IMISCOE RESEARCH GROUP TRANS Mig - TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES IN MIGRATION,
Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM) and
Department of Global Political Studies (GPS), Malmö University

welcome you to the conference

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION: DISCIPLINARY IMPACTS

29-30 January 2015 at MIM and GPS, Malmö University, Citadellsvägen 7, Malmö

ORGANISED IN THE FRAMES OF GPS RESEARCH DAYS

in collaboration with
Migration, Urbanisation and Societal Change (MUSA) PhD programme, Malmö University and
Centre for Advanced Migration Studies (AMIS), University of Copenhagen

CONVENED BY
Maja Povrzanović Frykman, Professor of Ethnology, GPS
and
Ingrid Jerve Ramsøy, PhD Candidate, MIM/GPS
Malmö University

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by 29 DECEMBER 2014 at latest

NO REGISTRATION NEEDED FOR ONLY ATTENDING THE PLENARY PANEL
PROGRAMME

THURSDAY, 29 JANUARY 2015

PLENARY PANEL 1 - ROOM 125

9.30 – 10.00
Welcome by MAGNUS ERICSON, Head of Department, GPS, PIETER BEVELANDER, Director of MIM and MAJA POVRZANOVIĆ FRYKMAN, Coordinator of TRANSMIG

10.00 – 12.00
Keynote speech by NINA GLICK SCHILLER:
The Transnational Migration Paradigm in the Current Conjuncture: Reflections on Boundaries and Disciplines

Keynote speech by THOMAS FAIST:
From Transnationalism to the Global Social Question

Discussion between the keynote speakers, joined by the audience, moderated by Maja Povranovick Frykman

12.00 – 13.00 lunch break

13.00 – 13.30
KATHY BURRELL: Crossing National Borders and Disciplinary Boundaries: History, Geography and Transnational Migration

13.30 – 14.00
RUSSELL KING: Geography and the Spatialities, Temporalities and Materialities of Transnationalism

14.00 – 14.30
MARIE SANDBERG: The Ontological Politics of Borders

14.30 – 15.00
MARTA VILAR ROSALES: Atlantic Crossings: Materiality, Movement and Policies of Belonging

15.00 – 15.30 coffee break

15.30 – 16.00
ÖSTEN WAHLBECK: Sociology and Ethnic Economies: Some Reflections on the Use and Usefulness of a Transnational Perspective

16.00 – 16.30
SYNNOVE BENDIXSEN: Transnational Perspectives on the Living Conditions of Irregular Migrants: Possibilities and Limitations

16.30 – 17.00
GUNHILD ODDEN: Researching Transnational Migration. French and Norwegian Perspectives
FRIDAY, 30 JANUARY 2015

PANEL 1 – ROOM 305
(parallel to Panel 2)

Discussants: Thomas Faist and Maja Povranović Frykman

9.00 – 9.30
LISE PAULSEN GALAL & SARA LEI SPARRE: From Community and Minority to Transnational Studies: the Example of Middle Eastern Christians in Europe

9.30 – 10.00
INGA SCHWARZ: Agency in Transnational Migration: Who Shapes Categorizations and Practices of Mobility?

10.00 – 10.30
JOËLLE MORET: A Reappraisal of Settled Migration through a Mobility Lens: Towards New Perspectives on Transnational Social Fields

10.30 – 11.00 coffee break

Discussants: Russell King and Östen Wahlbeck

11.00 – 11.30
GIACOMO SOLANO & RAFFAELE VACCA: The Transnationalism of Immigrant Entrepreneurs: the Case of Moroccans in Milan

11.30 – 12.00
RUXANDRA OANA CIOBANU, ERALBA CELA & TINEKE FOKKEMA: Research on Transnational Care, an Attempt to Bridge the Qualitative-Quantitative Divide

12.00 – 12.30
DUGA MAVRINAC: Transnational Care Chains: the Case of Croatian Caregivers Working in Italy

PANEL 2 – ROOM 325
(parallel to Panel 1)

Discussants: Marta Vilar Rosales and Synnøve Bendixsen

9.00 – 9.30
THADDEUS NDUKWE: African Immigrants in Finland as Transnational and Translocal Actors

9.30 – 10.00
ELISA GOSSO: Migrations and Returns: Some Issues Arising from a Research on Waldensian Transnationalism

10.00 – 10.30
LUKASZ KLIMEK: Facebook as a Tool of Recruitment for Migration Research: Methods, Metrics, and Lesson Learned
10.30 – 11.00 coffee break

Discussants: Nina Glick Schiller and Kathy Burrell

11.00 – 11.30
PEDRO CANDEIAS: The Study of Portuguese Emigrants’ Transnational Practices: Potentialities and Limitations

11.30 – 12.00
JOSÉ MAPRIL: Time and Transnationalisms – Remigration, Cultural Citizenship and Conflicts among Luso-Bangladeshis

12.00 – 12.30
JENNY INGRIDSDOTTER: “We are a Working Kind”: an Ethnography of Transnational Postsocialist Migration to Argentina

12.30-13.30 lunch break

PANEL 3 – ROOM 305
(parallel to Panel 4)

Discussants: Nina Glick Schiller and Marie Sandberg

13.30 – 14.00
JUSTYNA BELL: Localism, Trans-Localism or Transnationalism? The Positioning of Self in the Narratives of Polish Migrants in Belfast, Northern Ireland

14.00 – 14.30
ANASTASIA BERMUDEZ: Exploring Migrant Political Participation through the Concept of ‘Transnational Political Capital’: the Case of Latin Americans in Spain

14.30 – 15.00
GRETE SWENSEN: Sites for Interfaith Encounters – Cemeteries as Urban Traces of Transnational Migration

15.00 – 15.30 coffee break

Discussants: Marie Sandberg and Kathy Burrell

15.30 – 16.00
BRIGITTE SUTER: European migrants in globalising China: An ethnographic study on skilled migrants’ incorporation, transnationality and national identity in Shanghai

16.00 – 16.30
KRISTÝNA PEYCHLOVÁ: Eurostars and the rest: why use the transnational perspective when studying intra-EU mobility of East Europeans

16.30 – 17.00
SAKURA YAMAMURA: The Transnational (Social) Space of High-skilled Transmigrants in Geographical Terms
PANEL 4 - ROOM 325  
(parallel to Panel 3)

Discussants: Thomas Faist and Marta Vilar Rosales

13.30 – 14.00
CLAUDIA PARASCHIVESCU: Researching Romanians in London and Paris; When Being a Co-Ethnic Does not Help

14.00 – 14.30
MARIA VIVAS ROMERO: Lessons from the Field: Negotiating Transnational Gender, Class and Race Positions as a Researcher Working on Andean Domestic Workers in Brussels

14.30 – 15.00
INGRID J. RAMSOY: Empowerment through (Im)mobility? Gendered Dimensions and Affective Practices of Reproductive Labor and Transnational Migration

15.00 – 15.30 coffee break

Discussants: Synnøve Bendixsen and Östen Wahlbeck

15.30 – 16.00
TEKALIGN AYALEW MENGISTE: Immigrant Transnationalism and Movement across Closed Borders: Ethio-Eritreans Transnational Journey to Sweden

16.00 – 16.30
MARIANELA BARRIOS AQUINO: Power and Identity in Transnational Contexts

ABSTRACTS

MARIANELA BARRIOS AQUINO
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POWER AND IDENTITY IN TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXTS
My research seeks to explore the relation between power and identity in transnational contexts. I have conducted interviews with immigrants from different backgrounds and origins in Lisbon, and will present the preliminary analysis of my data. By causing the change of social and cultural conditions, migration typically has a profound effect on the migrants’ identities. From a symbolic interactionism perspective, I am investigating the experience of disempowerment among the immigrants who lack the knowledge and codes of behaviour within the host society. Furthermore, I am investigating empowerment in the processes of identity re-negotiation and focus on the importance of transnational practices for those processes. I use tools from Sociology, Social Psychology and Migration Studies in order to delve further into the little explored dialogue of these disciplines regarding the relation between identity practices and power.
JUSTYNA BELL
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LOCALISM, TRANS-LOCALISM OR TRANSNATIONALISM? THE POSITIONING OF SELF IN THE NARRATIVES OF POLISH MIGRANTS IN BELFAST, NORTHERN IRELAND
Transnational theories provide useful analytical framework for examining migrants’ cross-border practice. At the same time, migrants’ daily interactions as well as their ‘personal communities’ are positioned within certain physical localities, shifting these practices between trans-local and transnational spheres. This article, based on the findings of a doctoral study conducted amongst Polish migrants in Belfast, intends to contribute to the analysis of the intertwined transnational/trans-local perspectives of migration. Migrants often tend to refer to the local concerns affecting their everyday lives rather than nationwide affairs in the sending and receiving contexts. Accordingly, Anne White (2011: 17) points out that, due to an increase in air routes and the abolition of work visas for Polish people within the European Union (EU), it became possible to travel from one regional centre to another without any pre-arrangements of visits to the embassies in the capital cities—‘the symbols of the nation-state’. Similarly, many Polish migrants in Belfast might never have visited the rest of the UK, and since they sometimes had to travel to Poland through Dublin, it appeared that the Republic of Ireland has become a more significant territorial marker in their perception than the UK as a whole. It is commonplace that migrants arriving in new settings enter localities marked by intricate relations and identities. This is even more evident in the context of Belfast, given the long history of ethno-sectarian conflict in the region. Using a transnational/trans-local framework, this article will discuss the specific position of Polish immigrants in this context.

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TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF IRREGULAR MIGRANTS: POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS
This paper aims to examine the usefulness, limitations, and challenges of the transnational migration paradigm when studying the everyday life experiences of irregular migrants from a social anthropological perspective. Nations Unbound (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994) brought migration researchers to rethink their approaches to ethnicity, nationalism, gender, class, racialization, religion, and social welfare. What followed was a growth of multi-disciplinary scholarship on what sometimes is called transnational studies. Yet, in the rapid growth of studies of irregular migration in social anthropology focus has in particular been on how the nation-state frames the living condition and well-being of this particular group of migrants, often in an extremely suppressing and encompassing way. The nation-states borders as Etienne Balibar has pointed to is no longer, if they ever where, only at the external territorial borders of regions or nation-states, but dispersed throughout the territory and materializing wherever mobility happens and where individual identification becomes relevant. There is an effort in the EU states to control migration, legal and ‘illegal’, by means of internal remote-control and rights exclusion. Guiraudon and Lahav (2000) argue that all European states are now shifting their responsibilities in the field of migration ‘up, out and down’. Van der Leun (2006) explains: “Shifting up refers to forms of international or supranational cooperation, such as within the EU framework. Shifting out refers to the role of private parties like airline carriers which face sanctions when they transport people without documents”. In the field of irregular migration in social anthropological studies, there is focus on the nation-state. What potentiality does the transnational gaze provide us with when studying irregular migrants and their being-in-the-world? Simultaneously, what are the potential blind-spots of transnationalism that calls for a nation-state oriented focus?
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EXPLORING MIGRANT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION THROUGH THE CONCEPT OF ‘TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL CAPITAL’: THE CASE OF LATIN AMERICANS IN SPAIN

Traditional studies of migrant political participation have tended to focus on electoral and party politics oriented towards the host society and portrayed migrants as largely apolitical. However, the transnational approach has uncovered many other ways in which migrants become engaged politically in relation to the home country, whether ‘formally’ (through elections, party politics) or ‘informally’ (through migrant organisations, homeland associations, etc.). In addition, political science analyses of migrant political participation have used the same tools applied to the general population to try and understand why migrants become involved or not, looking at both individual (gender, class, education) and contextual (political opportunities structure) factors. But adopting a local-transnational lens (including both political action directed towards the home and host countries, and the links between both), allows us to uncover for instance the importance of migrants’ ‘political capital’. These issues are explored based on research on the political involvement of Latin American migrants in Europe (Spain and the UK) conducted over the last ten years, as part of different projects. The main objectives of the paper are to highlight how the transnational perspective has enriched the study of migrant political participation, and to further develop the concept of political capital as a useful tool to study the local-transnational political engagement of migrants.

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CROSSING NATIONAL BORDERS AND DISCIPLINARY BOUNDARIES: HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

I am a transnational migration specialist who is in the unusual position of having moved from one discipline (History) to another (Geography). In this paper I will chart this move, considering the impacts of each discipline on my research and explaining why I made the move. I started my academic research within a History department, interviewing European migrants who had moved to Leicester, UK, during or after the Second World War. At this point there were three main areas to draw on - the rich tradition of transnationally oriented writing coming out of US ethnic history asserting that migrant transnationalism was not new at all (for example, Donna Gabaccia, Matthew Frye Jacobson, Ewa Morawska (historical sociology), the emerging interest in global and imperial histories (for example Clare Anderson), and outside of History completely, where I discovered the work of Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc. Oral history techniques enabled an inherently transnational approach to the research, talking about lives before, during and after migration. Nevertheless, as a historian I found it difficult to place my developing research on Polish socialist and post-socialist migration in the discipline within the UK context. I was neither a ‘proper’ Polish historian, nor a British historian - I fell between the two - and the migration movement I was interested in was not easy to link into some of those wider global and imperial histories. The scale of my research - what people sent back and forth, how they travelled between the two countries - seemed too small to really ‘matter’. In the end I moved into Geography, a discipline much more at ease with the idea of transnational space. From migrants’ transnational social relationships (Conradson and Latham), migrant workers and cosmopolitanism (Datta), British women in colonial India (Blunt), to migrants’ translocal connections (Datta & Brickell), Geography is very good at focusing conceptually on the connectivity and openness of places, on spatial practices and the importance of scale. More recently, theoretical
developments welcomed in Geography, such as assemblage and a greater focus on infrastructures, have been particularly influential in my work on the sending practices of migrants. Transnational migration has certainly impacted on different disciplines differently. It seems to have been especially challenging for a History discipline traditionally structured by national boundaries and interested mainly in the ‘bigger picture’. History departments seem to like research which is clearly devoted to a particular time or place. For geography, the ‘rise’ of transnationalism has perhaps seemed more of a common sense development, but one which allowed for more probing explorations into the spatial and material intricacies of migrants’ lives.

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THE STUDY OF PORTUGUESE EMIGRANTS’ TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES: POTENTIALITIES AND LIMITATIONS
This presentation will address the difficulties and potentials that a junior researcher faces when embarking on a project on Portuguese emigrants’ transnational practices. Regarding potentialities, they include: the wide scope of what can be considered indicators of migrant transnationalism means that there exist many research projects related to immigration/emigration have transnationalism indicators even if they do not focus on transnationalism. Consequently, a good strategy is to be associated with these projects and use their data. With regard to the limitations: the funding for a PhD student to do field trips abroad is reduced; the access to databases from big international projects is limited, and those available tend to become outdated quickly; the participation in research teams does not always imply that one can employ questionnaires according to our goals; the choice of countries in which Portuguese emigrants live as research sites is based more on financial feasibility than on theoretical or general academic interest. Some suggestions on how to overcome these limitations will be presented.

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RESEARCH ON TRANSNATIONAL CARE, AN ATTEMPT TO BRIDGE THE QUALITATIVE-QUANTITATIVE DIVIDE
Transnational care – intergenerational and intergender support exchanges between migrants and their left-behinds – has received increased attention from policymakers and academics. Research on this topic is dominated by qualitative studies, drawing heavily on in-depth interviews and case-studies, although quantitative studies are gaining prominence. The greatest merit of the qualitative approach is the exposure of a wide variety of transnational care arrangements due to different contexts and conditions in the host and home country. Its flipside, however, is the lack of theory-driven and theory-testing research. The few quantitative studies focus on testing hypotheses derived from general support theories, but are not able to take into account details about contexts and conditions as large-scale surveys do not capture this kind of information. This paper has two objectives. First, it aims to uncover the gap between qualitative and quantitative studies in the field of transnational care, concluding with suggestions for improving research design and data collection. Second, it explores how transnationalism and support theories can feed into each other. The paper discusses how some of the concepts from support theories, like legitimate excuse, solidarity, conflict and ambivalence in parent-child relationships, and crowding in or crowding out, can be applied to transnationalism research.
FROM TRANSNATIONALISM TO THE GLOBAL SOCIAL QUESTION

The emergence of “transnationalism”, as it is most often called, coincided with a decline in the focus on “transnational relations” in political science. One of the main functions of the transnational approach in migration studies has been to serve as a thorn in the flesh of established approaches, such as (new) assimilation theories. In a way, transnationalism is the contrarian heir of transnational relations in that it turned the concept on its head – quite a helpful dialectical process. The main function of the transnational approach has been to criticize existing paradigms and stimulate novel approaches. Moving forward, a transnational approach needs, first of all, to take their insights into power asymmetries more seriously and apply them to the ways in which research is organized. While transnationally oriented scholars have tirelessly deplored the fact that unequal relations of social (above all: economic and political) power shape migration processes and skew outcomes in favor of the global North, transnational scholars have been less than steadfast in actually including their colleagues from the global South into research and publication efforts as equal partners. Second, transnationally oriented scholars could expand their subject matter coverage to include a historical perspective not only with respect to migration as such but to social transformation more generally. Migration often connects very unequal parts of the world, notably certain destinations in the global South with selected ones in the global North. From a transnational perspective it is not only the transnationality of migrants and non-migrants which is at stake but the broader context in which inequalities underlie and (indirectly) cause migration and the ways in which inequalities are (re)produced during migration and settlement processes. To the extent that the inequalities involved become a matter of public dispute, we can speak of a global social question. This social question pertains to the perception and interpretation of social inequalities as, first, illegitimate and, second, politicized.

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FROM COMMUNITY AND MINORITY TO TRANSNATIONAL STUDIES: THE EXAMPLE OF MIDDLE EASTERN CHRISTIANS IN EUROPE

As trained within anthropology the transnational perspective has so far in our research contested old-fashioned community studies as well as refined a minority perspective otherwise prevalent in studies of migrant groups and identities. Taking point of departure in the meaning of transnational social fields (Levitt & Glick Schiller), we want in this paper to discuss the analytical implications of a transnational perspective for an ongoing larger cross-disciplinary research project on Christians of Egyptian, Iraqi and Assyrian background in Denmark, Sweden and the UK and their ethno-religious identity formation as immigrants (https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/dimecce/).

A key question of the paper is how the individual Middle Eastern Christian’s transnational experiences are transformed into group practices and identity? Based on empirical findings we will argue that transnational practices and identifications within ‘a community’ is variable and often contested by community members depending on e.g. locality, age, social status, position within the community, and composition of the group. As for transnational political and intimate engagement periodically selective transnationality (Glick Schiller and Levitt) seems more as the rule than the exception. Thus, the meaning of the transnational social field for community members not only differs in time and space, but is also influenced by community dynamics and minority positions in country of origin as well as in country of
residence. Hence, the ambition of the paper is to discuss gains as well as limitations of a transnational perspective in order to understand formation and transformation of Middle Eastern Christian immigrant communities.

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MIGRATIONS AND RETURNS: SOME ISSUES ARISING FROM A RESEARCH ON WALDENSIAN TRANSNATIONALISM

What makes Waldensian migration distinctive and highly interesting is that, in every age, it has entailed a displacement from a small, circumscribed and symbolically very significant territory, namely the so-called Waldensian Valleys in the mountains of Piedmont, Italy, which are the stronghold of this little Protestant group. In my PhD research I am investigating the networks the descendants of Waldensian emigrants preserve with their forebears’ homeland, focusing on the diacritics they adopt to mark out their communities as Waldensian heritages. Some examples from different contexts of Waldensian migration provide meaningful case studies: the twinning between a German old Waldensian colony, Rohrbach, and the town of Pragelato, in the Piedmontese Alps; the town of Valdese in North Carolina, United States, and the celebration of the Waldensian Festival; the Mormon “Cardon Families Organisation” (Utah, U.S.), a lineage with two common Waldensian ancestors from the Piedmontese Valleys. The questions emerging from these case studies touch on some critical points in anthropological theory. Their historical and geographical differences call for extensive work, which may limit the depth of analysis but allows for comparative exercises which would otherwise difficult to attempt. Historical research and the rejuvenated use of such concepts as “community” and “boundary” proved methodologically and heuristically useful, yielding interesting and unexpected results.

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"WE ARE A WORKING KIND": AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF TRANSNATIONAL POSTSOCIALIST MIGRATION TO ARGENTINA

My research is about people who migrated from Russia and Ukraine, to Argentina with a special agreement in vigor 1994-2001. Most of them left because of Chernobyl, or the economic and social crisis of the 1990’s. However, after arriving in Argentina, a country that faced a severe economic crisis in 2001, their lives did not turn out the way they had expected and many left for other destinations. I conduct ethnographic research among the ones who stayed in Argentina, where many suffered severe downward mobility and struggle with a sense of being out of place; transnational communities and possibilities tend to be positioned against their current more or less precarious national situation. The aim of my research is to understand what role global economic and political systems play in locally lived life. I am interested in how political and economic transnational changes have impacted on their lives, subjectivities and the way they construct meaning out of their current situation. I work with a framework of political discourse theory, de-coloniality and ethnographic methods to examine how research participants’ way into Argentina was conditioned by transnational practices of deregulated labor markets, bureaucratic and corrupt institutional procedures, problems with housing, colonial notions of space, and conflictive relations with the diaspora community of past Ukrainian migration. How do the post socialist migrants in Argentina navigate through everyday life and make sense out of their present, past and future according to transnational and local positions of class, gender and race?
GEOGRAPHY AND THE SPATIALITIES, TEMPORALITIES AND MATERIALITIES OF TRANSNATIONALISM

Like other invited speakers, my presentation will focus on the disciplinary engagement of my subject, geography, with transnational migration at two levels – my personal research trajectory, and a more ‘academic’ overview of what I might call the geography–transnationalism nexus.

I think it fair to say that, at least initially, geographers were underwhelmed by the transnational approach to migration. Partly this was because, for a long time, geographers had always focused on the broader themes of migration, enriching their studies not only by extensive use of statistics (the tradition of population geography) but also by in-depth field studies in multiple locations. A further strength of the geographer’s approach to studying transnationalism (and the same argument goes for geographical research on migration more generally, or on diasporas, or on mobilities) is the ease with which this discipline connects with others (especially sociology, anthropology, economics, but also many others) in fashioning a true interdisciplinary synthesis. Then, in a second moment, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, geographers ‘turned transnational’ and became a more active and critical voice in the ongoing debate. They sought to ground studies of transnational migrants more solidly in the materialities, spatialities and temporalities of specific international migration contexts, both in terms of the structuring forces of geopolitics and the global political economy, and as regards the practices and mundanities of everyday transnational life.

Woven into this more theoretical account will be some references to my own research. The first migration research I did – back in the mid–late 1970s – was on return migration from the Italian labour-migrant and catering-industry communities in Britain to their home villages in Southern Italy. To some extent this was transnationalism, but not under that name – a view that was reinforced by other work on return migration carried out since then, for instance in Malta, Ireland, Albania, Greece and Turkey.

My other research projects – on international retirement migration and on international student migration – have also, either explicitly or implicitly, employed a transnational lens. Three other features have characterised my research on different forms of migration at the geography–transnationalism interface. First has been a growing concern with the multi-scale nature of the ‘trans’, embracing both translocal and transregional processes (evident, for instance, in the Balkans, where the ‘national’ matrix has been very fluid). Second, I have sought to deploy Hägerstrandian time-geography to tease out the combined spatialities, temporalities and routings of migrants’ to-and-fro and onward movements. Third has been my conviction that geographers are ideally placed and trained to exemplify the interdisciplinary synthesis of good migration research, including that on the transnationalist perspective.

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FACEBOOK AS A TOOL OF RECRUITMENT FOR MIGRATION RESEARCH: METHODS, METRICS, AND LESSON LEARNED

Evidence from numerous studies indicates high social media usage amongst various migrant populations. New social media enhances migrants’ capacities to maintain connections with their families, friends and communities across national borders, which consequently allows them to build and maintain transnational social networks. While social media has become a popular platform for studying migration phenomena, further understanding of the functionalities and efficiency of social media is needed for migration research recruitment. Facebook was examined as a mechanism to recruit migrant family representatives for PhD research on Polish Families in the Republic of Ireland. There are
at least two Facebook features - Ad manager and Messenger, which can be utilized as research recruitment tools. The paper describes the advantages and limitations of using these tools in migration research. Particular focus is on Facebook Messenger, used in my own research as a main recruitment strategy, in which 565 survey respondents were recruited. This paper will document not only the primary benefits of using Facebook but it will also indicate obstacles researchers may encounter, when using it as a research recruitment tool. The paper will also address ways to overcome the latter and recommendations on how to utilize this tool for your own research. Facebook is a convenient and cost-effective recruitment source, which may be used to study some groups and types of migrants. Therefore, Facebook together with other social media platforms should be considered as one of the valuable research recruitment tool in the age of ‘virtual migrant’.

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TIME AND TRANSNATIONALISMS REMIGRATION, CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP AND CONFLICTS AMONG LUSO-BANGLADESHIS
The objective of this presentation is to explore the relation between transnationalisms and time. What I want to show is how transnational ways of being – practices and transnational ways of belonging – consciousness and imagination (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) – change in time and how these changes imply tensions and conflicts within these social spaces. This argument is based on a longitudinal ethnographic research on Luso-Bangladeshi migrants in contemporary Europe and their strategies of capital accumulation, their expectations for prosperity and success and their recent remigration projects. After more than 20 years in Portugal, where many invested in businesses, reunited their families, and invested in their children’s education while maintaining a close relation with their relatives in the desh (Bengali word for home, in this case Bangladesh), through economic and social remittances and care, several of these prominent probashis (Bengali word for migrants) decided to remigrate to other European countries (to a certain extent feeling that they were beginning again). Since 2011, more than 300 Luso-Bangladeshi families remigrated to the UK, Switzerland, or France, now as EU citizens and maintaining close links with Portugal. These new projects implied changes in the channelling of tangible and intangible resources to Bangladesh, which have led to increasing tensions and conflicts within joint families (jouthko poribar or porivar). Through this case study, I want to argue that longitudinal ethnographic investigations of transnational ways of being and belonging are essential for revealing how transnationalism changes in time and for understanding its implications on both ends of these social spaces.

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TRANSNATIONAL CARE CHAINS: THE CASE OF CROATIAN CAREGIVERS WORKING IN ITALY
Care working in Italy came to represent vital, money-earning opportunity for more than twenty thousand Croatian women, as well as it has become sometimes the only available form of employment after the collapse of the Yugoslav state. However, even today, despite the fact that in the course of the last two decades this social phenomenon had a massive impact across Croatia, by shaping the lives of thousands of families and women, studies of this phenomenon are almost inexistent. Therefore, the first aim of this paper is to present caregiving as a phenomenon on the intersection of issues around migration, citizenship, employment, women rights and elderly care. It also situates the female worker within a certain set of social, economic and cultural relationships. The second goal of the paper is to stress some particularities in the Croatian caregivers’ case as well as investigate a transnational care
chains between Italy and Croatia created by the employment of migrant caregivers. By investigating these two factors, we will be able to determine how families back home are coping with the lack of one of their members and, furthermore, to analyse what type of informal networks and strategies women caregivers activate in order to combine ideas of a “proper mother” or a “proper wife” even in their absence back home.

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IMMIGRANT TRANSNATIONALISM AND MOVEMENT ACROSS CLOSED BORDERS: ETHIO-ERITREANS TRANSNATIONAL JOURNEY TO SWEDEN

This paper aims to explore Ethiopian and Eritrean migrants’ long journeys across several state borders on their way to Sweden. Recently Sweden emerged as one of major destinations for various types of Ethio-Eritrean migrants. But due to the stricter immigration and border controls in the EU many migrants make irregular journeys. The literature on these kinds of contemporary Africans’ immigration to EU focuses on migrants’ victimhood or on criminal/business aspects of migration industries. The entanglement of social networks and migration brokering practices and migrants’ agency in organizing movement across frontiers are downplayed. My PhD fieldwork data from Sweden, Ethiopia and the Sudan indicates that beyond the roles of smugglers, former migrants in diaspora and en route play a key role in guiding and supporting transnational movements in many ways. As much as there is exploitation and conflict there is also solidarity/reciprocity among migrants and their significant others in this migratory journeys. The concept of transnational social spaces (networks, obligations/reciprocity and resource flows/restrictions across borders) is a relevant tool to explain this migration process. Starting with migrants’ stories/experiences as a point of departure, this study aims at identifying the ways knowledge and other resources are continuously obtained, used and shared among migrants and their significant others in order to manage exit/escape homelands, move across transition localities and entry to Sweden.

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A REAPPRAISAL OF SETTLED MIGRATION THROUGH A MOBILITY LENS: TOWARDS NEW PERSPECTIVES ON TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELDS

Based on a doctoral study with Somali migrants who have settled in Europe for at least ten years, the paper explores what I have comprehensively coined “post-migration mobility practices”. These are understood as cross-border movements undertaken by migrants after they have settled in a European country. They include in particular secondary migration, circulation, pendular movements and return visits to the place of origin. I thus analyse settled migration through the use of a conceptual framework borrowed from the “mobilities studies”. The qualitative study sheds new light on specific dimensions of transnational practices, connections and identifications that have sometimes been glossed over. The presentation will offer empirical and theoretical evidence for acknowledging that migrants may develop, beside long-term, stable connections with people and institutions in the country of origin, more diversified types of transnational social fields. First, the study shows that other countries than the place of residence and the place of origin may be included in migrants’ transnational social fields. Second, transnational networks are not necessarily exclusively characterised by relationships and ties with people from the same national or ethnic background. Third, transnational social fields may change, expand, or retract depending on the types of mobility practices developed by migrants at different life stages. While some transnational relationships may become less important over time, others may be reactivated and remobilised under specific circumstances and depending on particular
needs at a particular time. I thus argue that we run dangers of “groupism” (Brubaker 2004) and “methodological nationalism” (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2002) when we depart from the assumption that migrants’ activities can only be regarded as significantly transnational when they are homeland- and co-ethnic-oriented.

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AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN FINLAND AS TRANSNATIONAL AND TRANSLOCAL ACTORS
Recently in social science literature, there has been an increasing discussion on gendered forms of migration and its implications; but relatively little on the racism-induced forms of migration. In the increasing wave of global migration today, Forsander (2008), for example, argues that immigrants are usually followed by the general perception of the political and economic situation in their home country to their new area of settlement, and which often affects the way the host society sees and relates with them. This paper examines this argument from the point of view of educated African immigrants (otherwise known as Afropolitans - a term for educated Diaspora Africans) in Finland. It argues that confronted with increasing racism and xenophobia in Finnish society, especially in socioeconomic spaces, an increasing number of Afropolitans have become resilient transnational and translocal actors, who are often on the move, acquiring multicultural and cosmopolitan citizenships along the way, while at the same time maintaining close connections/networks with their native countries, including even Finland. While they do not completely belong to any particular localities, they are not entirely foreigners there either. Hence, they represent transnational identities who crisscross trans-territorial spaces and experience trans-cultural practices. This paper thus argues that these multifaceted forms of migration and their attendant citizenships tell of the new dynamics in today’s international migration, especially of the ‘positive’ impact of racism thereupon, and that this therefore could be a veritable empirical and theoretical contribution to migration research and studies.

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RESEARCHING TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION. FRENCH AND NORWEGIAN PERSPECTIVES
This paper addresses differences and similarities between the French and the Norwegian national contexts regarding research on transnational migration. It also deals with the role of the institutional context when it comes to research priorities, funding and publication possibilities. My professional trajectory has to a large extend been affected by research on transnational migration. However, the degree of influence has varied, depending on the national and institutional contexts I have found myself in. As I young master student and, later on, a PhD student at a French University (University of Poitiers) hosting a national research Centre specialized in migration studies (MIGRINTER), and with public funding, I was surrounded by “transnational research”. For my PhD-thesis, I was strongly encouraged to focus on transnational dynamics, which influenced my methodological and conceptual approaches to migration. When I returned to Norway, after 10 years in France, I started working in a small, private research institution (SIK). Only a few of my colleagues were focusing specifically on migration and some of them were unfamiliar with the term “transnationalism”. Moreover, henceforth working in the private sector I had few possibilities to define my research priorities myself. Additionally, a large part of the Norwegian research on migration has for a long time been focusing on integration within one national context. However, it seems that a shift is currently taken place. The Research Council of Norway uses, for example, at present the term “transnational” in their call for proposals for the program on Welfare, work and migration (call with deadline February 2015).
RESEARCHING ROMANIANS IN LONDON AND PARIS; WHEN BEING A CO-ETHNIC DOES NOT HELP
This article seeks to explore the challenges encountered during the fieldwork as a doctoral student of Romanian origin conducting research on Romanian immigrants in London and Paris. It argues that tension between the researcher and the subjects may result when researching co-ethnics. In the Romanian case, this is due to three main factors: lack of shared identity, contested political background and fear of reputational damage. Having the same nationality as the interviewees does not automatically grant the interviewer the status of an insider to the community. This may be due to differences in his/her professional or social background, which acts as an ‘other-ing’ element when it is not shared by the participants. Furthermore, Romania's communist legacy and authoritarian past triggers high levels of distrust and skepticism amongst nationals who experienced those years. This means that some participants associate research projects with political surveys and therefore question the purpose of the research. Lastly, many Romanian migrants doing low-skilled work are prone to a state of embarrassment due to the precarious nature of their work and low wages, with the West not being the utopia they had in mind prior to emigration. Summing up, the success of data collection is not a straightforward process for researchers sharing the same cultural background as the participants. Rather, the fieldwork represents an opportunity for the ongoing questioning of ways to construct fair and professional relations.

EUROSTARS AND THE REST: WHY USE THE TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE WHEN STUDYING INTRA-EU MOBILITY OF EAST EUROPEANS
The common scholarly view of migration from Central and Eastern European EU member states to the West of the EU is that which sees it primarily as labour migration from an economically and politically less developed region to a more advanced one. In contrast, the movement of West EU member state citizens has been approached in terms of unrestricted elite work, academic, retirement and lifestyle mobility. Breaking down Favell’s (2008) “Eurostars” concept and O’Reilly’s (2007) discussion of the “mobility-enclosure dialectic,” I show that the migration careers of mobile A8 migrants in fact bear evidence to both of these trends. They can be seen both as post-modern elite transmigrants, chasing attractive international job offers and study opportunities, and as the “stereotypical” unprivileged labour migrants who enter the receiving country labour markets via entry-level unskilled positions. I depart from this argument when discussing the usefulness of transnational approaches in studying different aspects of migrant integration.

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH (IM)MOBILITY? GENDERED DIMENSIONS AND AFFECTIVE PRACTICES OF REPRODUCTIVE LABOR AND TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION
The title above is the current preliminary title of my PhD project and reflects the complexity not only of the project itself, but also of the lived realities it seeks to describe and analyze. My research is about the
construction of (the gendered) self through (im)mobility, and my case regards actors involved in the Bolivian transnational ‘migration project’. Empirically the focus is especially on women, but analytically I target the interplay between femininity and masculinity, and particularly its role in (transnational) reproductive labor. By examining the affective power relations at play between migrants and non-migrants, e.g. in the relationships between parent and child (often separated transnationally), between husband and wife, and between employee and employer (especially Bolivian domestic worker and Spanish/Basque female employee) I attempt to shed light on how the different capitals exchanged through these relationships reflect historically produced power relations on a global scale. At the same time I seek to elucidate the changes occurring in the everyday lives of those involved in the Bolivian ‘migration project’ by focusing on the migrants’ acts of agency. In this paper I focus on the motivations expressed by my research participants when talking about their ‘migration project’, and ponder what these can reveal about gendered power relations and affective practices. The material I present is from my pilot fieldwork in Bilbao, Spain in 2013, and I consider how the affective (reproductive) work many Bolivian migrant women do for Spanish families interlace with transnational affective relationships with family members in Bolivia. The relationship between mother and child is given special consideration as its impact on motivations around the ‘migration project’ seems to be of particular importance.

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LESSONS FROM THE FIELD: NEGOTIATING TRANSNATIONAL GENDER, CLASS AND RACE POSITIONS AS A RESEARCHER WORKING ON ANDEAN DOMESTIC WORKERS IN BRUSSELS
This paper shows the links between migrant transnationalism and the methodological debates concerning the researcher’s positionality and self-reflexivity, which have not been systematically considered in transnational studies. Drawing from my experiences as a transnational female migrant conducting fieldwork among Andean domestic workers in the city of Brussels; I intend to contribute to the conceptualization of positionality (Anthias 2008) by reflecting on the effect of the researcher’s transnational gender, class and race positioning in qualitative migration research. Firstly, I address the conflicts that arose from my positioning as an “insider” that initially granted me a social proximity with my participants but later raised awareness on the existent social boundaries between us and temporarily blocked my access to the field. Secondly, I will highlight the methodological strategies through, which I worked around the existent boundaries of power relations and eventually gained access to the field, meaning: A- Constantly, engaging in self-reflexivity and questioning my insider/outside positioning (Ganga and Scott 2008), B- Consciously and unconsciously negotiating my class, gender and race positioning’s in order to re-draw the boundaries in the relationship between the participants and the researcher, C- Relying on my experiences as a transnational migrant in order to grasp the meaning of their practices, which guided me to avoid my spontaneous interpretations and reconsider those that my participants gave me (Bourdieu 2003). Finally, I will argue that both mobilizing one’s personal background and negotiating our intersecting transnational positionalities during fieldwork constitute valuable methodological resources that might lead us to do research that is produced through more symmetrical power relations.

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ATLANTIC CROSSINGS: MATERIALITY, MOVEMENT AND POLICIES OF BELONGING
Portuguese anthropological research on migration is a new, though diverse, field of study. Portugal experienced in its recent history both intense emigration and immigration flows, which have been
Transnationalism introduced significant changes in the anthropological debates and research priorities, by way of shifting the agenda from groups in specific locations to groups engaging in multi-local processes and practices. Transnationalism has productively contributed to my research trajectory, given that it allowed addressing Portuguese contemporary movements between different locations, without undermining the centrality of community, kinship, residence, religion and other forms of affiliation and belonging. I have been studying Portuguese migrations for the past twelve years. In my view, migration experiences are grounded on detailed often very discrete features, affect both migrants and non-migrants and need to be discussed in the light of global power relations and politics. In order to further contribute to the discussion of the impacts of transnational migration, this presentation aims to depict the preliminary results of an on-going research project on the present-day Atlantic crossing movements between Portugal and Brazil. Based on simultaneous ethnographic research carried out in four major cities - Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, and Oporto – the research draws on material culture and domestic consumption practices to analyse the main factors operating in the resolution to migrate in contexts of economic crisis, and the role materiality plays in these processes.

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THE ONTOLOGICAL POLITICS OF BORDERS
The paper discusses the transnational approach in relation to changing notions of borders within ethnology, anthropology and related disciplines. Although these disciplines display a long tradition of studying state borders from a bottom-up perspective (see Donnan and Wilson 1998), it can be argued that within the last decade studying borders as practices, performances and borderscapes has gained increased attention (Rumford 2006). Rather than examining borders as delineations of a territory, of an inside/outside or as ‘lines in the sand’ (Parker and Vaughan Williams 2009) focus is directed towards the multiplicity and performativity of border practices, including how everyday life reproduces and negotiates existing borders as well as instantiate new boundaries. Whereas the practice turn of border studies might be in agreement with the relational approach of transnational migration studies on many levels there is a need for a greater awareness of historical migration processes (Favell, 2009). Before the First World War, Europe underwent a period of free movement of labour in which waves of intra-European labour migration took place. Taking Polish labour migration to Denmark in past and present as a case in point the presentation will discuss how the triad of performativity, multiplicity and historicity of migration studies and border studies can develop an approach of ontological border politics.

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THE TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION PARADIGM IN THE CURRENT CONJUNCTURE: REFLECTIONS ON BOUNDARIES AND DISCIPLINES
In 1994 in Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Dilemmas and the Deterritorialized Nation-State, Linda Basch, Cristina Szanton Blanc and I, three anthropologists, argued for a transnational paradigm for the study of migration. Since that time a vast multi-disciplinary scholarship of “transnational migration studies” has developed. In this talk I argue that reexamining the transnational migration paradigm as we outlined it in 1994 is a useful exercise. This reexamination facilitates a critique of contemporary migration studies and an analysis of the current global conjuncture in which migration research and analysis is situated. In some ways, the reception of the transnational paradigm and what was understood and what was discarded has served as a cracked
mirror, reflecting and distorting both the text of *Nations Unbound* and the changing parameters within which migration and cultural, religious, and racialized difference are framed and debated. I will outline the ways in which migration studies has been rebounded through an intersection of disciplinary and national concerns. Significantly, relatively little attention has been paid to the global perspectives of the initial paradigm.

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AGENCY IN TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION: WHO SHAPES CATEGORIZATIONS AND PRACTICES OF MOBILITY?  
Starting to work on my postdoctoral project 'Il/legalizing Mobility – Legal Categorizations of Irregular Migrants in Europe' this October, a travel warning reached me, informing immigrants without passport in Europe about the ‘Mos Maiorum’ operation. The large-scale policing operation aimed to trace and arrest migrants without legal status throughout Europe. The European Border Regime serves as one of the most prominent migration regimes being discussed in terms of blocking migration. Discussions about migration regimes and bordering often not only disregard the agency of migrants, but further frame them as victims of a regime that hinders movement. As the ‘Mos Maiorum’ operation and its counter initiatives demonstrate, the European migration regime doesn’t block irregular migration to zero, but leaves spaces open for deviant mobility. The postdoctoral research project I am currently commencing traces the trajectories of irregular migrants inside of Europe. Focusing on how the categories of ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ mobility are constructed and coped with in networks of irregular migrants in Germany and France, and how social actors are choosing and combining different legal resources of mobility, the project takes the agency of migrants, and their active part in interpreting and shaping migration regimes, into consideration. Tracing transnational migration from an anthropological perspective, using mobile methods and multi-sited ethnography, highlights the benefits of an actor-centered approach. Methodological and theoretical insights stemming from empirical research shed light on the agency of migrants who are actively influencing legal categorizations and possible mobility practices within migration regimes.

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THE TRANSNATIONALISM OF IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS: THE CASE OF MOROCCANS IN MILAN  
In the last twenty years research on immigrant transnationalism has mostly focused on specific case studies and on estimated frequencies of particular transnational practices. Only rarely has research addressed the interplay among the different domains of transnational practices (economic, political, relational transnationalism) (e.g. Portes et al., 2002; Snel et al., 2006). Furthermore, most of these studies have been limited to quantitative data and methods. It is still unclear whether and the process through higher involvement in specific transnational domains leads to increased engagement in other transnational activities. This study investigates how involvement in a particular domain, namely transnational entrepreneurship (Drori et al., 2009), affects transnational practices in other domains. We examine the case of Moroccan entrepreneurs in Milan, Italy (N=40) and compare transnational entrepreneurs (TEs), whose business spans across borders, with local entrepreneurs (LEs), who are mostly active in the Italian domestic market. This study uses a mixed-method approach, combining
qualitative methods with quantitative measures, including social network analysis. Quantitative data are always validated by qualitative questions. We find that TEs’ business, help (for the business) and core (relatives and friends) networks are more geographically dispersed (spanning Italy, Morocco and other countries) in comparison to LEs. However, checking the change of the network (before/after the business – variation in time), a “transnational entrepreneurial effect” on social domain is not present. Conversely, it emerges that TEs had already several contacts abroad and for this reason they decided to start a business with connections abroad. Moreover, no differences are found regarding political and economic (apart from the business) transnational involvement. The main disparities are in the frequencies of non-business contacts and travels abroad (to Morocco and other countries).

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EUROPEAN MIGRANTS IN GLOBALISING CHINA: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY ON SKILLED MIGRANTS’ INCORPORATION, TRANSNATIONALITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN SHANGHAI
China attracts an increasing number of skilled European migrants into its cities, and will continue to do so in the coming decade. This presentation introduces my postdoc project (COFAS 2015-17) that sets to study the migration projects of skilled European migrants in Shanghai’s emerging globalising economy, a topic that still remains underexplored in migration-related research (that is dominated by and large by a focus on unskilled, non-Western migrants). While the main focus is on Swedish and Swiss nationals, narrated accounts of African and East Asian skilled migrants will also be included in order to provide a more heterogeneous and therefore more comprehensive account. Material gathered through ethnographic fieldwork among individual migrants, their families as well as key network nodes will be analysed from a gender and intersectional perspective and with theories of mobility, social networks, and transnational urbanism. The project is grounded in migration studies, but actively seeks to link to urban studies and political economy. The design of this multidisciplinary study will allow for important contributions to the body of knowledge of the incorporation of skilled migration into urban globalised economies in China.

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SITES FOR INTERFAITH ENCOUNTERS - CEMETERIES AS URBAN TRACES OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION
The effect of transnational migration has changed both the visual cityscape and the conceptual meaning of city life in Norway. Population increase has put more focus on the need in cities for easy accessible and attractive public spaces that will promote interaction independent of gender, age, ethnicity and religious belief. This paper focuses on aspects related to the role urban cemeteries play in a multicultural and interreligious societal context. The questions raised are: Do urban cemeteries facilitate interfaith interaction? Is common accessibility and interaction promoted or hindered by certain characteristics in their spatial design? This will be discussed in view of preliminary results from a running interdisciplinary research project; “Green Urban Spaces - the role of the cemetery in multicultural and interreligious urban contexts”.

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SOCIOLOGY AND ETHNIC ECONOMIES: SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE USE AND USEFULNESS OF A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The paper will discuss the impact of the transnational perspective on specific sociological research questions in the field of migration studies. The delimitation of the large discipline of Sociology is difficult, and might be irrelevant, since it is a general social science that overlaps with other disciplines. Nevertheless, there are some core classical sociological research interests (e.g. economy and society), and the sociological research questions are often framed within specific societies in the industrialised world, usually empirically studied in specific nation-states and local social contexts. The paper acknowledges that the transnational perspective has been widely discussed among sociologists in recent years, and there are significant theoretical advances and empirical studies made by sociologists. Still, the traditional sociological focus on specific countries, localities and a deeply rooted “methodological nationalism” has been a challenge to overcome in Sociology in general. I argue that the transnational perspective in migration research makes it possible to more clearly see the interplay between local and transnational social contexts and the perspective can in this respect be of great help to sociologists. To illustrate my argument the paper will briefly outline some results from my own studies of immigrants from Turkey in Finland. My studies indicate that immigrants are able to establish ethnic economies also in countries with relatively small and geographically dispersed immigrant populations. I have argued that the dynamics of transnational social capital can explain how Turkish immigrants in Finland become self-employed and why they have established themselves within a particular economic sector. The presented interview study indicates that immigrant entrepreneurs can mobilise transnational social capital for the establishment of businesses, but only under circumstances where transnational resources can be utilised as a local resource. To understand the dynamics of immigrant self-employment requires an analysis of a simultaneously transnational and local social context. Thus, a transnational perspective can enrich a traditional sociological study of a local ethnic economy and a local labour market.

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THE TRANSNATIONAL (SOCIAL) SPACE OF HIGH-SKILLED TRANSMIGRANTS IN GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS

The ‘transnational space’ – either in terms of ‘social space’ or ‘urban space’- has been much used and discussed in recent transnationalism and urban studies. Yet, this term still remains diffuse and the space intangible in geographical terms. This study applies a concrete spatial concept (that of Löw) and, thus, provides a not only sociologically, but also geographically tangible and locatable transnational space within a specific city and also as part of a global trend within the global urban network. The targets of this research were transnational financial professionals based in the Global City Tokyo. Tokyo, in spite of its established and uncontested status as one of the prime Global Cities, has not yet been thoroughly researched, especially not with regard to high-skilled transmigrants. These urban spaces do not only accommodate multi-/transnational corporations, but also professionals, who are business-wise transnational and also demonstrate specific social practices in private life, thus, use and create a new type of transnational space. Interviews on social interactions within the transnational urban space(s) as well as their perception and the characteristics of their action space were carried out with 45 highly skilled and mobile transmigrants of the financial industry based in Tokyo. Complementing methods were mental and geographical maps produced with the information on specific places which nail down an actual and concrete transnational urban space. Results show the overlapping of different transnational spaces within the same city, with socio-spatial patterns of the transnational professionals categorized roughly in three distinct patterns, i.e. gaijin ghetto expats, the pro-Tokyoites and the transitionist.