership: we appointed a fieldwork coordinator in Morocco. Research assistants and students with interview experience conducted the interviews together with the coordinator, which they recorded and transcribed into English.

The interviewers discussed a range of topics with respondents including their migration history, reasons for return, their social networks, the support they received from or provided to friends and family members, their transnational contacts during their time abroad, and their transnational practices after return. They also inquired after their current situation in Morocco and their feelings towards it. In the analysis, we looked at how they describe their current lives. How do they value their return? Do they report difficulties? Would they migrate again?

Table 1 Respondent characteristics

Gender		Year of return	
Male	29	70s and 80s	7
Female	15	90s	9
Age ⁴		2000-2005	10
25 or younger	2	2005 and later	18
Between 26-44	14	Country in Europe	
Between 45-64	22	The Netherlands	24
65 and older	6	Norway	5
Civil status		Portugal	6
Single	11	UK	9
Married/cohabiting	26	Migration experience	
Divorced/widowed	7	Single	33
Location after return		Multiple to same destination	2
Nador area	17	Multiple to different destinations	9
Rabat area	27	Last residence permit	
Year of emigration		Undocumented	7
60s and 70s	12	Visa	4
80s	12	Residence permit	11
90s	14	Permanent residence permit	2
2000 and later	5	Nationality	20
Second generation	1	Location before migration	
Migration motive		Nador area	16
Family reunification	6	Rabat area	18
Family formation	2	Other	10
Work	26		
Study	9		
Second generation	1		

4 Three types of post-return experiences

Our analysis revealed three types of subjective post-return experiences. The first category consists of respondents who assess their return in an outspokenly positive way. We observe such positive post-return experiences with migrants with three specific return motives: migrants who left to achieve a specific goal and then returned because they did so; former labour migrants who returned for their retirement; and migrants who returned because of specific business opportunities in the origin country. The second category consists of returned migrants who have mixed feelings about their return. They are all respondents who returned because of family reasons or because of negative push factors in the destination coun-

try. A third category in our analysis consists of migrants who are outspokenly negative about their post-return experiences. As we shall see, respondents in this category all returned involuntarily after their illegal residence was ended by the destination country. In the next sections we will analyse how these three types of post-return experiences can be understood.

4.1 Positive post-return experiences

The first category of respondents consists of 19 returned migrants who assess their return positively. These migrants report three types of return motives. The first motive concerns those who left for a specific goal and who are now happy to return because they have achieved what they wanted to achieve. For these respondents, it had generally never been the intention to stay in the destination country. Return to Morocco was always on their minds, they only waited until the right time to return, like Anouar² who says:

I decided I got what I wanted, a lot of experiences, mainly professional ones. As I went there just for study and work, I think that I reached my purposes as I developed the study of motor car engineering that I teach right now. (...) I decided to come back because I did not plan to stay there from the beginning. (...) My objective was to work, get expertise and develop research and return to develop these things here.

They feel that they return as different persons, or with a relevant degree or experience that has added value in Morocco. As a result, they look back on their migration experiences in a positive way. They also do not report any problems with their reintegration. On the contrary, they usually emphasise how their lives have become better as a result of migration. As Elghali explains: 'I think that I benefitted well and I got promoted in my job (...) I have a big villa and a nice car and I live among the rich people in Morocco.' Interestingly, all respondents in this category initially migrated to Europe in order to study (see Table 2).

Table 2 Characteristics of migrants who returned because they had achieved their objective

Respondent	Gender	Motive	Left	Returned	Age ⁴	Residence	Destination
Anouar	Male	Study	1989	1999	48	Rabat	UK
Badia	Female	Study	1997	2005	38	Nador	Norway
Elghali	Male	Study	1977	1980	60	Rabat	UK
Khalid	Male	Study	1981	1984	56	Rabat	Netherlands
Mtoughi	Male	Study	1997	2000	56	Rabat	Portugal
Rachid	Male	Study	1999	2002	38	Rabat	Norway

We should add that migrants in this category are not so-called ‘target earners’, as observed by Massey et al. (1987) – that is, migrants who return after having earned a certain amount of money. We did not encounter any ‘target earners’ in our small sample. What we did capture are the accounts of labour migrants who returned to Morocco, not after having achieved their target but after retirement (see also Cerase, 1974; De Bree et al., 2010). Migrants with this second type of return motive generally live peaceful lives. In most cases, they had always known that they would return some day. As Adil says: ‘I reached my retirement so I decided to return. (...) I was always thinking of return. I have my house and I am happy.’ Given that they were all labour migrants, they look on their return to Morocco as a well-deserved rest after a life of hard work. As Helima recalled about her working life in the UK:

I worked very hard from six in the morning to four in the afternoon and sometimes I did the double shift to earn more money. When I got married I worked and I looked after my children. It was really very hard.

As Table 3 shows, some respondents who returned to Morocco because of retirement actually retired relatively early. Because of the often physically demanding work that Moroccan labour migrants in Europe are generally involved in, quite a few received disability benefits because they were no longer able to do the hard work. Migrants regard this as retirement although they had not reached the official retirement age yet.

Table 3 Characteristics of respondents who returned to retire

Respondent	Gender	Motive	Left	Returned	Age ⁴	Residence	Destination
Adil	Male	Work	1970	2002	62	Nador	UK
Haj	Male	Work	1964	1981	70	Nador	Netherlands
Hakima	Female	Work	1969	2009	66	Rabat	UK
Helima	Female	Work	1970	2007	66	Nador	UK
Mourad	Male	Work	1969	1999	65	Nador	UK

Only a few of the respondents who returned to retire express some discontent. Some people report problems with their new status as a returned and retired person. While still living in the UK, Hakima felt great as she was at the centre of attention during the holiday breaks when visiting her family. Now that she is old and permanently back in Rabat, people are less interested in her:

I used to bring a lot of gifts and give money and call by phone and visit them every year. Now I am among them but they do not consult me or visit me, even phone calls are very rare.

Just one retired returnee is unsure whether it was the right decision to return. As he did not acquire Dutch citizenship or a permanent residence permit, he cannot make use of the Dutch medical system anymore. Sometimes he thinks that it would have been better to stay longer, in order to obtain the Dutch nationality.

The third type of return motive among those who express positive post-return experiences concerns migrants who returned because of a specific business opportunity. Like migrants who had achieved their target and those who returned to retire, these migrants usually return well-prepared. Outhmane for example explains:

I rented a small shop Sale and started to bring products, furniture and clothes to Morocco and sell them and return to the UK. (...) I decided to return because I earned a lot of money from my retailing between Morocco and the UK; I did not work many hours but I earned much. (...) I was fed up with working like a slave [in the UK]. So I got the idea for this project so I decided to return. (...)

Although their migration motives are inspired by the idea to set up some business, there are also other push or pull factors that inspired them to get this idea in the first place. Abderahim elaborates:

I decided to return because I wanted to invest in my native city and because living in the Netherlands became difficult. I started to feel that life became very expensive and I was afraid that my children will not be well educated according to the Moroccan way of life. I decided to return because they are still young and they can reintegrate easily.

Some of these migrants are highly successful in business, while others have moderate success and live ordinary lives, like Fouad who says: 'I decided to return and to invest in a small café in Rabat. I am fine now and enjoy life here and I earn exactly the same as I did in Portugal but without hardships.' Or Gohbri who says: 'In my early return, I bought a truck and started a trade that worked reasonably well. The trade helped buy a house and educate my kids.'

Table 4 Characteristics of respondents who returned because of business opportunities

Respondent	Gender	Motive	Left	Returned	Age ⁴	Residence	Destination
Abderahim	Male	Family reunification	1980	2002	58	Nador	Netherlands
Fouad	Male	Work	1999	2007	50	Rabat	Portugal
Ghobri	Male	Work	1970	1977	71	Nador	Netherlands
Hassan	Male	Work	1973	2002	55	Rabat	Netherlands
Houssam	Male	Family reunification	1983	2008	28	Nador	Netherlands
Mouloud	Male	Study	1988	2008	55	Rabat	UK
Outhmane	Male	Work	1970	2002	61	Rabat	UK
Sellam	Male	Work	1980	2006	43	Nador	Netherlands

Although the 19 respondents with positive post-return experiences have different return motives, they have in common that they were prepared and willing to return to Morocco. It was a conscious choice to return and before they did so, they made proper preparations. Those who returned because of business opportunities made sure they had enough money to invest in a specific project and they already had their projects figured out before they left. Their projects vary, but they generally thought well about the feasibility of their project before returning. As Mouloud explains: 'I had also conducted a market study about the possibilities of success and failure', while Outhmane had already set up his business while still living in the UK. Only when the business started to thrive did he venture to return. Migrants who returned to retire had generally bought a house before returning to have a place to live in. They had maintained contact with family and friends in order to have a social circle after their return. Respondents who returned after having achieved their target joined the family they had left behind, who had always been prepared for their return.

Migrants in this category usually maintain transnational contacts with the destination country after their return and take pride and comfort in that, which adds to their positive post-return experiences (see also De Bree et al., 2010). Khalid returned after obtaining his diploma in hairstyling in the Netherlands. He still has a lot of contact with the Netherlands:

I have Dutch friends who visit me almost every year in Rabat and they stay in my house. We phone each other, we chat through the net. My children also chat with them. I visited the Netherlands with my family many times after my return. In my house, I keep souvenirs from the Netherlands. I like this culture and its people. Sometimes I cook Dutch food for my family.

Respondents who returned to retire and those who returned for business opportunities usually still have close relatives in the destination country. Like Sellam who says:

Yes, I am still in touch with Holland. I go there from time to time to see my family and to run my business. I am still having my Dutch citizenship and my kids are in Amsterdam with their mother. I preferred that they take their education in Holland rather than in Morocco. They came to visit me on their vacations and I can travel to stay for a short time with them.

All in all, what migrants with these three different return motives (target achieved, retirement or business opportunities) have in common is that their return was voluntary and that they returned well-prepared and more or less autonomously (cf. Cassarino, 2004, 2008). Because they were well-prepared, their reintegration was relatively smooth and they are generally very positive about their return, expressing few to no complaints. In addition, for those who achieved their target, their migration experiences have added value to their lives. For respondents with all three motives, the transnational contacts they maintain today add to their sense of happiness. In addition, having a passport or a permanent residence permit of the country where they returned from enables them to travel and visit the destination country, further contributing to their positive post-return experiences.

4.2 Mixed post-return experiences

A second category of 19 respondents consists of those who have mixed feelings about their return. Closer analysis reveals that these feelings generally relate to their specific return motives. They have two types of return motives, the first consisting of family reasons. These respondents were often not very willing to return. Especially women sometimes do not have a choice as they had to follow their husbands, as was the case with Myriam: 'the decision to return is something beyond my control since it's my husband's.' However, men who returned because of family reasons often felt obliged to return as well. Karim, for example, says: 'I decided to return because I had to look after my blind mother, she had no one to take care of her. Moreover, I am obliged to run my father's business.' Although some men return because of family reasons, most of the respondents in this category were female (see Table 5). This included women who followed their husbands but also women who returned to marry a man in Morocco.

In contrast to the others, the latter were initially rather happy to move to Morocco.

Table 5 Characteristics of respondents who returned because of family reasons

Respondent	Gender	Motive	Left	Returned	Age ⁴	Residence	Destination
Ahmed	Male	Work	1976	2008	58	Rabat	Netherlands
Fatima	Female	Family reunification	1986*	2009	25	Rabat	Netherlands
Fatiha	Female	Family reunification	1990	2008	38	Rabat	Netherlands
Hadda	Female	Family reunification	1987	1992	57	Rabat	Netherlands
Kamar	Female	Study	1992	1999	41	Rabat	Netherlands
Nordin	Male	Work	1981	2011	59	Nador	Netherlands
Mahacine	Female	Study	1999	2011	38	Rabat	UK
Myriam	Female	Family formation	1989	1994	58	Rabat	Netherlands

*Respondent was born in the Netherlands

Whether their return was voluntary or not, respondents who returned for family reasons generally felt homesick at the beginning of their return. Hadda for example says:

I had no choice in the decision to return to Morocco. (...) At that time I wished I could have stayed there. I liked the country and the people. At the beginning of my return to Morocco I was very sad because I missed the life and friends I have in Holland.

In addition, it usually takes time to readapt in a more general sense, and to feel at home again socially and culturally. Mahacine, for example, still struggles with readapting culturally:

I came back and I'm happy to be with my family. I'm happy to see that my daughters are going to grow up in more or less the same environment I grew up in, but I'm sorry to see that Morocco is not the same anymore. There is no respect, no organisation; it's a total chaos and even my 7-year-old daughter makes remarks about people (...) how they look, how they are grumpy, how the streets are dirty, and how people shout.

For marital migrants, readapting can be even more stressful. Because they may move to a place where they do not come from – where they have their husband's family but not their own – they can feel lonely. In addition, having left at a young age, they usually never worked in Morocco. This

makes it difficult to get used to the lifestyle and to find a job. Fatiha for example says:

My problem now is that I cannot find a stable job here in Rabat. I am just doing an internship for free and I am looking for a job. I am really stuck now, I do not know what to do. Rabat is a big city and to find a job is so difficult.

Other returnees with mixed post-return experiences are those who returned because of negative push factors in the destination country, for instance because they became unemployed, because of personal reasons or because they were unhappy with the societal climate towards immigrants in their destination country. Especially migrants from the Netherlands report the latter reason. Jamal for example says: 'I think Holland is not the same as it used to be. There is a lot of racism; people consider you as being an alien.' Aziz recalls how he and his wife were in a supermarket and a Dutch man said angrily that the Taliban have invaded Holland because his wife was wearing a veil.

Although some of the migrants we discussed in the previous section also mentioned such negative push factors in the destination country as an additional factor in their decision to return, they first prepared their return in terms of looking for specific business opportunities. By contrast, the respondents in this category reacted more spontaneously to these negative push factors. Aziz says: 'Once I felt that everything is pushing me to go back home I acted instantaneously.' Nevertheless, they sometimes did make some preparations. Aziz elaborates:

My return was not haphazard and abrupt; I had been planning for return during all the 30 years that I had spent in Holland. (...) Then I said to myself that migration has a price; meaning either I make more money or I go back to Morocco and live peacefully.

So while Aziz thinks he should have waited a bit longer with his return to Morocco in order to be better prepared financially, he was fed up with living in the Netherlands at a certain moment which caused him to return earlier than he had initially planned to. As a result, he has some ideas about investing in some business opportunity one day, but nothing concrete yet, just like Jamal who says: 'I am thinking to invest money in some businesses.' Or Zoubida who says:

When the boss told me I should no longer work with them and gave me all my money, the first thing I thought of is where shall I go and what shall I do? I knew nobody in Portugal who could have been an excuse for my stay, nothing really to cling to. So I returned but with the idea to have my own restaurant.

Table 6 Characteristics of respondents who returned because of negative push factors in the country of destination

Respondent	Gender	Motive	Left	Returned	Age ⁴	Residence	Destination
Aziz	Male	Work	1980	2010	55	Nador	Netherlands
Bahija	Female	Work	2008	2010	29	Rabat	Netherlands
Farida	Female	Family reunification	2001	2011	25	Nador	Netherlands
Hayat	Female	Work	1992	1993	45	Rabat	Portugal
Hmidou	Male	Work	1995	1996	45	Rabat	Norway
Jamal	Male	Work	1989	2000	49	Rabat	Netherlands
Karim	Male	Work	1991	1994	41	Rabat	Netherlands
Malika	Female	Family formation	1997	2008	42	Rabat	Portugal
Moulay	Male	Work	1966	1970	67	Nador	Netherlands
Nabil	Male	Work	1984	1985	50	Rabat	Portugal
Zoubida	Female	Work	1997	2009	40	Rabat	Portugal

Table 7 Characteristics of respondents who returned because of reasons connected to their illegal status in the destination country

Respondent	Gender	Motive	Left	Returned	Age ⁴	Residence	Destination
Farid	Male	Work	2001	2006	34	Rabat	Netherlands
Hamid	Male	Work	1990	1991	62	Nador	Netherlands
Houda	Female	Family reunification	1997	2002	50	Rabat	Netherlands
Jalil	Male	Work	1972	1973	51	Nador	Netherlands
Mohammed	Male	Work	2000	2004	37	Nador	Norway
Samir	Male	Work	2001	2004	39	Nador	Norway

Whereas respondents who returned for family reasons reported difficulties with reintegrating socially and culturally, those who left because of negative push factors mostly do not report such difficulties. In addition, whereas those who returned for family reasons perceive their previous migration as a positive experience, those who returned because of negative push factors in the destination country do not always value their migration positively. Hmidou says: 'I migrated 15 years ago and I do not keep good memories about this experience.' What is striking is that they are not so

much happy because of their current lives, but because they think that their lives as migrants would have been less good than their lives as returned migrants. Farida for example says: 'I think I have no problems now; I have made a good decision to return if you see now the situation in Europe.' And Moulay, who returned to run away from the Dutch girlfriend he was dating when he found out she was pregnant, says:

I returned with nothing from the Netherlands; I spent all the money on women and fun; when I returned I started from zero. I was very young so I used to do all things the youth did. I think it is better that I returned.

Whereas the first category of migrants report outspokenly positive post-return experiences, the second category expresses mixed feelings or moderately positive views, especially when comparing their current lives to their lives in the destination country. Although respondents in this category may have different return motives, they have in common that they returned moderately prepared. They were less prepared than those of the first category as they usually had not planned the exact moment of their return, but were instead forced to return suddenly after something happened (for those who returned because of negative push factors). In other cases, migrants were not very willing to return (the majority of who returned because of family reasons). The reintegration of these second-category respondents therefore proceeded less smoothly than in case of the better prepared respondents discussed previously. Although most respondents who returned for family reasons or due to negative push factors in the destination country report difficulties in the beginning of their return, those who returned long ago mostly say that their initial difficulties have now disappeared.

Some respondents report difficulties that are not likely to be resolved soon, however. The main difference between those whose difficulties disappear and those whose difficulties are likely to persist is the extent to which they managed to live up to their family's expectations (sending remittances, calling, making visits to Morocco, bringing gifts) prior to their return. Hmidou explains:

I had kept a close contact with family and colleagues because of family bonds and also for making the right decisions. (...) I did not gain enough money to start a business in Morocco, yet I managed to put some money aside for helping my parents, brothers and sisters. It is our custom that every member of the family should receive gifts from his family member who lives in a developed

country. The gifts included mainly clothes, perfumes, tea, coffee, chocolate and other kitchen gadgets.

While Hmidou managed to fulfil his family's expectations, the significance of these moral obligations becomes especially clear through the stories of migrants who were unable to fulfil them and still suffer on account of that today. Migrants who live up to their family's expectations can generally rely on the support of family members or friends they gave money or presents to after their return. But those who were unable to do so cannot count on any support today (see also Komter, 1996). As Malika recounts:

When we visited our families during our summer vacation (...) the gifts we used to bring were for our families something cheap and trivial. Then our families understood that our migration project is not really beneficial for them. And I still remember that our neighbours used to call my children the poor Portuguese.

After Malika refused to put up with her husband's beating any longer, she took her children and went to see her family in Morocco to talk about a divorce, which her family members advised against. Malika went back to Portugal feeling disappointed but eventually divorced and returned to Morocco a few years later:

I am really shocked about the way my family treats me (...) My family told me I should have been patient and I should not return with "empty hands". Now I am living in a house rented for my children away from my family and their problems.³

All in all, migrants who returned for family reasons or because of negative push factors in the destination country returned with moderate preparation. They were either forced to return suddenly and were therefore not prepared and/or not willing to return, or they had not lived in Morocco for a long time or at a different place and were therefore not well-prepared either socially or culturally, or in respect of entering the labour market (marriage migrants). Nevertheless, although some individuals report having had difficulties in the beginning, those who had returned longer ago usually managed to overcome these initial difficulties. However, for those who could not meet their family's expectations, this process may take a lot longer as they cannot count on the support of family members and friends

for their reintegration. It may even be the case that they never completely overcome such difficulties.

4.3 Negative post-return experiences

The third and final category of respondents have outspokenly negative post-return experiences. This is particularly the experience of 6 migrants who returned because of reasons related to their illegal residence in the destination country. With one exception, all respondents in this category report difficulties and unhappiness. Characteristic for these six respondents is that they were all unwilling to return and had made little or no preparations. Due to their low economic status in the destination country, they were usually unable to make financial preparations, and they had been unable to fulfil their family's expectations. As a result, upon return, they experience that people are not interested in them and they feel like they have to start all over again. Hamid describes how unhappy he is with his return:

[My boss] knew that I did not have legal residence papers but only an expired visa. If I did not leave the place myself, he would feel obliged to tell the police about my illegal stay. If only I had not returned to Morocco and stayed in Holland. (...) I felt that I was strong in Holland, but I lost that feeling as soon as I arrived in Morocco. I felt a strange sensation of weakness as if I am nothing because of a failed migration experience.

Likewise, Samir talks about his heavy burden of failure: 'Failure makes you very destabilised as a person.' Houda, a divorced woman who was deported from the Netherlands and forbidden to return for ten years after she had tried to arrange a bogus marriage in order to live with her daughter and take care of her grandson, says: 'I was shocked when I returned to Morocco because I have nothing here'. Like Houda, most respondents in this category want to migrate again. Mohammed for example says: 'I am always thinking of migrating again.' And Jalil, a 51-year-old farmer says:

Morocco looked so black to me while returning but I had no other alternative. (...) Once I returned home, I convinced myself that the Netherlands does not exist anymore to have peace of mind. (...) If I were given the chance, I would go back to the same place as I liked it so much. Despite my age now, I would love to work as a cleaner rather than be a poor farmer who is most of the time penniless.

One respondent who returned because of reasons connected to his illegal status does not feel the burden of stigma attached to his failed migration experiences. Farid, who is originally from Al Hoceima but returned to another place in Morocco (Rabat), describes the thoughts that led to the decision to return:

[I thought] I cannot stay illegal the whole of my life; I must legalise my situation to live peacefully and not in a constant fear of the police. I tried to look for a Dutch lady to get married to but I failed. (...) The idea emerged when I became friends with my Dutch teacher who proposed to me to go back and set up a touristic project and a school to teach the Dutch language here in Morocco. I calculated all the options available. If I stayed in the Netherlands, I would not have a stable life until I reach the age of 40 after a long battle, and I would face very difficult circumstances.

Farid returned to Rabat 'because of the decision to set a project here in Rabat, job availability and opportunities, and in Alhoceima I had nothing to do there.' Although Farid's original project failed, he now has a job at the Dutch embassy in Rabat. Because of his illegal status in the Netherlands he had not been able to meet his family's expectations, but that did not matter as he did not return to the place where he could be condemned for not having done so. As he is not among his family members and friends from Alhoceima, he is not bothered by the stigma of a failed migration experience. In fact, the position he secured for himself in Rabat is probably regarded as a successful form of internal migration. It only follows logically then that he does not have the desire to migrate again, like the others in this category have. Farid was a lot better prepared for his return than the others in this category. Returning to Rabat instead of Al Hoceima was part of this preparation. As a result he does not suffer from failed migration experiences as he did not return to his original home, where people could consider him a failure.

5 Conclusions and discussion

In this paper, we have shown that differences between migrants' 'preparedness' – which are partly connected to differences in their return motivations – and their ability to live up to their family's expectations largely explain the our respondents' different post-return experiences. In addition, we have illustrated how some interactions between factors considered

important in the literature cause different factors to become prominent in different cases. For example, we have shown that the ability to maintain transnational contacts with the destination country after return adds to positive post-return experiences (see also De Bree et al., 2010) – but only for migrants with specific return motives.

With this paper, we have empirically demonstrated the value of the concept of ‘preparedness’, introduced by Cassarino (2004). While the first group was well-prepared and generally reported no difficulties, the second group was moderately prepared and reported some difficulties, especially in the beginning of their return. The third group reported a lot of difficulties, especially in coping with failed migration experiences and because they had made practically no preparations for their return. The only person who did not report difficulties returned well-prepared and to a different location, and therefore does not suffer from the stigma of being a failed migrant.

We have also shown that for the group of respondents who reported mixed post-return experiences, it was due to their moderate preparedness that they faced difficulties in the beginning that they managed to overcome later on. However, this was not the case for those who had been unable to meet their family’s expectations prior to return. They continued to report mixed experiences. Our research moreover shows that if migrants are well-prepared, the extent to which they were able to fulfil family expectations does not matter as these migrants can arrange their return autonomously. The family’s expectations only become relevant if migrants are less well-prepared for their return, making them dependent on their family’s and friends’ support. For those who returned because of reasons connected to their illegal status, preparations were crucial in combination with settling in a different location, as this offered the only escape from having to deal with the stigma of failed migration experiences.

Furthermore, we were able to show how the concept of preparedness gains importance in different situations, thereby offering a further elaboration of Cassarino’s theory. Moreover, our study adds to a refinement of his theory of the role of preparedness in understanding post-return experiences in a second way. According to Cassarino, a returnee’s preparedness depends on the tangible and intangible resources the returnee is able to mobilise through his or her transnational network. However, in our study, making preparations did not always entail transnational resource mobilisation. In fact, those who were highly prepared usually made these preparations highly autonomously, so without having to mobilise resources through their transnational social network. Nevertheless, transnational

networks do appear to contribute to positive post-return experiences, but mainly in social and cultural respects. For respondents with positive post-return experiences, the contacts they maintained in the home country while in the destination country facilitated their reintegration socio-culturally. In addition, the transnational contacts they maintain with people in Europe add to their sense of happiness today (see also De Bree et al., 2010). Furthermore, for those with mixed or negative post-return experiences, our respondents' transnational networks became especially important in a negative sense; namely, when they were shut out for having failed to fulfil their family's expectations. This means that, in the context of understanding post-return experiences, transnational social networks should not only be seen as a source of support – as Cassarino (2004) does – but should instead be conceptualised more broadly to incorporate transnational *obligations* as well.

It is well-documented that many migrants are involved in transnational activities such as supporting their relatives back home (Snel et al., 2006). However, previous research also shows that not all migrants are in a position to support the family back home. Transnational activities can be limited because of the low socio-economic or weak legal position of migrants in the destination countries (Bloch, 2008; Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 2001; Van Meeteren, 2012). We found that it had been more difficult for returned migrants from Portugal to fulfil family's expectations as wages in Portugal are not very high, giving them an unfavourable socio-economic position. This research therefore indicates that circumstances in the destination country are important to understanding different post-return experiences (see also Cassarino, 2008; Van Houte and Davids, 2008). Furthermore, Cassarino (2008) shows that post-return experiences also relate to economic and institutional circumstances in the country of origin. For example, in his comparative study (2008: 24) he observes that the chances that a returnee becomes an entrepreneur are significantly higher in Tunisia with its more liberalised economy than in Morocco, where we conducted our research. Research in other countries than Morocco might therefore yield different results in terms of the distribution of respondents over the three types of post-return experiences and the related return motivations.

Our findings contribute to a further understanding of the different post-return experiences of returned migrants in Morocco. More importantly, our findings provide preliminary insights into how some of the factors commonly found in the literature intersect to shape specific outcomes. At the same time, many questions are still left unanswered and our discussion

of the existing literature can never fully do justice to its richness in detail. In our small-scale qualitative study we have not been able to systematically study how factors such as gender, age, and educational level affect outcomes or intersect with other factors to shape outcomes, while other research has already pointed to their importance (see for example Cassarino, 2008; Gmelch, 1980; Reynolds, 2010; Van Houte and Davids, 2008). Future research can benefit from these insights and strive to further contextualise theoretical explanations by means of more systematic comparative research designs.

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Notes

1. Drawing on Cassarino's theory on return preparedness, “voluntary return” should be understood only as resulting from the migrant's autonomous and independent decision to return to his or her country of origin.
2. All respondents have been given a fictitious name.
3. This excerpt also shows how gender and gendered family relations are important in understanding post-return experiences. The gendered nature of post-return experiences has been mentioned in the literature before. Our analysis did not yield enough valuable insights that could further contribute to this literature.
4. As Moroccans do not celebrate birthdays they often do not know precisely when they were born. In some cases, respondents' age is therefore the respondent's estimate.

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'This is My Home'

Pakistani and Polish Migrants' Return Considerations as Articulations About 'Home'

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Abstract

Considerations about return are a persistent dimension of identity work in migrant populations. The question of where and what constitutes 'home' for migrants is central to understanding processes of integration, sustained transnational ties, and return considerations, because reflections about 'home' are reflective of belonging. Based on analysis of migrants' and descendants reflections about the possibility of return migration, this paper asks: how is 'home' located in the transnational social field, and in which ways do the mutually overlapping spatial, temporal, emotional and rational dimensions of home matter? The paper draws on semi-structured interviews and focus groups with a total of 75 migrants and descendants from Pakistan and Poland living in Norway. Data from the two migrant groups with distinct migration histories are combined. Perhaps surprisingly, more similarities than differences are found between the two groups, with regard to their reflections about belonging. Considerations about return are found to be revealing of changing perspectives on home. For many there is an inherent ambivalence, reflected in home being located here, or there, or both, or neither. However, both migrants' and descendants exert agency in their own ways of locating 'home' and managing the spatial, temporal, emotional and rational dimensions involved.

Keywords: home, return, transnational, integration, Pakistan, Poland

1 Introduction

This paper explores how migrants' conceptualize 'home' in the context of the parallel processes of integration and transnationalism, and ongoing considerations about return migration. Where one feels at home, whether in one or multiple places, and how the surroundings react to different articulations of belonging, is at the center of contemporary discussions about integration and social cohesion in Europe. The paper emphasizes migrants' own expressions about home – as one way of concretely investigating articulations of belonging. Drawing on literature about home, belonging and identity (see e.g. Blunt and Dowling, 2006, Rapport, 1998), and on the interactions of migrant integration, transnationalism, and return considerations (see e.g. Snel et al., 2006, Erdal and Oeppen, 2013, de Haas and Fokkema, 2011), particular attention is paid to four overlapping and interacting dimensions of home: *spatial, temporal, emotional and rational* which together frame the analysis of how and what migrants' and descendants locate as 'home'.

'Home' is conceptualized as both abstract and fluid, but equally with physical manifestations in the concrete life worlds of individuals. Based on analysis of qualitative data from migrants and descendants, the paper explores how individuals locate 'home' in the transnational social field. Research on 'home' within migration studies emphasizes identity and belonging, as motivating for migrants' practices across transnational social fields, and playing a role in their lives both 'here' and 'there' (Al Ali and Koser, 2002). At a conceptual level the intersection of the sociological and geographical literatures on 'home', and those from migration studies, point to questions about whether one can have more than one 'home' – in the sense of dual ties and loyalties, but also about to what extent 'home' should be understood as a fluid and abstract notion, and to what extent its concrete manifestations and real implications in individual people's lives also need to be acknowledged (Brah, 1996, Levitt and Waters, 2002, Tsuda, 2004).

This paper analyzes migrants' own expressions about where and what is home, in the context of research on *considerations about return*. Recent research on the interactions between migrant integration and transnationalism increasingly questions previously held assumptions that these are zero-sum processes (Snel et al., 2006, Carling and Hoelscher, 2013). Rather it is found that the interplay of migrant integration and transnational ties differs between contexts, where at times integration and transnationalism mutually reinforce one another, at other times not, but it is not usually a

case of either integration, or transnationalism. Migrants' agency in these processes is a key point in seeking to explain these interactions, as often-times migrants' strategic use of resources 'here' and 'there' result in complex 'balancing acts' staged by migrants themselves (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013). While structural constraints and opportunities affect the space in which migrants' may act, the scope of their agency in shaping both sets of processes and ties, 'here' and 'there' is significant (Erdal, 2013).

Migrants' return intentions are often covered in surveys about migrants' transnational ties (see e.g. Blom and Henriksen, 2008), but rarely is it sufficiently problematized what these kinds of questions actually measure (Carling and Pettersen, in press (2014)). Responses to the question: *'Do you intend to return to your country of origin?'* perhaps with some temporal choices, such as within five years, or when you retire, trigger reflections about identity and about home, which may make a simple yes or no difficult to deliver. Saying no may by migrants be experienced as a final rejection of the home once left behind, whereas leaving the option open for the future may feel more comfortable. Through qualitative data it is possible to explore this sense of ambivalence with regard to the issue of return – and by implication – of how migrants locate 'home'. Building on the insight that integration and transnationalism are processes often running in parallel, which may or may not have a bearing on return considerations at a practical or emotional level, this paper asks: how do migrants' and descendants locate 'home' in the transnational social field, and in which ways do the mutually overlapping spatial, temporal, emotional and rational dimensions of home matter?

The first section sets out the conceptual framework, first drawing on the literature on home, belonging and identity, second on the growing body of work within migration studies on emotional dimensions to migrant transnationalism, and third, how these relate to discussions on the interactions of migrant transnationalism and processes of integration, including a focus on return considerations. The following section lays out the methods and data used in this paper, as well as presenting the reasoning behind the inclusion of data from two distinctly different migrant groups, those from Pakistan and Poland, now living in Norway. The main body of the article sheds light on the ways in which 'home' is understood and experienced by migrants, focusing on spatial, temporal, emotional and rational dimensions.

2 Conceptual framework

2.1 Home, belonging and identity

The literature on home in the social sciences is vast and multi-dimensional (Mallett, 2004, Blunt and Dowling, 2006). In human geography Massey (1997), has advocated a relational sense of place, where human interactions are analyzed as integrated within places. Such places can be specific buildings or structures, such as migrant houses in their countries of origin (Erdal, 2012), or people's 'homes' in the sense of dwelling places. A relational understanding of 'home' is important as 'home' is a spatial notion, regardless of whether or not it is tied to a physical place. For the purpose of this paper 'home' is understood mainly in the context of its relationships with belonging and identity. It is acknowledged that home is multi-scalar and inherently spatial. At an individual level one can feel at home both in a house, the childhood 'home, and in more abstractly defined social spaces, linked with their cultural, social or linguistic characteristics, in a particular city or a country.

While scholars such as Anthias (2002) have critiqued the use of identity as an analytical concept, due to its fuzzy nature, alternative concepts have not won significant ground. A critical perspective on identity as a constructed concept, something which changes over time, and is multi-layered, should however be noted (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Yet, identity remains important, and is inherently linked with questions of belonging, and by extension to understandings of 'home'. Identity and belonging are discussed as significant dimensions of migrants' lived experiences, in relation to the ways in which migrants' manage dual ties and loyalties (Dwyer, 2002).

How migrants relate to 'home' in the context of questions about the possibility of return is one tangible avenue into migrants' identity construction work, which allows for a focus on both spatial and temporal dimensions. Furthermore, the notion of 'home' is simultaneously very emotional, but also something about which rational decisions are made, thus allowing for an exploration of the ambivalence which is inherent to how 'home' is understood, experienced and constructed.

2.2 Emotions in transnational migration research

In studies of migrant transnationalism emotional dimensions have increasingly come into focus, in particular in work on transnational families (Skrbiš, 2008, Baldassar, 2007). Much work on migrant transnationalism during the past two decades has explored the ways in which migrants'

straddle two or more societies, and make decisions about their lives and their mobility, both based on rational and emotional considerations. Based on qualitative research within these fields it is acknowledged that migrant decision-making should be seen as highly intertwined between emotional and rational dimensions. However, neither of the two are always what they might seem. Rational decisions may more often be related to *mobility resources*, such as legal papers enabling mobility (Carling, 2008), than to purely economic considerations, whereas emotional dimensions may often change more rapidly than might be expected, for instance as the balance of *where* family is based changes in the course of a generation.

As emotions have come into focus, the notion of ambivalence has received more attention (see e.g. Kivisto and La Vecchia-Mikkola, 2013, Van Leeuwen, 2008) as part of an acknowledgment of the psycho-social challenges which the migration process entails, with regard both to relationships with people and places in the country of origin and in the country of settlement. Kivisto and La Vecchia (2013) discuss this as *dual ambivalence*, with regard to 'here' and 'there'. They suggest that while ambivalence may be approached from a socio-psychological perspective, it may be as valuable to treat this as a sociological phenomenon. While the analytical value of *ambivalence* as a conceptual tool may be limited, the acknowledgment of the multiplicity of emotional dimensions in migrants' lives is significant. This is necessary both with regard to the potential for conceptual developments within migration studies, continuing to move beyond simplistic dichotomies, and taking on the challenge of conceptualizing identity and belonging – even in national contexts – with the reality of transnational social fields in mind.

Migrants' agency in managing ambivalence with regard to home, identity and belonging is significant and can usefully be understood through what Ho (2009) describes as migrants' *emotional management*. She argues that migrants' sense of identity and belonging with regard both to questions about citizenship, and in the context of return considerations or actual return migration, are highly contingent on migrants' emotional management strategies. At times these are conscious strategies, whereas at other times they may be constructed along the way, during the ongoing emotional journey of migration (Ryan, 2008). This paper is based on the premise that migrants' agency is significant for their conceptualizations of home, whether as a strategy from the outset, or as migrants' manage their emotional attachments to 'home' over time. Ambivalence with regard to 'home' then is reflective of the fluid nature of identity construction pro-

cesses, which change over time, but which are also affected by the spatial and concrete realities of the migration process.

2.3 Where is home: 'here' or 'there', both or neither?

Research on migrant transnationalism has produced a substantial body of work exploring the ways in which and the reasons why migrants' often remain active within transnational social fields spanning two or more societies and geographic locations. As a consequence, the idea that home may be 'here' or 'there', both or neither, is not new (Al Ali and Koser, 2002). Simultaneously, the conceptual implications of this realization are arguably not as well addressed yet, in the sense that understanding multiplicity of belonging is developing slowly. In the emerging literature on the interactions of transnationalism and integration (see e.g. Snel et al., 2006, Schans, 2009, Erdal and Oeppen, 2013) the fundamental question of whether an individual can really belong in more than one place is raised, and it is argued that belonging can be multiple, it is not an either 'here' or 'there' issue. This follows reasoning in research on forced migration, where naturalized assumptions about human beings as trees, belonging in one place only, have been questioned, challenging the view that mobility necessarily equates displacement or up-rootedness (Malkki, 1992).

While migration should always be a matter of free choice, it is important to acknowledge that human beings adapt, and may adapt in different ways, both depending on the structural opportunities and constraints, and on their own agency and resources to manage such adaptation. What is conceptually interesting is that some contemporary migrants today have the capacity and desire to retain dual ties and loyalties over time, neither following a classic assimilationist, nor ghettoization path, but rather embracing the opportunities that societal diversity opens up for, through sustaining dual ties over time.

Based on the growing interest in interactions between migrant transnationalism and integration processes, the question of *return intentions* has also been explored as a related factor (de Haas and Fokkema, 2011, Carling and Pettersen, in press (2014)). The question of *return intentions* is interesting conceptually, as it clearly highlights identity and belonging as important, but at the same time is also about rational migration decision-making: should I stay, or should I go? (Frye, 2012). At times answers to the question '*do you intend to return?*' relate to what migrants perceive as expectations with regard to integration processes in the country of settlement. For instance, a negative answer could be triggered if it is perceived that retaining the option of return open is not seen as compatible with

successful integration (Carling and Pettersen, in press (2014)). The interpretation of findings about the proportion of migrants in each category and who they are with regard to age, gender or reason for migration, is inherently tricky. Nevertheless, when exploring the question of return intentions, it is found that “attachments do not represent a zero-sum game: indeed, more than half of our sample have either weak attachments in both directions, or strong attachments in both directions [‘here’ and ‘there’]” (Carling and Pettersen, in press (2014):20). Findings from studies on the three-way-relationship between migrant transnationalism, integration and return intentions thus identify four possible options with regard to the question of locating ‘home’: it could be ‘here’ (e.g. in the country of settlement) or ‘there’ (e.g. in the country of origin), it could be ‘both’ (in the country of origin and settlement) or ‘neither’ (in the country of origin nor settlement).

2.4 Conceptualizing ‘home’ along four dimensions

Drawing on the literature on home, belonging and identity, the increasing attention paid to emotional dimensions of migrant transnationalism, and the interactions between transnationalism, integration and return considerations, this paper analyzes migrants’ expressions about ‘home’ along four dimensions: the spatial, temporal, emotional and rational dimensions.

There are important connections between these dimensions, but they are sufficiently distinct from one another to yield interesting analytical points independent of one another. The spatial dimension relates to the *geographic locations* that thoughts about home involve. Despite the fluid and hybrid conceptualizations of home in parts of the academic literature – home is very often associated with particular places and geographically located contexts. The temporal dimension relates to the differences that change *over time* can make for the ways in which home is reflected on, conceptualized and related to. Migration is for many a life-long journey, therefore life-cycle changes such as becoming an adult, establishing a family, the death of parents or spouse, the birth of own children or grandchildren, influence the ways in which home is conceptualized. The emotional dimension relates to the fact that home is often associated with a *sense of belonging and processes of identity construction*. These are emotional questions where subjective considerations, memories and imagination are important. Finally, the rational dimension relates to the fact that migrants’ are rational decision-makers, who make choices about their lives and their mobility. These choices are based on the totality of migrants’

experiences and life-worlds, where economic considerations, mobility resources, and emotional dimensions come into play.

The following section introduces the data used in this paper, before providing the reasoning behind the inclusion of two distinctively different migrant groups: Pakistanis and Poles. The subsequent section presents the analysis of migrants' expressions about 'home', in the context of considerations about return migration.

3 Methods and empirical context

This paper is based on 38 semi-structured interviews with individuals and couples and 6 focus group discussions, involving a total of 75 migrants or descendants living in Norway. About half of these had Polish, and half Pakistani backgrounds. In both groups mainly migrants were included, with some descendants added, and in the Pakistani case in particular a large proportion of migrants who arrived in Norway as very young adults more than three decades ago. Children of migrants, born in Norway, here referred to as descendants, were included in order to expand the temporal continuum beyond the migrant generation. While descendants are themselves not migrants', their family history is one of migration, and of ties beyond the country of settlement, and including them therefore increases the pool of different experiences and reflections with regard to how and where 'home' is located. The total sample included about half-and-half men and women, and people ranging from their early 20s to early 70s, though the majority was between 30-50 years old. The sample also included diversity with regard to education and professional background, and geographic origin in Poland and in Pakistan, including smaller rural locations and urban centers.

Overall, the participants of Pakistani origin have spent a longer time in Norway, than participants from Poland. Among participants of Pakistani background most migrated to Norway in the 1970s, or joined spouses who arrived during this period, or are the children of such families. A few have arrived later, in the 1980s or 1990s, most often in relation to marriages. The group of Pakistani migrants' and descendants counts around 39 000 individuals. Among participants of Polish background a majority are post-accession migrants arriving in Norway since 2004, and a minority who have a longer migration history in Norway, most often since the 1980s. The group of Polish migrants and descendants, here the post-2004 migration constitutes the vast majority, is estimated to be more than 100 000 individuals.

Both interviews and focus groups were conducted either in informants' homes or in office spaces that were identified as neutral and suitable to the purpose. Informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to participation, and pseudonyms are used throughout where quotes from informants are cited. Interviews were conducted in Norwegian in the Pakistani case and in Polish in the Polish case. This was due to a combination of the informants' own linguistic skills, and those of the researcher. Since most informants in the Pakistani case had lived in Norway for a long time, they were able to communicate in Norwegian, and in a few instances interviews were conducted in connection with Norwegian classes where a requirement was that the interview was to be conducted in Norwegian. With regard to the Polish case, many informants had only lived in Norway for less than 5 to 8 years, so the researchers' fluency in Polish meant that conducting the interview in Polish was far more efficient.

3.1 Comparing Polish and Pakistani migrants?

This paper combines data from two distinctively different migrant groups in its exploration of 'home'. Pakistani and Polish migrants' in Norway are different with regard to the distance across which they have migrated, as well as the average length of stay in Norway. These differences are perceived to be of great significance, both among migrants' themselves and in the public eye. However, it may be argued that there are also some important similarities, in the sense that both migrant groups are predominantly labour migrants, where there have been a large proportion of men coming first, subsequently followed by their wives and families who have joined them in Norway. In both cases there are exceptions to these main patterns, yet it is important to explore these similarities with regard to labour migrant experiences.

As with the Pakistani migrants' arriving in Norway in the 1970s, the assumption with regard to Polish migrants arriving since the mid-2000s is that they are temporary migrants who will sooner or later return to Poland. The context of Polish migration in the post-accession period since 2004 is of course distinctive, in the sense of the open borders, enabling migrants to make decisions in their own time (Friberg, 2012). This context has led to conceptualization of these migration flows as 'liquid migration' following Bauman's notion of 'liquid modernity' (Engbersen and Snel, 2013), but also as 'incomplete migration', referring in particular to the fact that there is no planned end point for many people's migration projects (Okólski, 2012). Nevertheless, patterns to date do not suggest that return migration is any more the case among the bulk of Polish migrants who have settled down in

Norway, than it was three decades previously among Pakistani migrants. Yet, considerations about return migration are important for many recent migrants (Galasińska, 2010), and instances of return migration among Poles are occurring, sometimes resulting in re-migration (White, 2013). It is therefore of interest to explore the similarities and differences, with regard to conceptualizations of 'home', among two groups perceived to be so distinctively different based on particular characteristics, but who along other lines of comparison may be seen as fairly similar. While among Pakistani migrants' and descendants return migration is not very common, both sustained transnational ties, including transnational marriages, and the idea of the possibility of return, have been found to be significant (see e.g. Bolognani, 2014, Bolognani, 2007, Charsley, 2007, Rytter, 2010).

With regard to transnational ties and patterns of integration it is hard to compare these groups in a meaningful way, because of the difference in time spent in Norway. Another significant difference which challenges comparison is the fact that there is free mobility between Norway and Poland, whereas this is not the case between Norway and Pakistan, and the geographic distance itself makes an impact in terms of the prices and feasibility of travel. However, more than three quarters of Norwegian-Pakistanis hold Norwegian citizenship, and thus de facto have free mobility, so while this was a difference at the time of migration, in the present context this is less the case.

In terms of integration processes in Norway it is clear that migrants' from both groups experience a sense of being foreigners in Norway, but while the levels of discrimination may differ overall, importantly Pakistanis are culturally defined as Muslim and therefore experience more discrimination overall than a European migrant populations such as the Polish migrants (Erdal, 2013). In this article the data from Pakistani and Polish migrants' is analyzed together, thus shedding light on similarities and differences, but not aiming at structured comparison. The aim with this approach is also to contribute to the growing body of work which does not a priori assume national or ethnic origin to be *the* defining features of migrants' and descendants experiences (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002), but rather allowing for other shared experiences to take a more center-stage role.

4 Locating 'home': here, there, both or neither

Migrants' and descendants who participated in interviews and focus groups about considerations on return migration from Norway to their own or their parents country of origin were both directly and indirectly asked about where they would say 'home' is, through which their conceptualizations of 'home' emerged. The analysis includes participants' statements when directly asked about where they would say 'home' is, and reflections about 'home' which came up elsewhere during interviews and focus groups. 'Home' was often located in relation to the transnational social field, here in Norway or there in Poland or Pakistan, both or neither. The statements and reflections about 'home' are discussed thematically with regard to spatial, temporal, emotional and rational dimensions, with ambivalence as an intersecting dimension.

4.1 'Home is where we are all together'

Home in participants' responses is very often situated spatially in particular geographic locations. Frequently this is related to the physical presence of family in particular places, indicating how the concrete and spatial location of home, in many ways is an enabling factor for how 'home' is understood in an emotional or rational sense. The spatial location of home, the *where*, was a significant part of migrants' and descendants reflections about 'home':

'I always say that home is where we are all together, where our family is.'
(Agnieszka, mid-40s, has lived in Norway for 6 years)¹

The significance of *where* the immediate family is located is a theme which is reflected in return considerations, and which also becomes apparent with regard to how conceptualizations of 'home' change over time. Ali's statement below is reflective of the connections between 'home', identity and belonging which many participants relate to, and which are most frequently located at a national level in somewhat abstract terms, but which is simultaneously also about the physical location, locating 'home' spatially:

'When I've been thinking of the word "home" I've never thought of Pakistan like that. I'm thinking Norway, that here, that my home is here in a way, and I belong here. But I can't say I'm Norwegian and neither may I say that I'm Pakistani. So that's why the word we're using, "Norwegian-Pakistani", is in fact

very right. Because I feel like a Norwegian-Pakistani. It's like I'm originally Pakistani in a way, but I'm Norwegian-Pakistani. I'm in Norway and Norway is my home now. But it's sure that I'll have some cultural values from Pakistan and especially the religion you know... that I not necessarily have got directly from Pakistan but Islam is the main religion in Pakistan. So it becomes a part of it. But home is like I'm only thinking Norway. It's where we are and it's where we're going to stay.' (Ali, late 30s, has lived in Norway for most of his life)

Ali's statement also refers to culture and religion, indicating that despite the fact that Norway is home, it is somehow not entirely 'Norwegian' to be a Muslim. Therefore Ali finds it useful to describe himself with a hyphenated identity, as Norwegian-Pakistani. This is an interesting conceptualization, in a context where 'home' is so clearly located spatially in Norway, yet belonging remains transnational and dual. It is also reflective of the importance of context, in Norway the hyphenated label Norwegian-Pakistani is generally accepted, including by Norwegian-Pakistanis themselves, whereas hyphenated identities are viewed differently in other contexts (see e.g. Ali and Sonn, 2010).

The spatial dimension of belonging is perhaps rarely as clear as in the question about where a person is buried, or 'the final return migration' (for an in-depth discussion in the Norwegian-Pakistani case see Døving, 2009, or for a contrasting perspective on Ghana see Mazzucato et al., 2006). Nabeel discusses his experiences with regard to the burial of his parents:

'She [my mother] missed Pakistan. She liked it and it was their home country. When they passed away I buried both of them here [in Norway]. My mum died first and my dad wanted to bury her in Pakistan, but for me it was like, to move my mum to a foreign place, which I didn't have any connection to. She died pretty early and pretty young, and my children, their grandchildren and my brothers' children, they protested. They fell apart by the fact that their grandmother was about to be buried in a foreign place where they didn't even want to go. And then my father gave in.' (Nabeel, late 30s, has lived in Norway for most of his life)

Nabeel's mother was a Pakistani migrant in the 1970s and lived in Norway most of her adult life, raising her children in Norway. But for her 'home' was always in Pakistan. When she died her husband wanted to bury her at 'home', however, the family in Norway protested. The grandchildren's attachment to her was very strong, and they wanted her close by, not somewhere they felt was 'foreign'. The spatial location of 'home' thus

changed over time, during the course of a single generation. With regard to the interactions of migrant transnationalism, integration and considerations of return, the theme of final returns for burials is significant, in the sense that it is illustrative of how spatial locations of home change over time, and how dual ties during life necessarily lead to a decision about 'here' *or* 'there', when a decision about the place of burial has to be made.

4.2 'The rose today will not smell the same way as it did then'

Where and what is conceptualized as 'home' changes over time, both with regard to different life-stages, and with regard to the passage of time itself. Maria's reflection below is illustrative of reflection processes which many migrants' experience over time:

'For some time I felt like I was more at home in Poland... later on, I had a period where I didn't feel at home in either of the places because I was losing contact with the reality there and I didn't feel at home there and at the same time I hadn't started feeling at home here yet... I was still feeling like a stranger here, but now I don't know where I feel more at home... I feel at home here and there. When I'm in Poland, I feel at home, I don't feel like a stranger there... I may not know how everything works, but I find out quickly enough and it's not a big effort to orientate myself about things there... And here I also get orientated about what I need to know, so I feel like a world citizen [laughing]... no, really, I feel far better now both in Norway and in Poland, after all those years.' (Maria, mid-40s, has lived in Norway for 15 years)

Maria's statement moves between all four categories identified as possible locations of home: here or there, both or neither. At the time of the interview she is comfortable with describing 'home' as both here and there, and perhaps also beyond these two geographic locations, in what she describes as being a 'world citizen'. Associations to aspects of 'cosmopolitanism' are not unusual when migrants' discuss 'home' and belonging, in particular when the option of multiple belonging is articulated (Werbner, 1999, Vertovec and Cohen, 2002). In this context the dual nature of 'home' is clearly positive and stated in assertive terms, although it is at the same time indicative of the presence of ambivalence with regard to 'home'.

Zofia touches on further dimensions of change over time in her own thinking about 'home', which many migrants' acknowledge:

'... all of this is inside you and it is not that you have to go back, to touch this, because the things you miss are not there anymore. There will be something different. The rose today will not smell the same way as it did then, in my father's garden. You know... the sprinkle of dew on the flower that is yellowish like cream, with pink edges. That smell. Now there are not roses like that anymore.' (Zofia, early 60s, has lived in Norway for more than thirty years)

She describes how attachment to 'home' changes over time, but is also conditioned by spatial distance. Her reference to her father's garden is reflective of the significance of 'home' as dwelling place – in this case the childhood home – but also of the interconnections of thinking about 'home' and your family. As parents pass away, the 'home' which once existed is no more, and becomes part of your memories and continues to live in the imagination (for a discussion on belonging and memory in relation to artefacts in British Asian homes see Tolia-Kelly, 2004). Zofia clearly acknowledges these more emotional aspects of her thinking about 'home', while indicating a rational approach to how this is handled, in saying that: *«the things you miss are not there anymore»*. In her case then, considerations about return migration become less relevant, as what you longed for no longer exists.

The realization that things are changing with regard to where 'home' is, and how the possibility of return migration is seen, are often triggered by visits to the country of origin (see also for the Afghan case Oeppen, 2013), as indicated by Masooda:

'In recent years we've been staying for only 3 weeks [on holiday in Pakistan]. We figured out that it's enough... because after 2 weeks you start missing home. [laughing]. I've got my home here [in Norway]. Life has moved on there as well, so it's not the same Pakistan that I left. Everybody has got their own homes and we are their guests, and for how long can you be a guest?' (...) it's not the same Pakistan that I missed. It's completely different because I start to get "oh, I want to go home to my own kitchen, I don't want to be a guest anymore". (...) And that's here in Norway, and that's why, and not just the house itself which is home, home is Norway.' (Masooda, late-40s, has lived in Norway for more than twenty years)

Masooda's reflections' on 'home' are explored through her experience with visits to Pakistan. The nature of holidays in Pakistan has changed over time, as she and her family have increasingly felt that 'home' is Norway.

She refers to feeling like a guest, and her statement resonates with Zofia's reflections about the changes occurring in what used to be 'home'. In Masooda's words: *"it's not the same Pakistan that I missed"*. The realization is that 'home' is now in Norway, but at the same time, the change over time is not something which is easy, and there is clear sense of ambivalence in statements about 'home' and temporal changes.

Change over time in relation to the way in which migrants think about 'home' is a key dimension of their reflections about home. The fact that 'home' is something which can change over time – in different ways for different individuals – is an important realization with regard to understanding the interactions of migrant transnationalism, integration and considerations of return. It clearly demonstrates the need for caution in taking migrants' return intention statements at face value in terms of being related to migration-decision making. Rather, the significance of change over time is also an important reminder about the spatial dimensions of 'home' which may be located both 'here' and/or 'there', but also for some perhaps in neither location, as their migration experience may leave a sense of ambivalence with regard to 'home' and belonging.

4.3 'This is where my heart beats more quickly'

Emotional dimensions of migrants' expressions about home are often spatially located and intertwined with identity-construction. There are clear differences between descendants or those who migrated as children, and those who are more recent migrants, underlining the importance of change over time. This does, however, not indicate a linear process which all migrants follow, as will be discussed in relation to the below statements. For Iza, 'home' is clearly associated with identity, and is an emotional matter, but at the same time she has a rational realization about where the practical home now is located:

'I am a Pole and I will always be a Pole because this is where my roots are. But my home is in Norway because I live here and whenever I go on holidays and I'm returning home, it's Norway I'm thinking about... About my little nest, about my bed, about my shower... this is my home, this is where I feel safe and this is where my family is, my closest ones, my children and the man I love. But I am a Pole and I will never change that, I will never reject that. Poland is my fatherland (ojczyzna) and it will always stay this way.' (Iza, mid-30s, has lived in Norway for eight years)

Iza's statement echoes the duality of home for many migrants, it is 'there' in an emotional sense, often with regard to identity-construction, but in a practical sense, 'home' is here (Al Ali and Koser, 2002). She also refers to where her family is as a key consideration: where her closest family is – that is where home is. Yet, initially she also has to identify herself clearly at a more abstract level, saying that "I am a Pole and I will always be a Pole because this is where my roots are." Her statement reflects the ambivalence that emotional and practical aspects of 'home' often trigger, her belonging remains dual, both 'here' and 'there'. Ala's statement below is a good example of how Iza's logic is turned around, when circumstances are different:

'I would have to say Poland. This is where my heart beats more quickly. Even though I met wonderful people here [in Norway], many friends... but my family is in Poland. (Ala, early-30s, has lived in Norway for ten years)

Ala is single and for her this is defining for how she relates to 'home'. Her family are her parents and siblings, and they are all in Poland, therefore she feels that Poland is 'home', despite the fact that she has a successful career, working within her own profession in Norway. She expresses this in a very emotional manner, talking about how her "heart beats more quickly", and these emotions are also clearly translated into active plans for return migration. The emotional nature of the question about 'home' is also echoed by Zaheer:

'I don't know how to answer that question because I have these many... eh... I've lived in three-four countries and then I've good memories and there's things that I like and things that I don't like and then I'm here [in Norway] mostly because my... or I moved back because of my family.' (Zaheer, mid-30s, complex migration-trajectory between Pakistan-Norway-third countries)

The question about 'home' is very emotional for Zaheer, and it is a question he comes back to throughout the interview. The emotional dimensions are intertwined with memories of the past, as reflected in Zofia and Masooda's statements, where 'home' is something immaterial, something in your imagination. Zaheer is very ambivalent about home and belonging. He is in Norway because of his family, but he does not feel at home in Norway. He has moved around between Norway, Pakistan, Canada, Sweden and Denmark since he was a child, and as a contrast to Maria does not feel cosmopolitan, but rather at loss about where, if anywhere, he can belong.

In Zaheer's case the question of home and belonging raises negative emotions, where ambivalence is more a challenge than a resource. His case is specific due to the multiple migrations in his life, yet it points to the challenges which are also inherent to a reality where some migrants may feel a sense of 'home' here, there or both – while others do not feel at 'home' anywhere. This can raise particular questions about the ways in which integration processes are managed, both by migrants themselves, and by authorities, but it certainly also raises questions about the ways in which we conceptualize return migration in very spatial terms. The case of the return of Chinese Koreans to South Korea, and experiences of alienation, illustrates the sometimes counterintuitive processual nature of developments related to belonging (Song, 2009), also found among expats returning to South Africa (Steyn and Grant, 2007). In Zaheer's case there is nowhere to 'return' to, despite the fact that he may not feel at 'home' in Norway. As for so many of the informants, the crucial point nonetheless, remains where your closest family is located, for practical purposes, this is 'home'.

4.4 'But I have established, in my thoughts, it is in Norway, Oslo, that is my home'

Migrants' expressions about 'home' reflect their rational thinking and decision-making, which is encompassed in the complex location of 'home' spatially, temporally and emotionally. Abdul's statement reflects the matter-of-factness of many of these expressions:

I've learned Norwegian well and adapted well here, but Norwegian isn't my mother tongue, I've learnt it as a foreign language, and the same for the culture. So personally I will always feel divided. But on the other side, now I've lived here 2/3 of my life here, and there it's 1/3, and then it will be 3/4 and 1/4, and you're affected by that too...' (Abdul, late 40s, has lived in Norway for nearly thirty years)

His statement is very rational in dividing up his life between Norway and Pakistan and pointing to how relative time spent in each country also changes over time. Simultaneously, he points to an objective characteristic, his mother tongue, which is not Norwegian. His conclusion is that he will always feel belonging to both Pakistan and Norway, personally and culturally. But at the same time he acknowledges the changes that occur over time, even with regard to the personal or cultural spheres. He establishes home at the local level, as 'here', and it is a conscious deci-

sion, which can be linked to the inherent ambivalence that Abdul experiences with regard to what he describes as feeling “divided”. His way of managing where ‘home’ is, seems to be a good example of the kinds of emotional management that many migrants rationally engage in (Ho, 2009).

Maryam’s statement is another example of what may be seen as emotional management with regard to issues of ‘home’, identity and belonging in considerations of return migration:

‘Even if I wear Pakistani clothes, with hijab and all of that, I would still say that I have a Norwegian... I live in a Norwegian society. This is my home. When I visit Pakistan, then I feel that I am there visiting. I am a foreigner. (...) And then I think... foreigners in Pakistan, foreigners in Norway, what is our home? But I have established, in my thoughts it is in Norway, Oslo, that is my home.’

(Maryam, late-40s, has lived in Norway for twenty-five years)

The visit to Pakistan is important for Maryam’s reflections about return migration, and where ‘home’ is located, like it is for Masooda. In Maryam’s case the ambivalence of realizing that you do not belong fully, neither here, nor there, is very clear. Simultaneously, there is also an active decision, for her ‘home’ is here, in Norway, in Oslo. Her ambivalence with regard to belonging, neither here, nor there, is interesting in that it raises an important conceptual point with regard to interactions of transnationalism and integration in migrant settlement societies. While it is acknowledged that integration and transnationalism are not a zero-sum game, the ways in which migrants can actually belong both here and there, practically in the sense of dual citizenship², but also at an emotional and identificational level in terms of belonging to two nations remains under-conceptualized. Despite the fact that nations are increasingly in social scientific literature seen as constructed, the common-knowledge perspective seems to counter this, as national sentiments continue to live on, constructed or not. An interesting dimension of this is that this seems to be as much the case in the contexts of emigration. While migrant sending countries are adopting policies to attract migrant investments and remittances, often entailing the option of dual citizenship, migrants’ sense of feeling foreign in their countries of origin is less in focus, and conceptualizations of belonging often remain essentialist.

5 Conclusion

Research on migrant transnationalism over the past two decades has demonstrated that 'home' is not necessarily either here, or there in the transnational social field, but rather that it might be both simultaneously, or neither. However, the realization that home may be located in one or more, or less places, also has conceptual implications. When the emerging literature on integration and migrant transnationalism also finds that it is possible to belong to more than one place or country simultaneously, what are the implications for conceptualizations of belonging?

Analysis of migrants' expressions about 'home' in the context of considerations about return migration, *along spatial, temporal, emotional and rational* dimensions, is an effort to try to unpack the multiplicity of belonging within the transnational social field, without falling into the trap of relativizing experiences and identities which have highly located manifestations. It is found that migrants' return considerations are clearly ambivalent, and they change over time. Furthermore, return considerations frequently have little to do with actual return plans – and all the more to do with negotiations of belonging in the transnational social field. The spatial focus allows for the salience of particular places – concrete, imagined or remembered to come to the fore. By focusing on the temporal, the changeability and processual nature of belonging is highlighted. Bringing emotions to the center of the analysis reveals the very human nature of belonging as something relational, where close family and significant others always have an important albeit varying role. Finally, through emphasizing the rational perspectives on belonging, migrants' agency is acknowledged, and the notion of belonging as something which is only fluid and abstract, is rejected.

Migrants' and descendants return considerations – and in particular their return intentions – should be understood as much as identification markers and expressions about belonging, as statements about a potential future return migration. As such, return intentions – and migrants' broad considerations about settlement vs. return – seem to speak to the center of ongoing discussions about the interactions of migrant transnationalism and integration.

With regard to conceptualizations of 'home' migrants statements reflect the tension which is present in the literature: between the fluid and the concrete, the emotional and the practical. The example of where elderly migrants' are buried is a point in case, where decisions about a final 'home' have to be made – it is either 'here' or 'there' – and despite dual ties, there

can be a single grave. In the case discussed, family considerations across three generations were decisive; indicating the great importance of families with regard to where and how 'home' is conceptualized. While 'home' may be located – in the imagination and heart, or even in practice – in multiple places, belonging is often associated with ambivalence, both among individuals, and within families.

Finally, this paper has brought together data from what could be perceived to be two quite distinctively different migrant groups, of Pakistani and Polish backgrounds, living in Norway. Through the analysis it has become apparent that there are more similarities than differences between the two groups, when expressions about 'home' are considered. One clear difference is the median length of stay between the two groups, which would at a group level no doubt produce important differences. But at the individual level, when length of stay is taken into account in the analysis of statements, it seems that the similarities in terms of the ways in which migrants' think about and conceptualize home, are much greater than the differences.

For many migrants, both with Pakistani and Polish backgrounds, a dual sense of belonging and identity continues, though 'home' in the practical sense more and more is aligned to where you live your everyday life and where your family is located. The differences between the two groups which were expected, among other as the Pakistanis are predominantly a Muslim group, which gets a lot of attention in Norway, were surprisingly small, in the particular context of questions about considerations about return migration.

For some migrants' there is a split between an abstract sense of home – and a more practical sense of home, necessitated by the simultaneity of transnational involvement and integration processes. Some manage this emotionally as a resource, while others experience it as a challenge, indicating the importance of acknowledging both the role of ambivalence and of agency with regard to migrants' identity-construction, sense of belonging and conceptualizations of 'home'. Ambivalence and agency, at the intersection of spatial, temporal, emotional and rational considerations, play a role in explaining why some migrants' see 'home' as here, others as there, and yet others as both or, as neither.

Notes

1. All names are pseudonyms. The article includes quotes from both Pakistani and Polish migrants, with differing migration histories, and includes quotes from both men and women, and as such reflects the data set as a whole.
2. Dual citizenship is not permitted (as a rule) in Norway, although exceptions and loopholes exist.

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