TRANSNATIONALISM: A NEW THEORETICAL FRAME AND A NEW ANALYTICAL TOOL IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION STUDIES

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyses the concept of transnationalism as a newly emerging approach in the field of international migration. This study aimed to try to understand the context of the emergence of this new approach in relation with changing global context. Additionally, this study also aimed to analyse functions of the concept of transnationalism as a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool to generate an appropriate research agenda in order to study contemporary migratory phenomena.

This study has concluded that the concept of transnationalism can generate an appropriate approach and research agenda to understand contemporary migratory phenomena. In spite of the fact that transnationalism is not a well-established approach, transnational practices and relations of migrant communities in specific and contemporary migratory phenomena in general can be studied in the frame of this new concept.

Key words: Transnationalism, Transnational Social Space, Trans-migrant, Transnational Community, International Migration, Migrant.

ÖZ

ULUS-ÖTESİCİLİK: ULUSLARARASI GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARINDA YENİ BİR TEORİK ÇERÇEVE VE YENİ BİR ANALİTİK ARAÇ

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Bu tez ulusötesicilik kavramını uluslararası göç çalışmalarında yeni ortaya çıkan bir yaklaşım olarak inceler. Bu çalışmanın amacı bu yeni yaklaşımın oluştuğu bağlamı değişen küresel bağlam çerçevesinde anlamaktır. Ek olarak, bu çalışma, yeni bir teorik çerçeve ve analitik araç olarak ulusötesicilik kavramının işlevlerini çağdaş göç görüngülerini anlamaya yönelik bir araştırma acendası oluşturma doğrultusundaki yeterliliğini sınamak üzere incelemeyi amaçlar.

Bu çalışmanın sonucu olarak, ulusötesicilik kavramının çağdaş göç görüngülerini anlamak doğrultusunda yeterli bir yaklaşım ve araştırma acendası oluşturduğu savına varılmıştır. Her ne kadar, ulusötesicilik müesses bir yaklaşım olmasa da, özel olarak göçmen toplulukların ulusötesi etkinlikleri ve ilişkileri, genel olarak çağdaş göç görüngüleri bu kavram çerçevesinden çalışılabilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ulusötesilicik, Ulusötesi Toplumsal Mekan, Aşkın-göçmen, Ulusötesi Topluluk, Uluslararası Göç, Göçmen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is an unintended and spontaneous outcome of my longest summer in 2004. In May 2004, I was awarded a three-month research fellowship by the Norwegian Research Council to study at the department of Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo under the supervision of Thomas Hylland Eriksen. Before moving to Oslo, I also had a chance to participate in the joint-seminar, organized between METU and Berlin Free University, as an assistant of the project in June. As having these opportunities, which are very rare to obtain for a Turkish graduate student, I decided to conduct a research on the transnationalisation of Alevi communities in Europe which was my initial subject for this study. According to my plan, I would first go to Berlin and complete my responsibilities in the seminar. Then, I would extend my stay in Germany to make interview leading actors of Alevi associations in Berlin and Cologne. Afterwards, I would directly move to Norway from Germany returning to Turkey.

After having been experienced this exceptional period of my life, when I sat in the front of my computer to write this thesis, I gradually and retrospectively realized the uniqueness of my experiences in that long summer. The period was exceptional because, for the first time in my personal history, I crossed several national borders and experienced various societies and communities. However, during my long journey, I did not have to strain existing conditions to get access to the "Fortress Europe," I did not have to deal with any immigration policies, I did not have to find a job and I did not have to utilise familial or associational ties to reduce our travel costs or make our stay permanent. I had scholarship to sustain my living and valid reasons to pass all those national borders, namely, I was a perfect "legal alien." But those who have to do deal with all these tasks mentioned above are the new actors of contemporary international migration. Those are the transmigrants who construct their existence on the very fragile ground between/among more than one language,

locale, legal frames and life. Therefore, first and foremost, this thesis is dedicated to them.

Moreover, I have to thankfully mention some names. First of all, my supervisors: Helge Rittersberger-Tılıç and Fahriye Üstüner and my Examining Committee Members: Aykan Erdemir, Pınar Akçalı and Nesim Şeker. No doubt, without their enlightening critiques and painstaking patience everything about my thesis would be harder. Secondly, I would like to thank Sencer Ayata for his encouragement and great support to my academic life. Additionally, special thanks to Thomas Hylland Eriksen who is the person opened the door to my longest summer by supporting my research project application. During this period of time, I am also indebted to Ömer Aktaş, Süha Çoşkuntuna, Umut Göğetap, Gülümser Keleş, Gökhan Topçu, Beatrice Wurm and Nuray Yıldırım. Without their guidance and help, I could not reduce certain burdens of my travel.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis will try to understand the context and the emergence of a new concept. The concept of transnationalism, it has recently become one of the most popular concepts in the field of international migration, more generally in social sciences. As a matter of fact, the concept and the approach of transnationalism is generally represented as a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool to grasp the very essence of contemporary border-crossing practices and relations of migrant communities. Therefore, it can be argued that this popularity mainly derives from a theoretical and analytical need is to generate a new perspective and agenda to study the contemporary migratory phenomena. In this sense, my main research question in this study is the following: What is the global context which gave rise to the need for a new conceptualisation? What are the novelties of this new conceptualisation to make newly emerging migratory phenomena? How does this new conceptualisation supply us with a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool to generate new understandings about these phenomena? In brief, by this thesis, I will try to answer the question whether or not the concept of transnationalism can supply us with a new perspective to understand contemporary migratory phenomena.

Parallel to my research question, this thesis will mainly be limited on the contemporary international migration phenomena on the base of new forms and types of border-crossing practices and relations of migrant communities. I will not focus on the specific conditions of "being migrant" in different contexts, which differently define the legal position of migrant in their host-societies. In other words, similarities in out-comes will be mentioned more than differences in "nuances". Secondly, as will be mentioned, this is not a thesis to understand the phenomenon of globalisation. I will try to understand the emergence of the concept of transnationalism as a response to the changing global context and its

function as a new conceptualisation with the assertion of generating a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool. Nevertheless, I shall accept the fact that the emergence of transnationalism is closely related with the phenomenon called "globalisation," I will not reduce my research question to discussions on that phenomenon.

In this study, in the first chapter, I will focus on the concept of diaspora as an earlier concept which fulfilled a similar function for a long time that the concept of transnationalism is currently thought to fulfil. In this sense, I will try to understand the emergence of the concept of transnationalism as an outcome of limitations of the concept of diaspora for understanding newly emerging migratory phenomena in a changing world. In this chapter, the concept of diaspora will first be defined in the frame of classical and modern views. Then, I will trace the evolution of the concept in different periods. For instance, in contrast to religious connotations of the concept blended with "being exiled" in its early usages, the concept of diaspora, then, started to be used more inclusively to categorise almost all types of migrant communities especially after the 1900's. In my opinion, the odyssey of the concept of diaspora as a theoretical frame and an analytical tool will enable us to discuss the contextuality of the concept of transnationalism.

In the second chapter, I will try to analyse this contextuality. The rise of the concept of transnationalism in social science lexicons as a result of findings from initial field research on international migration indicates this contextuality. In other words, in the mid-1980's, unexpected findings pushed researcher to find more adequate ways to conceptualise newly emerging phenomena they encounter in their field research. So, empirical studies have led to the development of the concept. In this sense, to understand the context of the concept of transnationalism and its validity as a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool; first of all, I will focus on the context, which generated a ground for the emergence of those unexpected phenomena. In this sense, changing migratory patterns resulted in the accumulation of significant numbers of migrant population, new advances in technological sphere and the shifting socio-political

climate which enable migrant communities to generate new border-crossing practices and relations as alternative survival strategies against new brutal and insecure conditions as a result of transformations in economical sphere will be main focuses of this chapter. As a conclusion of this chapter, I am expecting to reach an adequate analysis of the newly emerging social space on which transnational practices and relations have become possible.

In the third chapter, I will try to define the concept of transnationalism. To conclude my endeavour to define, first of all, novelties of the phenomena which have required a new understanding will be analysed in the light of the previous chapter. Border-crossing practices and relations, namely transnational phenomena, are commonly mentioned as phenomena which are "not new." As a matter of fact some scholars try to deepen the discussion on this issue by exemplifying certain historical cases like the Catholic Church.[1] In this sense, I will try to analyse novelties of contemporary transnational phenomena to answer the question of "what is new?" Understanding the novelties of the contemporary border-crossing practices and relations is important because these novelties constitute the main base of legitimacy of searching for a new theoretical frame and an analytical tool in social sciences. Then, finally, I will try to reach an adequate definition of the concept of transnationalism. In this part of the third chapter, I will mainly focus on theoretical and analytical functions of the concept of transnationalism which differentiate this new approach from previous ones by discussing certain derivative concepts which are obtained from the concept of transnationalism like *transnational social space*, *transmigrant*, *transnational household/family*, *transnational community* and *transnational social movements*.

In the fifth chapter, on the basis of the definition of the concept of transnationalism I am planning to reach in the previous chapter; I will try to operationalize the concept to analyse its consistency and validity as a new theoretical frame and analytical tool. To conclude my analysis in this chapter, I

[1] Ludger Pries, "*The Approach of Transnational Social Spaces: Responding to New Configuration of the Social and the Spatial*" in *New Transnational Social Space: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early 21st Century* ed. by Ludger Pries (Routledge, 2001): p. 6

will initially focus on differentiating transnationalism. In other words, for avoiding the danger of reductionalism, I will try to differentiate transnational practices and relations of various levels and volumes. For instance, *transnationalism from above* and *from below*, *active* and *passive transnationalism*, transnationalism of kinship groups and communities should be differentiated to understand what kind and type of transnationalism will be studied. Moreover, differentiating transnational phenomena is obviously preliminary to discuss the methodology of transnationalism which will be the second part of this chapter. In this part, I will try to understand methodological standpoints of a transnational approach by referring to related discussions. For instance, defining sites and actors of transnational practices and relations is very important to generate an appropriate research agenda. As Faist[2], Castles[3] and Itzingsohn[4] mention, different sites and actors such as political parties in the home- and host-lands and the position and activities of certain groups of people on the transnational social space should be clearly understood to design a research agenda to grasp the very essence of specific transnational practices and relations. Additionally, some initial research in the frame of transnational approach will be also introduced to conclude my analysis.

In the conclusion chapter, after briefly summarising the previous chapters in relation with each other, I will try to conclude my thesis by generating proper answers to my research questions that mentioned above. In other words, I will try to answer the question whether or not the concept of transnationalism as a new approach in the field of international migration can supply us with a new perspective to understand contemporary migratory phenomena.

[2] Thomas Faist, "Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol: 23, No: 2, March 2000, Taylor-Franchis, p. 192

[3] Stephen Castles, *Ethnicity and Globalization*, (Sage, 2000): p. 357

[4] José Itzigsohn, "Living in Transnational Lives" in *Diaspora*, Vol: 19, No: 2, Fall 2001, Routledge, p. 292

CHAPTER II

THE ODYSSEY OF THE CONCEPT OF DIASPORA

In this age, the era of Diaspora,[5] "it is increasingly rare to live and die on the land of our ancient forebears."[6] As a reflection of the fact onto theoretical studies, the concept of diaspora has become a commonly usage in social science literature since the beginning of 1980's. In this part, I would like to analyse the term of diaspora as an old but recently re-discovered concept to grasp the changing nature of contemporary immigrant communities. Over this period of time, as Butter says:

> *Rather than being viewed as an ethnicity, diaspora may be alternatively considered as a framework for the study of a specific process of community.*[7]

In this sense, as a newly shining concept on the field of international migration, the odyssey of the concept of diaspora may lead us to think about the contextuality of newly emerging immigrant phenomena and the birth of the concept of transnationality.

2.1. Defining Diaspora in the Classical View

As a Greek term, "diaspora" is etymologically constituted by two words: *speiro* "to sow" and *dia* "over". Early usage of the term refers to the general concept of migration on the frame of colonial population movements,[8] specifically, the

[5] K. Tölölyan, "Rethinking Diaspora: Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment" in *Diaspora*, Vol. 5, 1996, pp. 3-36

[6] Kim Butter, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse" in *Diaspora*, Vol: 19, No: 2, Fall 2001, Routledge, p. 214

[7] Ibid. , p. 194

[8] Ted Lewellen,, *Anthropology of Globalization: Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21st Century* (Wesport, CT, USA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002): p. 160

deportation of the Aegean population after the Peloponnesian War.[9] Afterwards, with the expatriation of Jews from Middle East following the demolition of Jerusalem in BC 586 and BC 70, the term gained a religious connotation that specifically refers to being exiled.[10] By the 17th century, persecuted religious groups such as French Huguenots and Armenians were also located under the concept of diaspora in accordance with this specific connotation.[11] In addition, the classical diaspora, as described by Smith, does belong to a pre-modern type of political order and has been understood by the function that was performed by diasporal communities.[12] As known, the concept of diaspora is mainly exemplified with the Jewish communities which were mobile, perpetual, stateless and outward-oriented minority groups in feudal Europe. As a result of their outsider position in host-societies, they could play certain roles in trade and finance that were forbidden to the "real people".[13] Beside the Jewish case, Genoese and Venetian merchants, who are accepted as leading initiators of the first wave of capital accumulation, have also been referred to as exemplifying the trade function of diasporal communities.[14] In brief, according to Ohliger and Münz:

> *Forced displacement of population by a catastrophic event, dispersion of this population throughout different territories, countries or even continents, a collective memory of the catastrophe having caused dispersion, and the willingness and intention to perpetuate diaspora existence over generations and not to assimilate became crucial elements within the definition of diaspora*.[15]

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[9] Rainer Ohliger, Rainer Münz, "Diaspora and Ethnic Migrants in Twentieth-Century Europe: A Comparative Perspective" in *Diasporas and Ethic Migrants* ed. by Rainer Münz and Rainer Ohliger (London: Frank Cass, 2003): p. 3

[10] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1997): pp. 3-7

[11] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 160

[12] Hans Van Amersfoort and Jeroen Doomerik, "Emergent Diaspora or Immigrants Communities?: Turkish Immigrants in the Netherlands" in *Communities across Borders: New Immigrants and Transnational Cultures* ed. by Paul T. Kennedy, (Routledge, 2002): p. 58

[13] quoted in Ibid. , p. 58

[14] Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landott, "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an emergent Research Field" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol: 22, No: 2, March 1999, p. 225

[15] Rainer Ohliger and Rainer Münz, op. cit. , p. 4

Similarly, the specific social positions of diaspora communities in host-societies:

> *are endogamous –residentially and socially segregated and confined to specific occupations and professions. They are oriented to their fellow ethnics in the wider world for trade and marriage relation. Their legal position remains always fragile. They are part of a particularistic world in which they have no 'rights'. Diaspora cultures reflect this particularistic world… particularistic culture that does not aim at incorporating others or being incorporated by others.* [16]

2.2. Defining Diaspora in the Modern View

In addition to the classical definition, the concept of diaspora has been also subjected to detailed analysis as a contemporary phenomenon. Safran is one of the well-known scholars who defines the general characteristics of modern diasporal communities. According to his definition, diasporal communities are a specific kind of social group which has experienced dispersion from home-land to two or more locales of host-lands, have collective memory about and ongoing relation with the home-land. Consequently, members of this community generally idealize the definite return to home-land. Gravity of the home-land in the formation of diasporal identity may cause a certain level of alienation from the host-land.[17] On the other hand, for Lewellen[18] and Schapper[19], alienation from the host-land is not a one-way but mutual process. In addition to this construction of introversive particular identity by diasporal communities, the host-society may also push these communities to take shelter in their particular identity as a cultural enclave in the new land.

In this sense, the image and/or idea of home-land supplies diasporal communities with a kind of "imagined community" formation which unites people from diverse locales who have never a shared common practice.[20] For this reason, Butter contributes to the definition of the concept by indicating the imaginary

[16] Hans Van Amersfoort and Jeroen Doomerik, op. cit. , p. 58

[17] William Safran, "Comparing Diasporas: A Review Essay" in *Diaspora* Vol. 8, Number 3, Winter 1999, pp. 255-291.

[18] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 160

[19] Dominique Schapper, "From the Nation State to the Transnational World: On the Meaning and Usefulness of Diaspora as a Concept" in *Diaspora*, Vol. 8, Number: 3, Winter 1999, Routledge, p. 236

[20] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 162

aspects of home-land. In his view, the idea of home-land, which is a vital source for constructing self-awareness by means of a particular ethno-national identity, does not necessarily have to be "actual". Rather, it can be completely imaginary. For instance, the "Return to Africa" idea which was generated as a political discourse by the American Black Diaspora in the 1960's indicates that a home-land may not even exist. Accordingly, "diasporan representation of the homeland is part of the project of constructing diasporan identity, rather than homeland actuality."[21] In addition, diaspora is not just a search for roots in the past; it is mainly related with anxieties of being excluded in the present and probably in the future. As Nuhoğlu-Soysal stresses, "diaspora is a past invented for the present, and perpetually laboured into shapes and meanings consistent with the present."[22] From a comparable stand point, Gans states that, diasporal identities are not related with the golden age of home-land. Instead of this glorified past, as "symbolic ethnicity", they are directly connected with present conditions of diasporal communities in the host-land.[23]

Generating extensive social networks with compatriot groups in host-lands and in the home-land may be presented as a final general aspect of diasporal communities. In this sense, it may be arguable that relations of diasporal communities are not only with the home-land but also with other dispersed compatriot communities in different host-lands. In other words, there may be active network relations between diasporal communities which have originated from the same home-land. On the other hand, these relations are not just necessarily based on economic or material exchange, but rather social, political and cultural exchanges as well.[24] Parallel to intensification of these relations, exchange practices among communities may facilitate the empowerment of the

[21] Kim Butter, op. cit. , p. 205

[22] Yasemin Nuhoğlu-Soysal, "Citizenship and Identity: Living in Diasporas in post-War Europe?" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume: 23, Number: 1, January 2000, p. 2

[23] Herbert J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: the Future of Ethnic Groups and cultures in America" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume: 2, Number:1, 1979, pp. 1-20

[24] Nicholas Van Hear, *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*, (London: UCL Press, 1998): p. 6

awareness of being connected.[25] For instance, Lewellen mentions that passionate commitment to restoration of home-land, regardless of the fact that whether or not it continues to exist, is another significant characteristic of diasporal communities.[26]

2.3. Re-discovering the Concept of Diaspora: Expansion of the Concept

Rediscovery of the concept of diaspora is related with the changing nature and patterns of international immigration, especially in the post-war era which will be discussed later. As Nuhoğlu-Soysal mentions, the concept of diaspora "is not a new concept but a newly used analytical concept in immigration literature."[27] In this sense, the transformation of social, economic and political structures in the age of globalisation, which makes this old concept analytically valid for contemporary immigrant communities, should be involved in understanding the dynamics of this re-discovery. In other words, the relation between globalisation of the world and diasporisation of dispersed groups can be evaluated as a proper departure point for this analysis.

According to Cohen, there is a kind of effective affinity between diasporisation and globalization.[28] In this respect, some novel conditions of our era may be added to the discussion. For instance, (1) the emergence of a new international division of labour as a result of flexibilisation of economic borders achieved by technological innovations such as cheaper and faster transportation and communication tools, (2) substitution of classical permanently settled types with sojourning types of immigrants in international migration in response to exclusive adoption of the citizenship of the host-society in the neo-liberal world, (3) the emergence of "Global Cities" as nodal points of the intensified transactions and interactions of all kinds of material or immaterial exchanges, (4) the creation of cosmopolitanism and the rise of local culture as promotion or

[25] Kim Butter, op. cit. , p. 192

[26] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 160

[27] Yasemin Nuhoğlu-Soysal, op. cit. , p. 2

[28] Robin Cohen, op. cit., p. 175

reaction to global cosmopolitanism, (5) the deterritorialisation of social identity and the degradation of the hegemonizing citizenship of nation-state, (6) the revitalisation of old social networks among communities which had been divided between new-lands and previously iron caged home-lands such as Ukraine after the collapse of Soviet Union, and (7) changes in volume and destination of migration as a result of the unstabilisation of international balance of power may be evaluated as conspicuous inputs of our era. As Van Hear mentions, "diaspora may be formed as a result of a combination of cumulative processes and crises".[29]

Following on, the emergence of reactionary or adaptive ethnic, religious and nationalist identities among geographically dispersed people is one of the most obvious reflections of these processes. As a response to crises of globalization, and with the help of universalising human rights discourse, diasporal communities have re-appeared with new political insights for claim-making on the level of global politics.[30] As Wahlbeck underlines, globalization "is a process which, through the ease of international mobility and by facilitating transnational social relations, increases the opportunities for diaspora formation."[31] Therefore, it makes "overlapping, permeable and multiple forms of identification,"[32] possibly, giving rise to the emergence of modern diasporas. As Ohliger and Münz briefly conclude:

> *In any case, the recent, almost unstoppable, voluntary waves of migration, which are facilitated by modern transportation, communications and increasing tolerance towards pluralism and multiculturalism, have all contributed to the proliferation of ethno-national diasporas.*[33]

[29] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 47

[30] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 165

[31] Östen Wahlbeck, "Transnationalism and Diasporas: The Kurdish Example", paper presented to the International Sociological Association XIV World Congress of Sociology, July 26 – August, 1998, Canada-Montreal, p.10
URL: http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/wahlbeck.pdf

[32] Robin Cohen, op. cit. , pp. 157-161

[33] Rainer Ohliger and Rainer Münz, op. cit. , p. 35

All in all, parallel to international labour migration after the Second World War, accumulation of a large number of "foreign" populations, which are from not only physically but also culturally distant geographies, the transformation of global economic, social and political structures with their impacts onto daily life generates a particular context on which contemporary dispersed communities do not necessarily have to be passive subjects of conditions. Rather, they can be active agents with innovative survival strategies. When the question of categorization appears as a response to the need for understanding this new type of communities, the old concept of diaspora comes up once more. For instance, in contrast to classical immigrant communities whose orientation shifts from home- to host-land in time and in accordance with economic integration, contemporary immigrants can remain attached and oriented to home-land not only culturally but also politically and economically, irrespective of the length of stay.[34] In addition to heightening orientation of home-land in their daily life, the gravity of relations among members of dispersed communities is also shifting from home- to host-land in the context of contemporary world. In contrast to the unique and crucial position of home-land on the formation of diasporal identities in the past, diasporal identities have recently started to be shaped in the host-land and have also gradually gained certain transforming roles for the home-land.[35] Parallel to these shifts, another novelty of modern diaspora is its changing form from stable to unstable, from fixed to fluid. As Lewellen mentions,

> *Diaspora should not be considered an absolute, an objective thing that exists in some permanent or semi-permanent form. Even long-term diasporas are almost constantly in a state of flux.*[36]

These novel characteristics of dispersed communities, which have recently appeared especially after the 1970's, have frequently been disputed by the classical perspectives on international migration studies. But, it may still be meaningful from the frame of the concept of diaspora.

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[34] Hans Van Amersfoort and Jeroen Doomerik, op. cit. , p. 55

[35] John L. Esposito, "The Muslim Diaspora and Islamic World" in Islam, Europe's Second Religion: The New Social, Cultural and Political Landscape ed. by Shireen (London: T. Hunter, Praeger, 2002): p. 245

[36] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 161

In this sense, the concept of diaspora, therefore, has been revitalized due to certain analytical functions of the concept. As mentioned before, in contrast to the concept of ethnicity, diaspora supplies a more adequate framework for analyzing "a specific process of community".[37] In other words, the concept of diaspora supplies an analytical framework for studying the process of generating multiple identifications as a result of engaging in a constant relationship between two or more locales. This is the most significant novelty of contemporary dispersed communities. To explain, the re-popularization of the concept of diaspora in the 1970s, Wahlbeck also highlights its analytical function in international migration studies to understand newly emerging practices and social networks of dispersed communities:

> *Diaspora has been regarded as useful in describing the geographical displacement and/or deterritorialisation of identities and cultures in the contemporary world. Concept of diaspora can also help to bridge the artificial 'before' and 'after' distinction commonly applied to migration…*[and] *…can relate to both the country of origin and the country of reception.*[38]

As a result of this tendency, almost all dispersed communities, which have physically or ideally ongoing intensive relations between places where they departed from and where they arrived, started to be labelled as a diaspora such as Armenians, Chinese and Kurds in the 1900's, the 1960's and the 1990's respectively. As Schapper states, by this time "the condition of geographically dispersed people who had settled in different political organizations but who maintained, in spite of this dispersion, some form of unity and solidarity" commenced to be understood as the condition of diasporisation.[39]

Parallel to Schapper's statement, according to Ohliger and Münz, "multi-polar migration in combination with relations and networks of different kinds between these various poles" has become an essentiality for the definition of diaspora.[40]

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[37] Kim Butter, op. cit. , p. 194

[38] Östen Wahlbeck, op. Cit. , pp. 10, 13

[39] Dominique Schapper, op. cit. , p. 225

[40] Rainer Ohliger and Rainer Münz, op. cit. , p. 4

Therefore, as Marienstras concludes, the content of diaspora has shifted from well-defined group to "any group whose awareness of their identity is defined by a 'territorially discontinuous relationship with a group which settled 'elsewhere.'" In other words, as Tölölyan contributes, today, the concept of diaspora "includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community and ethnic community."[41]

As a conclusion of his inquiry on the concept of *Présence Américaine*[42], Al-Sayyad argues that "*Terra Incognita* at the end of the twentieth century is becoming the entire globe itself."[43] This unidentifiable presence of new world has tried to be understood by its culturally complicated and socially fragmented nature, namely, by the concept of diaspora which has befallen "an occasion for the celebration of multiplicity and mobility."[44] In this new world, as Esposito celebrates as well, "the diaspora or periphery has become 'a' centre and in time may become 'the' centre."[45]

On the other hand, the expansion of the concept caused inevitable "reassessment" of its meaning as well.[46] Apparent new usages of the diaspora with eye-catching prefixes in social science literature clearly indicate this reassessment. The concept set of "emergent", "incipient" and/or "potential"

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[41] quoted in Eva Østergaard-Nielsen, *Transnational Politics: Turks and Kurds in Germany* (London: Routledge, 2003): p. 13

[42] *Présence Américaine* is Stuart Hall's concept. He put it in contrast to *Présence Européenne* and *Présence Africaine* as a third position. Former is the site of exclusion, imposition and expropriation, whereas, latter is the site of repressed. In this sense, *Présence Américaine* is the space of negotiating identities where creolisation, assimilation and syncretism are dominant instead of dual-position of being repressed and/or repressor. In other words, America is "New world -Terra Incognita- is itself the beginning of diaspora, of diversity, of hybridity and difference." Discussed in Nezar Al-Sayyad, "*Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism: Pandora's Box of the 'Third Place'*" in *Hybrid Urbanism* ed. by Nezar Al-Sayyad (Praeger, 2001): p. 16

[43] Ibid. , p. 16

[44] quoted in Karen Fog Olwig, "Global Places and Place-Identities-Lesson from Caribbean Research" in *Globalisation: Studies in Anthropology* Ed. by Thomas Hylland Eriksen (London: Pluto Press, 2003): p. 70

[45] John L Esposito, op. cit. , p. 38

[46] Kim Butter, op. cit. , p. 189

diaspora are some examples of this trend. As a result of the relation between globalisation of the earth on which they move and diasporisation of their existence, almost all dispersed communities have had certain opportunities, which are different in manner but similar in function, to establish and to intensify social relations with home-land and compatriot communities in other host-lands. Due to their border-crossing practices and social relations, in the frame of social sciences, they became quasi-diasporal communities. As Weimar claims in the mid-1980s,

> *Despite the intention of governments and the expectations of nations, a large proportion of foreign workers remains indefinitely in the host country, living in a state of legal and political ambiguity, economic insecurity and as social outsiders, if not outcasts. The children who have come with them, or have been born with the host country, are in an even more ambiguous position; though more at home in their host country than in the land of their parents, they too are expected to return "home".*[47]

On the contrary, by having not returned yet and by still living in the "in-between" position, that is, between their parents' home-land and their host-land, not possessing any traumatic memory about deportation and not having engaged in any purposeful economic or political action for the sake of home-land, they are not diaspora for today but have a potential to be diaspora of tomorrow. As the point which Sheffer discusses the case of Turkish immigrants can not be defined as an exile community because they do not have multifaceted pressures. On the other hand, because of the social, political and legal characteristics of home- and host-land, they "are on the verge of becoming permanent established and organized diasporic entities."[48]

2.4. Dis-covering the concept of Diaspora: Shrinkage of the Concept

Along with its analytical functions, the expansion of the concept of diaspora has also resulted in certain theoretical problems. As Van Amersfoort and Doomerik point out, applying classical conceptualisations on contemporary dispersed communities may not result in a proper analytical understanding of their

[47] quoted in Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 4

[48] Gabriel Sheffer, "From Diaspora to Migrants, from Migrants to Diasporas" in *Diasporas and Ethic Migrants* ed. By Rainer Münz and Rainer Ohliger, (London: Frank Cass, 2003): p. 25

practices and social relations.[49] In this sense, as Colin Palmer criticises, if the concept of diaspora is used as extensively as in the contemporary literature, "all of humanity may be considered as a part of the African diaspora."[50] Consequently, diffusion may also refer to shrinkage, namely, the concept may become an empty vessel. As the history of social thought demonstrates, expansion of a concept to cover various phenomena paradoxically indicates shrinkage of its explanatory strength. For instance, the concept of culture became a "floating signifier"[51] and became "virtue centre" (*foyer virtuel*)[52] in attempts to find a proper answer to the question of identity. The concept has become a central reference point to understand everything in/of society. Therefore, as Brubaker and Cooper mention, "if identity is everywhere, it is nowhere"[53]; that is to say, the concept is not capable of explaining the phenomena it refers to, any more. In this sense, it may be argued that the concept of diaspora has acquired a similar dis-function as the concept of culture has experienced.

2.5. Un-covering the Concept of Diaspora: Opening the Concept

By being aware of this shrinkage, some scholars attempt to open the concept of diaspora by sub-categorising its content. For instance, Vertovec points at:

> *'Diaspora' is the term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational' – that is, which has originated in a land other than where it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states, or indeed, span the globe.*[54]

Accompanied by this statement, he generates three sub-categories of the concept to catch the changing nature of dispersed communities that cannot be understood

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[49] Hans Van Amersfoort and Jeroen Doomerik, op. cit. , p. 58

[50] Kim Butter, op. cit. , p. 189

[51] Barnor Hesse, "It's Your World: Discrepant M/multiculturalism" in *New Ethnicities, Old Racisms* ed. by Phil Cohen (Zed Books, 1999): p. 210

[52] R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, "Beyond Identity" in *Theory and Society*, Volume: 29, 2000, p. 25

[53] Ibid. , p. 47

[54] Steven Vertovec, "Three Meaning of 'Diaspora', Exemplified among South Asia Religion" (Working paper, 1999): p. 1
URL: http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/diaspora.pdf

and generalized under the general concept of diaspora which is blurring particularities and differences among various different practices and social networks by its current usage. First of all, *diaspora as social form* refers to classical diasporal communities like Jews and/or Armenians. By having experienced victimization and alienation corresponding to traumatic displacement, this form of communities establish institutional social networks on the base of ethnic myths of common origin between/among other compatriot communities in diverse host-lands. Through these well-established social networks, they can activate their potentials for having economic and political influences. Secondly, *diaspora as a type of consciousness* is described with its dual and/or paradoxical nature. Parallel to awareness of being multi-local, members of diasporal communities generate paradoxical states of mind about their condition. As Clifford states, they are "dwelling here, assuming a solidarity and connection there". This dual position has been named as "duality of consciousnesses" by Gilroy and "double consciousnesses" by Du Bois.[55] Thirdly, *diaspora as mode of culture* indicates a plentiful process of creolisation in relation with globalisation as the flow of cultural objects, images and meanings. By involving in "the production and reproduction of transnational social and cultural phenomena", these communities produce non-essential and syncretic identities.[56]

Cohen also contributes to Vertovec's attempt by introducing five new types of diaspora. First, *victim diaspora* is exemplified by Jews, the Irish, and Armenians which had been dispersed as a result of traumatic events that became a constitutive aspect of collective memory and identity such as forced exile or natural disaster. Second, *labour diaspora* emerged as a result of large-scale outer-migration from developing to developed parts of the world such as Turkish immigration to Western Europe after the Second World War. Third, in the course of time, activities of merchant communities that were trading between distant geographies gave birth to *trade diaspora*, as in the cases of Chinese or Indian diaspora. In addition to the previous, *imperial diaspora* is related with

[55] quoted in Ibid. , p. 8

[56] Ibid. , p. 19

colonialism. Groups of people who came to foreign lands following colonial rule became diasporal communities after the end of colonialism like the emergence of Dutch community in Africa. Fifth, *homeland diaspora* is mainly defined as diasporal communities which constitute their sense of belonging by desperately referring to actual or imaginary home-lands such as the Zionists and the Sikhs.[57] Moreover, Lewellen also adds *cultural diaspora* type which is based on Clifford's idea of "travelling culture". In this type, diasporal communities modify the idea of home-land as a result of their adaptation to new contexts such as Afro-Caribbean immigrants.[58]

To sum up, Vertovec and Cohen attempt to open the concept of diaspora by sub-categorizing and exemplifying its content in accordance with contemporary conditions, which can briefly be defined as, "in the age of globalisation, unexpected people turn up in the most unexpected places." [59] In his analysis, Vertovec takes particular diasporal conditions that appeared as a result of specific migration experiences as the unit of analysis, whereas the cause of migration is the main determinant factor in Cohen's analysis. In other words, they stretch the concept from ancient to modern times in order to cover newly emerging practices and social networks of contemporary dispersed communities.

2.6. Trans-covering the Concept of Diaspora: To the New Analytical Tool

All these analyses are important not just because of their success in opening the concept of diaspora, but also in indicating an emerging need for new conceptualisation in social science to understand the novelty of contemporary dispersed communities which insist on constituting a kind of community regardless of geographical limitation and national borders. This is the horizon on which the concepts of transnationalism rise. In spite of the fact that this newly appearing concept has certain differences from the concept of diaspora, in early usage, they were ambiguously used interchangeably. For instance, the concept of

[57] Robin Cohen, op. cit. , p. 178

[58] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 164

[59] Robin Cohen, op. cit. , p. 161

"diasporic transnationalism" is a proper example of this tendency.[60] In contrast, in accordance with the need for better analytical tools, scholars have rejected these two concepts in favour of a new one. Because, as Van Hear claims, "transnational community is a more inclusive notion, which embraces diaspora, but also populations that are contiguous rather than scattered and may straddle just one border."[61] Tölölyan agrees with this statement by stating "Diasporas are the exemplary communities of the transnational moment."[62] The latter conceptualization is much more inclusive than the former because "not all diaspora communities are transnational"[63] and "diasporas are one kind of transnational community"[64]. In sum, as Faist concludes,

> *Instead of stretching the term 'diaspora' beyond its limits, it is more meaningful to speak of a segmented and transnationalized cultural space, characterized by syncretistic identities and populated by sundry ethnic, national, religious and sub-cultural groups: transnational means that cultural elements from both the countries of origin and destination have found entry in the cultural repertoire of the descendants of migrants, aided by constant border-crossing communication.*[65]

In other words, parallel to the decay of the concept of diaspora due to the changing condition and context of contemporary migration phenomenon, the concept of transnationalism has superseded the former one in social science literature with the assertion of supplying more adequate theoretical frame and analytical too to understand newly emerging migration phenomenon and its actors. In the following chapter, by accepting the Faist's invitation, I will focus on the necessity and the context for the birth of the concept of transnationalism as a new analytical tool.

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[60] Karen Fog Olwig, op. cit. , pp. 69-70

[61] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 6

[62] K. Tölölyan, "The Nation State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface" in *Diaspora*, Vol. 1, Number 1, 1991, p. 4

[63] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 163

[64] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 242

[65] Thomas Faist, *The volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* (London: Oxford Univ. Press., 2000): p. 235

CHAPTER III

THE CONTEXT OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPT OF TRANSNATIONALISM

As we have seen, the concept of diaspora, as an analytic tool, has become inadequate for understanding newly emerging phenomena in international migration process, especially after 1973 following the Recruitment Halt by which labour migration to Western Europe officially stopped parallel to the Oil Crisis which will be discussed later. In this chapter, I will try to analyse the condition which require a new analytical tool by referring to initial research on this field, and then, the contexts which have generated a fertile ground on which transnational phenomena have risen. Those contexts will be discussed by analyzing transformations in the international migration pattern, the field of technology, the economical system and the socio-political structure. During my analysis, I will refer to some cases from different contexts which may be seen as a controversial in terms of migration policies such as German and British cases. However, the importance of these cases should also be understood by their outcomes, which generate very similar transnational phenomena. In this sense, I limit my analysis to understand these similarities rather than certain nuances between different cases to grasp the context of the transnationalism.

3.1. The Rise of the Concept of Transnationalism

The lack of an appropriate analytical tool came to light in some initial researches which were conducted in different parts of the world during the 1980's. For instance, in spite of their witnessing the birth of Haitian transnationalism during the period of field research in Haiti at the beginning of 1980's, Schiller and Basch could not conceptualise the phenomenon that they noticed in an appropriate way at first glance. Because:

> *Neither the categories of social science that they had brought to the study, nor the categories that had meaning for the Haitian migrants, were adequate to articulate*

> *the nature of daily life for a large section of the Haitian immigrant population throughout the United States.* [66]

As leading scholars and researchers of the field of international migration, Basch *et al.* define the condition of their discovery as such:

> *The research team soon discovered that the lives of their "subjects" did not fit into the expected research categories of "immigrants" and those "remaining behind". Their experiences and lives were not sharply segmented between host and home societies... It becomes difficult to identity where they belonged.*[67]

In fact, this was not a discovery which made a person aware of something that no one did know about before, rather, it was more like a kind of mutation of existing social relation between immigrants and non-immigrants in the contemporary socio-political and economic context, as we will discuss later. Furthermore, the question of how should this new phenomenon can be conceptualised was answered by importing an existing concept from other disciplines which had already dealt with similar difficulties. Emergence of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) in the specific moment of history pushed scholars of related fields to find a new concept to understand these newly emerging economic organizations that go further than just being "multi" during the 1960's. In this sense, the idea and the concept of transnationalism, as the concept we use today in social sciences, firstly appeared in the fields of political science, international relations and economics where "it referred to official international bodies, non-governmental organizations, and multinational corporations."[68] Since the 1960's, the concept has been used to understand "all types of interactions and institutions above nationally bounded phenomena and international relations." [69] For Stack, "the declining importance of the nation state" as a response to "the concomitant rise of such transnational actors" is the most obvious outcome of this "fundamental realignments of the international system." In this sense, he points out the functions of this new concept:

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[66] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Post Colonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-State* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1995): p. 6

[67] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, op. cit. , p. 5

[68] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 150

[69] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 17

> *The idea of transnationalism freed us from the dogmatic assertion that states are the exclusive actors in world politics. Moreover, the idea of transnational relations conveys a more holistic approach to evaluate contemporary international political and economic relations.*[70]

As we will touch on later again, for Stack, these conceptual functions might be convenient solutions for the problem that social scientists encountered, during their researches on the international migration. In the classical international migration research agenda, "each group was studied as a bounded unit, living in one place, bearing a unique and readily identifiable culture" and "as a discrete and bounded entity with its own separate economy, culture and historical trajectory" [71] In the frame of classical approach, immigrants had been understood as passive actors of the immigration process, who "basically broke their ties with their countries of origin and the process of acculturation and assimilation of migrants to their new society."[72] This static approach towards international migration has become an obstacle in front of endeavours to understand newly emerging phenomena. In other words, as Lewellen indicates:

> *Changing social reality forces us to develop new theoretical concepts and empirical research focusing on frameworks of social practices, symbols and artefacts. Most of the traditional paradigm and ways of doing research are unable to detect transnational realities as pluri-local social space.*[73]

In accordance with the emergent need for a new analytical tool for researching these newly emerging phenomena, the concept of transnationalism has first transcended disciplinary boundaries and has been "assimilated" into anthropology, sociology, and human geography especially after the 1990's.[74] On

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[70] John F. Stack, "Ethnicity and Transnational relations: An Introduction" in *Ethnic Identities in a Transnational World* ed. by John F Stack (Greenwood, 1981): pp. 3-6

[71] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "Transnationalism: A New Analytical framework for Understanding Migration" in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* ed.by Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc (New York: New york Academia of Sciences, 1992): pp. 6-7

[72] José Itzigsohn, op. cit. , p. 281

[73] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 6

[74] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, "*The Locations of Transnationalism*" in *Transnationalism from Below* ed. by Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith (Transaction Publisher, 1998): p. 3

the other hand, in contrast to its original meaning in former disciplines, the concept of transnationalism is used in quite different manners in social sciences. In such a way that it does not primarily focus on political and international relations between macro institutions in the frame of large-scale perspectives, but it takes daily practices of certain groups of people, who especially are disadvantageous or marginalized, such as immigrants as a unit of analysis.[75] In this sense, the emergence of transnational perspective has contributed to international migration studies by allowing researchers to understand newly emerging migrants from the perspective of

> *the economic forces that structure the flows of international migration and to place the migrants' responses to these forces and their strategies of survival, cultural practices and identities within the world-wide historical context of differential power and inequality.*[76]

Additionally, according to Faist:

> *The metaphor of Transnational Social Space*[*] *helps to broaden the scope of migration studies to include the circulation of ideas, symbols, and material culture, not only movement of people.* [77]

In other words, the concept of transnationalism has been celebrated for its conceptual functions as a new theoretical frame and analytical tool. As the migratory phenomena have become more fluid rather than being fixed to nationally defined borders, the new concept should be adequate enough to grasp this fluidity. On the other hand, in spite of the conceptual functions that expand the frame of existing approaches on international migration, "the concept's sudden prominence has been accompanied by its increasing ambiguity" and the risk of turning to "an empty conceptual vessel" has appeared just as in the case of the concept of diaspora.[78] According to Mahler, This situation is a result of over-

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[75] Ludger Pries, ob. cit. , p. 17

[76] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, ob. cit. , pp. 8

[*] The concept, which refers to the newly emerging social space of transnational phenomena, will be discussed later.

[77] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , p.13

[78] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, ob. cit. , p.3

loading the concept without defining its theoretical and analytical border obviously.

> *Transnationalism is a very slippery concept. One reason for: the outcome of having been used historically in similar yet distinct ways. The more perplexing problem of the term transnationalism as it is utilized contemporaneously derives from the fact that it is used to describe a wide array of activities.*[79]

In addition to her objections to the content of the concept, Mahler also indicates the perceived absence of a required common agenda for research and analysis. The absence of an orthodox metaphor and the centrality of mobility/fluidity are the main death-lock-like difficulties before this new approach.[80] Basch *et al.* are very aware of the slippery ground they are trying to walk on, as well. In their foremost work, they mention that although the concept is "productive of a new imagery, much of this discourse on transnationalism has remained evocative rather than analytical." They define the way in which they will try to overcome the difficulties of the concept as follows:

> *Our focus becomes the manner in which migrants, through their life ways and daily practices, reconfigure space so that their lives are lived simultaneously within two or more nation-states. We wish to examine the flow of material goods as they are embedded in social relations*[81]

They obviously offer a new perspective which covers all types of relations among migrant communities in different locales irrespective of pre-determined concept, which divides this societal unity into fragments like national borders. In the light of the discussion, it is important to understand that the concept of transnationalism has arisen on the ground of inconsistency between existing realities of and approaches on contemporary international migration. Before exhaustively discussing the theoretical and analytical expansion promised by the concept of transnationalism, I suppose that, the context which has gave rise to the emergence of new forms of immigrant practices and types of immigrant communities should firstly be evaluated.

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[79] Sarah J. Mahler, "*Theoretical and Empirical Contribution Toward a Research Agenda for Transnationalism* in *Transnationalism from Below* ed. by Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith (Transaction Publisher, 1998): p. 66

[80] Sarah J. Mahler, ob. cit. , pp. 75-76

[81] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, ob. cit , p. 28

3.2. Contextualising the Emergence of the Concept of Transnationalism

Transnationalism, as every particular social phenomenon, does not lie in a vacuum. Therefore, before discussing the content of the concept and/or defining the concept as a "new" analytical tool, understanding the context which has been generating the ground on which the phenomenon of transnationalism could arise would be more appropriate to frame the issue. In other words, as Guarnizo and Smith accurately state "The reproduction of transnational ties is clearly sensitive to contextual conditions. However, contextual conditions are not static, and must be historicized."[82]

In the literature, the general frame of discussions on the question of contextualisation directly refers to a concrete relation between the process of globalisation and the emergence of transnationalism. In other words, the process of globalisation appears as the omnipotent context of contemporary transnationalism. In this sense, "current transnationalism as an emergent phenomenon associated with the accelerating globalisation process in the past several decades."[83] In this process, "transnational social spaces are becoming a mass phenomenon and are important outcomes and forms of what is frequently referred to as 'globalisation.'"[84]

Therefore, "consequently, in this era of heightened globalisation, transnational lifestyle may become not the exception but the rule."[85] On the other hand, some nuances between these two coeval phenomena should also be marked. "The term 'globalisation' is generally associated with economic and financial trends.

[82] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 15

[83] Philip Q. Yang, "The 'Sojourner Hypothesis' Revisited" in *Diaspora*, Vol: 9, No: 3, Winter 2000, Routledge , p. 253

[84] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 23

[85] Peggy Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers* (University of California Press, 2001): p. 4

Transnationalism, on the other hand, is about political as well as economic linkages."[86]

As Van Hear calls attention to the concept may lose its analytical function:

> *If the content of transnationalism and diaspora have been hard to pin down, these concepts from part of wider discussion surrounding an even more nebulous idea, globalisation, most accounts of which feature an eclectic collection of symptoms and manifestations.*[87]

As can be easily noticed, the process of globalisation and the emergence of transnationalism are discussed as mutually inclusive and interdependent phenomena. As Pries briefly expands, transnationalism is a "precondition for and, at the same time, sediment outcome of, the globalisation process."[88] On the other hand, in this part, I will not discuss the phenomenon of 'globalisation' as a substitute; I would rather like to endeavour to understand the context of transnationalism by referring and discussing some essential transformations which have been gradually or dramatically introduced to our daily life for last fifty years, specifically in the case of migration.

3.2.1. Changing Migratory Patterns

Prior to discussions on transformations in technological, economical and socio-political fields, the question of how this huge amount of "legal foreigners" has been stacked in new-lands should initially be focused. In other words, the emergence of immigrant populations out of their home-lands is the first sentence of the story of transnationalism. Migration may generally be defined as "a redistribution of skills, experiences, and other 'human capital' across the planet"[89] as a result of "economic disparities between country of origin and destination."[90] In this sense, it may be argued that transformations that cause economical, socio-

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[86] Betigül Ercan-Argun, *Turkey in Germany: The Transnational Sphere of Deutschkei*, (Routledge, 2003): p. 18

[87] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 251

[88] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 5

[89] Thomas Sowell, *Migration and Cultures: A World View*, (Basic Books, 1996), p. 38

[90] Gabriel Sheffer, ob. cit. , p. 27

political, ecological and demographical changes have played a certain role in the transformation of migration patterns;[91] however, changes in migration patterns may also be read as reflection of those changes in political economy of the global context.[92] In this sense, changes in the pattern of migration after the Second World War have determined the general characteristic of contemporary migratory patterns. This will be a main focus of this part. On the other hand, certain European cases will mainly be focused in the frame of the related literature in this part. This is not an intentional preference. In my opinion, relatively new international migration to Western European countries supplies us with opportune examples to understand the very essence of transnationalisation processes of migrant communities. Regardless of certain differences in their legal frames, socio-political structures of each receiving country produce very similar exclusionary and marginalising outcomes for migrant communities. This commonality is remarkable for my study. In this frame, I may argue that nuances in the legal frame of various countries to define the socio-political position of migrants become unimportant for their daily life. For instance, despite the fact that a migrant can be a new citizen from old-colonies as in the British case or a "legal foreigner" whose length of stay predetermined before arrival as in the German case, she/he have probably been subjected to very similar national migration agendas and global transformations which pushed them to knit transnational social networks beyond national borders since the beginning of 1990's.

When the new Europe was needed to be raised from the ruins of the old one, lack of sufficient labour power appeared as one of most difficult barriers to realize this project, especially for "dirty-difficult-dangerous" jobs.[93] In this sense, a new wave of international migration may be evaluated as one of the outcomes of the political economy of post-war capitalism.[94] The migration processes after 1945

[91] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, (London: The MacMillan Press, 1993), p. 4

[92] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 13

[93] Stephen Castles, op. cit. , p. 11

[94] Ibid. , p. 2

may be analysed in two phases. First of all, the period between 1945 and 1973 was the golden age of migration called *Lestrente Glorieuses* (the thirty glorious years). In this phase, imported labour power was easily absorbable in the economic life on the base of the full employment principle and social welfare understanding of the welfare state.[95] In return of their contribution to rapid economic growth, immigrant workers could benefit from the wealth they created. The only rule of the contract was simple: they would return when they accomplished their mission. "The immigrant workers would remain so long as there were jobs for them"[96], therefore, "in the early stages, all parties [governments and societies of sending and receiving countries and immigrants as well] assumed that migration would be temporary"[97]. In the early periods of international migration, immigrants cordially agreed with this contract, as well. In this sense, single male immigrant workers had mainly decided to immigrate as a consensual household decision[98] to increase their economic position in the home-land. Therefore, as a migratory strategy, they aimed to save as much as they can and then back to increase their families' life standards in the home-land as in the case of Italian immigrants of 1900's in the U.S.A.[99]

This peaceful atmosphere was dramatically disturbed by the Oil Crisis in the 1973 and the second phase started and gradually heightened towards the end of 1980's by affecting both home- and host-land.[100] In accordance with the crisis, Western European countries which imported immigrant labour power started to decelerate recruitment halt, one after the other.[101] This policy has created a kind of

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[95] Ibid. , p. 6

[96] Randall Hansen, "Migration to Europe since 1945: Its History and its Lessons" in *The Politics of Migration: Managing Opportunity, Conflict and Change* ed. by Sarah Spencer, (Blackwell, 2004): p. 26

[97] Hans Van Amersfoort and Jeroen Doomerik, ob. cit. , p. 60

[98] Gabriel Sheffer, ob. cit. , p. 27

[99] Nancy Foner, "What is New about Transnationalism? New York Immigrants Today at the Turn of the century" in *Diaspora*, Vol: 6, No: 3, Winter 1997, Routledge, p. 358

[100] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , pp. 65, 74

[101] Randall Hansen, ob. cit. , p. 27

boomerang effect that encouraged immigrants to stay longer rather than return as in the German case.[102] In spite of considerable numbers of returns, most of the immigrants were not satisfied with their saving at that point and they easily panicked about losing the opportunity of working abroad. In this sense, immigration halt policies resulted in increase in the volume of immigration in two ways. First, male immigrant workers who had already arrived to host-lands preferred to bring their family to new-lands due to increasing length of stay. Afterwards, instead of being slowed down; immigration has increased as a result of the family unification policy and marriages.[103] Late-comers also generated strategies to shelter in the "Promised Land" of welfare. In the case of Turkish immigration to Germany, for instance, as a result of immigration policy to balance the ratio of male and female guest-workers after 1973, the waiting list for recruitment wearily lengthened for male workers. So they first sent their wives and then tried to be recruited by using the family unification right.[104] Or alternatively, non-migrants who remained at home basically started marrying with their relatives' daughter/son to take their chance abroad that make continuity of immigration possible for generations.

The family unification has generated very significant outcomes for receiving societies. In spite of the migrant composition in the early period of migration, first of all, different ethnic and religious cultures, especially Islamic culture, has became visible in the public life. With the participation of economically inactive populations, such as women and children, into migrant appearance in new-lands, migrant communities has started demanding new social and cultural rights and services which pushed receiving-states to invest in like education for immigrants' children.[105] As in the case of Muslim migrants, detached mosques have appeared as a need and a right rather than *mescid*s (small mosque) in worker dormitories.

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[102] D. Wesley Chapin, *The Political Effects of Migration*, (Greenwood Press., 1997), p. 11

[103] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , p. 5

[104] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 104

[105] Andreas Goldberg, "Islam in Germany" in *Islam, Europe's Second Religion: The New Social, Cultural and Political Landscape* ed. by Shireen T. Hunet, (London: Praeger, 2002): p. 31

Moreover, an increasing housing problem was another characteristic of this period. In contrast to single-male workers who could stay at worker dormitories, newly emerging migrant families have started requiring flat-type accommodation without caring the quality. This accommodation preference, which was to maximize saving, contingently caused residential segregation, as we will see later.

Secondly, as mentioned before, especially after the 1980's, the marriage market established between home- and host-lands strengthened social networks, mainly on the basis of "in-law" relations, between immigrants and non-immigrants.[106] Thirdly, family unification indirectly lengthened the length of stay as well. Although almost all immigrants were planning to return, even after their families arrived, they encountered a dilemma when they decided to return. Initially, the cost of living increased as a result of family reunification and they could not accumulate enough savings as they planned to return. Therefore, "many migrants become reluctant to return when they realised that their ties of friendship and kinship were no longer as vital as they once had been."[107] Consequently, "legal foreigners" who arrived as contracted guest workers had suddenly become permanent settlers regardless of their legal status, namely, whether they could gain citizenship or not.

Following the family unification period, refugees and asylum seekers from socially and politically destabilized regions of the world and "new citizens" who directly accepted as citizens because of their ethnic origin such as *Aussiedler* (ethnic rooted Germans) for Germany have jumped on the bandwagon of international migration at the end of 1980s. Needless to mention, the collapse of Soviet Block[108] and the reunification of two Germany[109] dramatically increased proportion of these types of immigrants in international migration patterns. It may

[106] Hans Van Amersfoort and Jeroen Doomerik, ob. cit. , p. 60

[107] Jeffrey Jurgens, "Shifting Spaces: Complex Identities in Turkish-German Migration" in *New Transnational Social Space: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early 21st Century* ed. by Ludger Pries, (Routledge, 2001): p. 96

[108] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 107

[109] D. Wesley Chapin, ob. cit. , p. 25

be arguable that these newcomers had very important effects on migrant communities who had already been settled. On the one hand, as in the case of *Aussiedler*, they participated into social-political and economic life with certain privileges like citizenship; consequently, inevitable competition over scarce sources appeared between newcomers and old- and increased the marginalization of latter one. On the other hand, participation of refugees and/or asylum seekers, as economically dependent but politically active actors from home-lands, enlivened socio-political and organizational life of migrant communities in host-lands.

Castles and Miller summarize the transformation of the international migration after the 1973 by categorizing the new features of the period. First of all, migration has been globalised which means "more and more countries to be affected by migratory movements at the same time." Secondly, international population movement has been accelerated by growing in volume and sprawling on space. Thirdly, migration has become differentiated in itself. In other words, most of the receiving countries have started receiving different types of immigrant such as labour-immigrant and refugees. Additionally, immigrant profile has also become much more differentiated in accordance with motivation of immigration, and their socio-economic and educational backgrounds. And finally, proportion of female participants has dramatically increased during this period. This is not just quantitative increase, rather, the role that female immigrants play in their community has changed as well. All in all, in contrast to general picture of the international migration in the first phase; in the second phase, new international migration has become "globalised", "accelerated", "differentiated" and feminised.[110]

It is obvious that these remarkable transformations in the international migration patterns have inevitably affected immigrant communities and receiving-societies as well as sending-societies. Besides the nominal changes in demographic and economic indicators, perhaps even more importantly, socio-cultural and political

[110] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 8

structures have also changed, especially, in terms of the question of identity. This change occurs on two levels: first, the change in the socio-cultural structure of receiving-societies parallel to entrance of "foreign" culture; second, and the change in the self persuasion of migrants about themselves and their position in receiving-societies at the mirror of changing socio-cultural and political structures of their new-lands. In this sense, the increasing volume and changing patterns of international migration requires new ways of conceptualising of identity and space. As Matthews mentions, the question of "who we are and where we belong" has become one of the most crucial questions for migrant communities in this period.[111] Additionally, as an outcome of attempts to answer the question of identity, ethnic and cultural diversity in receiving-societies that has emerged as a result of the international migration pushes their "national identity" to be redefined in receiving-societies, as we discuss later. [112]

One of the most obvious presences of migratory fragmentation in receiving-societies appears as residential segregation and informal networks among immigrants. As Goldberg mentions, migrants mainly and intentionally tend to concentrate in certain districts of specific cities in receiving-societies because of both structural exclusion mechanisms migrants encounter and individual expectation of certain opportunities they suppose to maximise. For instance, proximity to main international transportation networks, extensive employment opportunities for migrant jobs, existence of relative and compatriot population and availability of cheap housing may be represented as main factors which attract immigrant communities to settle in certain parts of urban space.[113]

Klein Istanbul (little Istanbul) in Kreuzberg, Berlin is one of the most typical examples of residential segregation. In this small district, %63 of residents is from Turkey. Most of Turkish population has concentrated on very limited field of

[111] Kim C. Matthews, "Boundaries of Diaspora Identity" in *Communities Across Borders: New Immigrants and Transnational Cultures* ed. by Paul T. Kennedy, (Routledge, 2002): pp. 68

[112] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 14

[113] Andreas Goldberg, ob. cit. , p. 34

Berlin as %50 of Turkish population has concentrated on %4 of German soil.[114] Names of the small shops, which one can effortlessly notice when walking in Kreuzberg, reflect the great efforts of Turkish immigrants to bring major symbols from their home- to host-land such as *The Mısır Çarşısı*, *the Galata Bridge*, and a replica of *Pamukkale* in Görlitzer Park.[115] Bilingual cautions in public spaces also indicate existence of great amount of Turkish immigrants who are not very good at reading in German. Why did Turkish immigrants settle in this district of Berlin is an important question to understand contemporary migrant space. First of all, during the Cold War, the unique position of Berlin caused periodical decrease in population in the Western side of the city. No one preferred to live in a city like an island which is encircled by a hostile sea, except migrants who intended to benefit from extra paying from Democratic Germany for those who stay in Berlin. Parallel to this motivation, they also preferred to settle in Kreuzberg district which was the cheapest zone of the city because of its location on border of the wall. They moved to cheapest apartment which had very bad conditions for avoiding extra paying for housing because they were thinking to return to their home-land and they had to save as much as they could.[116]

Residential segregation, as in the case of Kreuzberg, has double characters: restriction and opportunity. On the one hand, as a restriction, it means poor condition of living and relative marginalization from the receiving-society; on the other hand, as an opportunity, it also supplies migrants with extended compatriot social networks. In this sense, it may be arguable that "little rests" at the heart of West are fertile fields of alternative economic and social upward mobility for migrants. For instance, "ethnic professionals" who perform a kind of bridge role between migrant communities and socio-economic institutions of receiving societies[117] can achieve certain socio-economic success that is just unique to

[114] Riva Kastoryano, Kimlik Pazarlığı: Fransa ve Almanya'da Devlet ve Göçmen İlişkileri, (Ankara: İletişim Yay, 2000) (original: La France l'Allemagne & leurs immigrés: négocier l'identité), pp. 105-106

[115] Betigül Ercan-Argun, ob. cit. , p. 9

[116] Ayhan Kaya, *Berlin'deki Küçük İstanbul: Diyaspora Kimliğinin Oluşumu*, (İstanbul: Büke Yay, 2000): p. 80

[117] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 112

migrant space, namely, being in-between means much more than just being member of either sending- or receiving-societies. In this sense, as a form of social networking, “informal networks” are very important to understand the transnationalization of immigrant communities. “Informal networks” have arisen from these double characteristics of residential segregation with parallel to the marginalization of migrants.

To understand the emergence of informal network, their functions may first be focused. As Faist analyses, immigration is a kind of population movement that requires high economic and social costs. In as much as distance between places, migratory costs automatically increase as well. In other words, every single activity and every single locale that immigrants are associated with increase and diversify those costs. Also, migratory cost should not be considered just as an economic expense. For instance, members of a family who immigrated, have to prove their loyalty and authenticity by taking care of the needs of non-immigrant members for avoiding risk of being excluded by “home.” Familial services, which are supplied by who remained at home, are also very important for immigrants. The relation between immigrant and non-immigrant members of family can be seen as a reciprocal relation. In this sense, maintaining relation with non-immigrant members of family at home has both cost increasing and decreasing effects.

Secondly, establishing a social environment and relational network in which migrants can feel like at “home” in the host-land is another type of cost. Coffee-houses, wedding-salons and village associations in receiving-society are proper examples of that cost. Additionally, migrants can also open a space for practicing their social and cultural customs by establishing those kinds of institutions. Lastly, migrants have to adapt themselves to their new home as well. For instance, learning a new language and/or a new social code system, and gaining appropriate occupational skills for adapting to a new labour market are some initial necessities of starting a new life in the host-land. All in all, briefly, sustaining constant relations with non-immigrants in the home-land, practicing social or cultural activities in the host-land, and adaptation to a new environment are important

components of the migratory costs. In other words, according to Faist's conceptualisation; *loyalty*, *maintenance* and *adaptation costs* are initial requirements of the international migration process that a single individual can not deal with.[118] Also, these social networks do not just reduce migratory costs, furthermore, they can also breed immigration flows when they are properly established. As Wilpert mentions, these networks, which were strengthened during the family reunification period after the 1973, triggered chain migration by reducing the migratory costs and by serving as a main information channel about new opportunities abroad and ways to achieve them.[119]

In this sense,

> *Informal networks include psychological adaptations, personal relationship, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters. Informal networks bind 'migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationship.*[120]

In sum,

> *Migrant networks reduce the economic and psychological risk and cost associated with international long-distance migration.*[121]

In the German case, *landsmannschaften* (compatriot association) was/is still one of the most crucial networking institutions for migrant communities. They are functioning as nodal points of informal networks by associating each single locale which is inhabited by members of a certain compatriot group or family in Germany as well as other European countries. For instance, a coffee-house which was established by Turkish immigrants from *Ulupınar, Giresun* in London works as *muhtar* (legal chief of Turkish village) by fulfilling certain legal functions like making systematic announcement about the military service which is obligatory for every male Turkish citizen after the age of eighteen. Additionally, as a kind of community centre, the coffee-house also serves as a charity organization for

[118] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , pp. 126-127

[119] Czarina Wilpert, "Religion and Ethnicity: Orientations, Perceptions and Strategies among Turkish Alevi and Sunni Migrants in Berlin" in *The New Islamic Presence in Western Europe* ed. by Thomas Gerholm and Yngve Georg Lithman, (New York: Mansell, 1990): p. 96

[120] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 23

[121] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , p. 96

newcomers by supplying them with vital information from the home-land and of opportunities about the new-land, accommodation for a short-period time or employment opportunity. In this sense, beyond the question of whether or not it is formally recognized by sender- or receiving-state, this small coffee-house serves as an "informal embassy" but not between Turkey and U.K., rather, between *Ulupınar* village in Turkey and their relatives in London.[122]

In conclusion, as a result of changing migratory patterns, a considerable amount of "foreign" population has been established in host-lands in the period after the Second World War. In contrast to expectations at the beginning of the process, these communities has become permanently settled and particularly stayed. In the case of the guest-worker migration in Germany, they did not return as expected, rather, they settled in with the rising demands for their fragile existence. In the case of colonial commonwealth citizenship in Britain, new citizens from old colonies could not be assimilated into receiving-societies. In this sense, both cases resulted in a certain level of social and political marginalisation which produces "legal foreigners" who are highly engaged in the social and political life of home-lands. This engagement has been empowered by the emergence of social networks beyond national borders especially after 1973. Residentially segregated migrant spaces in host-lands appear as important nodal points of those networks at that period. Especially, with the emergence of new technological advances in the 1970's, these nodal points have gradually and spontaneously become a common ground for migrant communities beyond national borders.

3.2.2. New Technological Advances

Technological advances have always contributed to the acceleration of population movements throughout history. For instance, steamships of the 19th century made migration faster and cheaper so greatly that the number of migrants from Europe to America had increased from 2,6 to 5,2 million during the period between 1850's and 1880's. By following this new migratory path which was opened up

[122] Aykan Erdemir, Besim Can Zırh, Cemre Erciyes, "Neighborhoods: Past, Present and Future" paper presented to the 4th METU Conference on International Relations, on June 30 - July 2, 2005 at METU

by steam, seasonal Italian immigrants, *golondrias* (swallows), could take wing to Argentina.[123]

Technological revolution at the end of 1970's fulfilled similar accelerating function in the contemporary international migration. New technological advances had very fundamental consequences in migrants' daily practices by making maintenance of bi-national and bi-local connections and relations possible.[124] For instance, "travel to Poland or Italy over weekend and be back in New York by Monday"[125] had been becoming a reality of contemporary life. Immigrant members of families have recently achieved new opportunities. For instance, sending a 60-90 minutes video-type message to non-immigrant relatives in the home-land to inform them with news from the new world may be represented as a proper example of these new opportunities.[126] Also, flowing of home-made advertising video-types from the home- to the host-land for introducing Miao bride nominees to immigrant Hmong groom-in-future in U.S. could only be possible with these technological advances.[127] Additionally, especially after the 1990's, travelling to the home-land has also become easily affordable for migrants who especially settled in relatively near distance countries. For instance, in the mid-1990's, in *Klein Istanbul* in Kreuzberg, Berlin, "Turkish" travel agencies have already started to organize a weekend trip to Turkey that covers flight tickets to and 3 days accommodation in Istanbul as announcement says "*Weekend Shopping in Istanbul for 395 DM*".[128]

Fırthermore, as the example above indicates, these new advances in transportation and communication technologies are also easily accessible for every one for

[123] Thomas Sowell, op. cit. , pp.. 41-42

[124] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 17

[125] Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landott, op. cit. , p. 226

[126] Nancy Foner, ob. cit. , p. 363

[127] Louisa Schein, "Forged Transnationalism and Oppositional cosmopolitanism" in *Transnationalism from Below* ed. by Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith (Transaction Publisher, 1998): p. 297

[128] Ayhan Kaya, ob. cit. , p. 79

diverse practices. In other words, both governments and immigrants, as macro- and micro-actors from above and below, may benefit from same opportunities supplied by those technological advances. However, this common accessibility may not be refers a consensual commonality in aims and motivations to use same technologies. Controversially, users from different levels can utilize new technological apparatuses for achieving quite different and conflicting goals. For instance, continuation of "unexpected" immigration completely depends on wide-range immigrant networks which are equipped with efficient technological apparatuses that accelerate the flow of idea, information, material and people.[129]

Migrants can generate alternative solutions to overcome difficulties that make their border-crossing relations with their relatives in the home-land by using these new technologies. To specifically exemplify, at the beginning of 1990's, in Turkey, fax machines were introduced and popularised even in the smallest villages by immigrant members of rural communities. Because traditional communication channels were almost always blocked due to the overloaded international lines and the inadequate mailing system, they intelligently discovered using fax machine as a letter-transmitter.[130] First they write a three or four pages letter, and then they sent it by using fax machines. So, they shorten a month-long ordinary mailing system to two or three minutes and cheapen an hour international telephone call to one or two contour. This interesting usage of fax machines, due to the lack of adequate infrastructure for mailing service and telephone calls between Turkey and Europe, underlines the most important novelty of those new technologies.

More recently, the phenomenon of "cheap calls" supplies us with another remarkable example which clearly indicates the importance of new technological advances. As Vertovec analyses, gradual advancement in the infrastructure of

[129] Deborah Bryceson, "Europe's Transnational Families and Migration: Past and Present" in *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks* ed. by Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela, (Berg 2002): p. 40

[130] Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Impact of External Migration on Rural Turkey" in *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages* ed. by. Paul Stirling (England: Eothen Press, 1993): p. 201

long-distance communication system and the dramatic decrease in expenses of using this technology has changed the daily life of ordinarily immigrants. To illustrate, the volume of international calls has increased from 12.7 billion call minutes in 1972 to 42.7 billion call minutes in 1992 that indicates reflections of this technology onto global daily life.[131] On the other hand, the effect of this technology is not only limited with reducing and cheapening the long-distance international communication. As Vertovec points out, first of all, needs for access to adequate communicational infrastructure pushes for certain developments even in poorest areas of the host-land. In most of the cases, immigrants appear as a social entrepreneur who activates economic and political resources for the local development in their home-town. Secondly, the emerging market potential in the communication business causes sudden ethnicization of this sector. From street vendors and/or sweet shops to national communication companies, actors from different levels benefit noteworthy wealth from small telephone cards which are decorated with flag revels from all over the world. Finally, according to Vertovec, as a social outcome of that technological advance, "cheap calls" reconfigures and strengthens the social relations across nation and geographical borders. For instance, real-time participation of non-immigrant members of family from the home-land into "kitchen table discussion" of migrants in the host-land is one of the most obvious examples for this reconfiguration.[132]

In this sense, as Vertovec concludes:

> *The communications allowed by cheap telephone calls serve as a kind of social glue connecting small-scale social formations across the globe.*[133]

From broader perspective, Lewellen points out that these technological advances generate a new life form for immigrants:

> *"Lives are lived across borders" with a high intensity of ongoing social and economic interactions made possible by cheap and rapid travel and by instantaneous communication.*[134]

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[131] Steven Vertovec, "Cheap Calls: The social Glue of Migrant Transnationalism" in *Global Networks*, Vol: 4, No: 2, 2004, Blackwell, pp. 219-220

[132] Ibid. , pp. 219-224

[133] Ibid. , p. 220

[134] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 152

One of the most significant features of this new life form is increasing reflexivity among new state of being global. As Daniel Bell mentions in general:

> *Shocks and upheavals are felt more readily and immediately, and reactions and feedbacks come more quickly in response to societal changes.*[135]

Specifically for immigrants, this reflexivity means "knitting together a sense of multi-local belonging and identification."[136]

This mediated reflexivity can be generated by both globally oriented media like CNN or locally focused but transnationally broadcasting media like Kurdish Med-TV. In this sense, media in this era contributes to emergence of global culture[137] on the one hand, and makes involvement in the public sphere of country of origin possible by broadcasting news from home-land in real time on the other hand.[138] In other words, new media reduces "the cost of involvement"[139] into the newly emerging transnational public sphere which was constituted by migrant communities in different locales and, consequently, creates an alternative "transnational imaged community"[140] and/or "virtual neighbourhoods"[141] opposite to global cosmopolitanism. In this sense, according to Stack, "the internationalisation of mass media has provided ethnic groups with a new tool for socio-political mobilization and for cultural survival."[142] Mandaville also indicates the point that Stack mentions. For him, the reflection of this process into

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[135] quoted in John F. Stack, "Ethnic Groups as Emerging transnational Actors" in *Ethnic Identities in atransnational World* ed. by John F Stack (Greenwood, 1981): p. 25

[136] Jeffrey Jurgens, op. cit. , p. 99

[137] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 251

[138] Ayhan Kaya, op. cit. , p. 60

[139] Gabriel Sheffer, ob. cit. , p. 32

[140] Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins, "Banal Transnationalism: The Difference that Television Makes", working paper, WPTC-02-08
URL: http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-02-08%20Robins.pdf

[141] quoted from Arjun Appadurai in Peter G. Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma*, (Routledge, 2001): p. 164

[142] John F. Stack, 1981 b, ob. cit. , p. 21

migrant spaces of Islam causes similar "mobilization and survival" of Islamic culture and solidarity by establishing a "reimagined Umma":

> *This is what is meant by the notion of "globalizing the local" or to be more precise, the globalisation of cultural material which is then re-localised in new and distant localities.*[143]

In the very similar perspective, Esposito exemplifies how digital revolution has transformed Islam by shrinking the distance between believers in different locales. Today, an ordinary Muslim in the home- and/or in the host-land can reach very detailed and sophisticated knowledge of Islam by using "Ask to Mufti" (legal experts) internet sites or phone lines.[144] In their research, Aksoy and Robins notice similar kind of re-localization among Turkish immigrants in London as a result of the introduction of Turkish televisions with new satellites. Two citations from their research are very explanatory to understand the effects of the new media on immigrants' life:

> *Most recently [Turkish] television is useful for us. It's almost as if we're living in Turkey, as if nothing has really changed for us.*
>
> *When you're home, you feel as if you are in Turkey. Our homes are already decorated Turkish style, everything about me is Turkish, and when I'm watching television too…*[145]

In brief, as Adamson concludes:

> *Today global communication infrastructure play in allowing ethnic claves and migrant communities to maintain sustained diasporic connections with other enclaves, and real or imaginary homelands over time. This means that migration-based communities increasingly define themselves and articulate political indefinites and demands that are formed within a transnational and global, as opposed to simply a local and national, context.*[146]

In this sense, the rise of new advances in transportation and communication technologies should be considered as a technical infrastructure of the transnationalism. By these technologies, migrant communities in different locales

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[143] Peter G. Mandaville, ob. cit. , p. 170

[144] John L. Esposito, op. cit. , p. 247

[145] Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins, op. cit. , p. 9

[146] Fiona B. Adamson, "Mobilizing for the Transformation of Home: Politicized Identities and Transnational Practices" in *New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* ed. by Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Koser, (Routledge, 2002): p. 157

can constantly stay connected and generate an alternative social space beyond national borders and nationally defined control mechanisms. Additionally, in spite of the emerging global culture which is produced by the same technological apparatuses, the ethnicization of communication channels intensify social and cultural fragmentation and marginalization of our times. As in the case of Turkish coffee-house in London, various locales that a community spread out can be connected to each other without touching any other global communication channels. In other words, communities can be globalised by staying insultingly local.

3.2.3. Restructuration of Global Economic System

As we have seen, technological advances of the 1970's has transformed migrants' daily practices by introducing new technological apparatuses which make border-crossing activities "easy", "efficient" and "cheap". On the other hand, macro-level transformations in global economic system, which were also affected by those advances, performed a very crucial role in the transnationalization of migrant communities. Their existence in host-lands, by definition, was directly related with predetermined economic roles they were functioning. In this sense, changes in the economic structure such as the changing nature of labour market in accordance with the newly appearing priorities of the global economic system directly effect migrants' socio-economic position in host-lands. In fact, as a historical fact, when the economic resources become scarcer, newcomers or "legal foreigners" often started to be seen as a threat and/or scapegoat,[147] as in the case of the Great Depression of the 1930s in the U.S.A.[148]

To understand the emergence of contemporary global economic system, which was one of the important contexts of the transnationalism, the new technological advances mentioned above should be focused again. With the application of those advances into the global economy, as a response to the structural crises of capitalism in the 1970's, global economical system irreversibly entered a new

[147] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 13

[148] Thomas Sowell, ob. cit. , p. 46

phase.[149] This new phase, form the perspective of international migration, may be understood by analysing some of its crucial novelties which can properly be summarized under the title of "flexibilisation". First of all, manufacturing industries moved from developed to developing regions of the world in accordance with de-industrialisation process. In parallel with this shift, secondly, the great demand of the 1950's for manual workers in the sectors such as manufacturing and mining was dramatically reduced in developed countries as main receiving states. In other words, traditional occupations, which had been identified with migrant workforce that required skilled manual workers disappeared in the developed regions of the world. Instead, the service sector risedrisen with new demands for both high- and low-skilled workers and this eroded the traditional border between blue- and white-colour occupations. Informal sectors also appeared as one of the important economic activities of the new world, especially in metropolitan areas. As a reflection of these changes, low paid part-time works and/or sweet shops which required domestic labour mushroomed in a highly-differentiated manner that pushed many disadvantageous groups to work just in these economic fields such as women and members of minorities.[150]

In this period which commonly referred as "economic dislocation", "restructuring of capitalism" and "de-industrialization" of developed regions[151], the global economic climate of the 1980's played double roles in the transnationalization of migrant communities. On the one hand, global penetration of capitalist expansion in this phase destabilized local economies all over the world, especially in periphery zones. This economic restructuring process should not be thought as independent from international politics. For instance, as in the case in Philippine, "the intensive penetration of global capital" began with the introduction of "liberalization" discourse into local politics by the IMF and the World Bank.

[149] Manuel Castells, *The Rise of Network Society*, (Blackwell, 1996)

[150] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 77

[151] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, ob. cit. , pp. 33-34

Then, the process of "integration to global economy" took its turn.[152] Social crises as an outcome of the political and economic integration of developing regions into global economy also triggered new migration waves from periphery to core regions from all strata of sending-societies according to differentiated labour demands of new economy.[153]

On the other hand, as we have seen, labour market was radically transformed according to the newly emerging demands of global re-structuring process and de-industrialization process in developed countries.[154] Until the end of the 1970's, labour market structure in these countries brings the game of *musical chairs* to mind: migrants could upwardly mobilize and find favourable jobs when newcomers entered to labour market.[155] In contrast to stabilized economies in which migrants were mainly located in mining and manufacturing sectors in the 1960's, deindustrialisation in the 1980's directly caused shrinkage in employment opportunities of migrants.[156] In other words, in this period, as industrial jobs had dramatically been decreased and replaced with the service-oriented jobs, migrant work force which could not be modified has become economically useless for receiving economies. [157]

As a brief description of emerging economic condition in this era, Lewellen states that:

> *The spread of flexible capitalism has created a market for a shifting labour force that can be cheaply imported, routinely surveilled, and expelled without having to pay the costs of raising the worker to adulthood, or education, health services, and old age support.*[158]

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[152] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, ob. cit. , pp. 231-233

[153] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 3

[154] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, ob. cit. , pp. 8-9

[155] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , p. 262

[156] Andreas Goldberg, ob. cit. , p. 36

[157] Jeffrey Jurgens, ob. cit. , p. 105

[158] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 165

As mentioned before, the economical restructuring process is essential to understand the transnationalization of migrant communities because replacement of well-paying, unionized industrial jobs with low-paying, insecure service jobs increased their "vulnerability"[159] and oriented them to build extensive networks in different locales as a survival strategy.[160]

Juxtaposition of brutal economic conditions and the residential segregation with extensive informal networks gave rise to birth of *ethno-industries*[161] or *ethnic professionals*[162] which are the most obvious indicators of this process. As Faist mentions, withdraw of the welfare state and social rights, in addition to shrinking of blue-collar jobs reconfigured and consolidated solidarity on the basis of ethnicity and/or religion. By utilizing their communal solidarity, migrants started to create new occupational positions which were mainly in the form of self-employment.[163] In this sense, these ethno-industries which were mainly based on "underground economy" such as sweat shops with internationalised domestic labour[164] could not be evaluated as "a sign of migrants' integration into the national economies of their countries of arrival"[165] but as a siren of the emerging transnationalization. Because, in the age of economies of scope not that of scale, by merging small scale production with highly specialised niche, "for the first time in history relatively small family enterprises can enter into a truly global arena."[166]

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[159] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, ob. cit. , p. 9

[160] Thomas Faist, , March 2000, op. cit. , p. 191

[161] Nermin Abadan-Unat, Bitmeyen Göç: Konuk İşçilikten Ulus-ötesi Yurttaşlığa (İstanbul Bigli Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003): p. 70

[162] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 112

[163] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , p. 264-265

[164] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, ob. cit. , p. 25

[165] Nermin Abadan-Unat, ob. cit. , p. 70

[166] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , p. 266

3.2.4. Transformation of Global Socio-Political Structures

The last important context that gives rise to transnationalism is the global socio-political structure which has been dramatically changing in last two decades. Transformations in socio-political structure have caused two inter-reliant paradoxes that are very crucial to understand the ground of the transnationalization of migrant communities. These are the rearrangement of the role of the nation-state and the redefinition of the concept of citizenship as a form of socio-political belonging. During this period, on the one hand, regardless of near-universal acceptance, the nation-state has started to be frequently questioned, and, citizenship as a concept has become inadequate to understand the newly emerging forms of socio-political belonging in the changing context.[167]

Actually nation-state as a socio-political entity has always inherited this paradox by referring to a kind of mandatory identification between space and identity since the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555 by which subjects were held responsible for following the religion of their ruler. The principle of *cuius region, eius religio* (subject must follow the religion of their ruler) was also consolidated by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and thereafter "social reality" started to be perceived in term of "geographically coherent and sovereign politico-cultural entities." In other words,

> *In one geographic space (the state) there exists one single social space (the nation), and each social space (national) has and needs just one geographic space (state).*[168]

This mutually embeddedness of space and identity has started to be eroded as a result of (1) globalisation of world economy and the rise of transnational corporations which can achieve greater economic power than many developing states; (2) the emergence of supranational entities with legitimised regulatory authority over inter-relations between and intra-relations among nation-states; (3) the intensification of global reflexivity as a result of new communication technologies; (4) the augmentation and differentiation of international migration

[167] Stephen Castles, ob. cit. , p. 187

[168] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 4

in post-war period.[169] This process has also been heightened by both micro- and macro-regional authorities, namely, both from above and below.[170] In this period, for instance, on the one hand, the United Nations as a supranational community could increase its power over nation-states and beyond national borders.[171] In addition to that, increasing political, economic, ecological and cultural globalisation has propped the emergence of the global civil society beyond the concept of "national container-societies" as in the case of Chernobyl.[172] In this sense, the legitimacy and the authority of the nation state was now questioned and eroded by the newly emerging global and local alternative authorities and, more remarkably, by the intensifying interactions between those two.

To focus on the case of migration, changing international migration patterns may be presented as one of the crucial reasons of the transformation of the socio-political structure in receiving-societies. As mentioned before, the societal structure of receiving societies has been differentiated as a result of ethnic and cultural diversities. The unexpected appearance of particular groups or communities with wide range of needs and demands has resulted in the transformation of the political structure as well. Shifting discourses in the politics of difference in receiving-societies may be discussed as one of the most obvious reflections of the transformation mentioned. In spite of the fact that the politics of difference differentiates in accordance with particularity and peculiarity of each receiving-society, shifts in the general perception of diversities, even since modern international labour migration started, may be analysed as a reflection of the transformation of the socio-political structure.

Generally speaking, the assimilationalist perspective had functioned as dominant paradigm in the politics of difference until the 1950's. During this period,

[169] Stephen Castles, ob. cit. , p. 187

[170] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 4

[171] Louis Kriesberg, "*Social Movements and Global Transformation*" in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, ed. by Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, Ron Pagnucco, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997), p. 4

[172] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 5

regardless of how deeply their social and cultural origins are different, immigrants were expected to integrate into their new home by passing several stages and over generations.[173] For instance, it was commonly agreed that integration to economic institutions will conclude with full-adaptation into new socio-cultural context.[174] In this sense, in accordance with this assumption, the politics of difference of the 1940's perceives migrant communities as a socially and culturally absorbable population.[175]

Furthermore, as international migration heightened and the volume of "foreigner" population increased, the assimilationalist perspective was transcended and replaced with cultural pluralism school. From this new perspective, differences of immigrant communities are seen as positive authenticities which continue to be "recreated as a new form of identify that is not a simple repetition of what existed in their communities of origin", namely, celebration of "new hyphenated identities" like Afro-American.[176] Additionally, the rise of the celebration of difference was not a spontaneous outcome. As Levitt mentions, at a certain point of immigration history, total assimilation policies signalled the danger of a counter-productive effect by producing opposition against integration into the host-land.[177] In this sense, during this period, on the one hand, new social movements started fearless campaigns for "new" civil rights regarding particular groups of people.[178] On the other hand, demands for having the right to be different and living equally were also publicly accepted by political parties of receiving-societies, which discovered political potential of "ethnic vote".[179] Consequently, the right to be different was universally accepted by almost all

[173] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 150

[174] Ramón Grostoguel and Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, "International Migration in a Global Context: Recent Approaches to Migration Theory" in *Diaspora*, Vol: 7, No: 3, Winter 1998, Routledge, p.351

[175] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 116

[176] Ramón Grostoguel and Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, ob. cit. , p.351

[177] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 25

[178] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, ob. cit. , pp. 40-41

[179] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 116

receiving-societies, regardless of how they define these differences, as in the case of *Black is Beautiful* in U.S. and *Beur*[*] *is Beautiful* in France.[180]

As a conclusion, multiculturalism as a new politics of difference emerged during the 1970's social crises. As Castles and Miller states:

> *Where governments have wanted or recognised permanent settlement, there has been a tendency to move from policies of individual assimilation to acceptance of some degree of long-term cultural difference*.[181]

Because,

> *The transformation of our* [Western] *society requires a new notion of multicultural citizenship. This may be characterized as a system of rights and obligations which protects the integrity of the individual while recognizing that individuality is formed in a variety of social and cultural context.*[182]

This shift in the politics of difference from assimilationalism to multiculturalism is the one of the most obvious reflection of transformations in socio-political structure of receiving-societies which provided immigrants great opportunities for mobilizing their particularities in host-lands. As Van Hear and Faist frame as "rights revolution"[183] and "the civil rights revolution for immigrants"[184] respectively, in this new socio-political context migrants can find more extensive space for mobilizing on the basis of their particularity and more adequate resources to afford to stay different. To illustrate, one of the concrete examples of this context, as Nugoğlu-Soysal mentions, migrants can "make particularistic claim through universalistic discourse" and "mobilization of claims takes place at different level" such as local, national and transnational by the help of apparent

[*] *Beur* in French means hybrid which refers to France-born children of Algerian migrants in the French Case.

[180] Riva Kastoryano, op. cit. , p. 42

[181] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 13

[182] Ibid. , p. 134

[183] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 2

[184] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , p. 240

inter-state institutions and as a result of the universalisation of the human rights discourse.[185]

However, this "growing democratisation" should not be seen as a space of consensus. In accordance with paradoxes that multiculturalism inherits, as Yeğenoğlu mentions,[186] recognition of particularities of migrant communities may not directly result in a more democratic process for integrating these groups of people into receiving societies. In this sense, transnational social space should be seen as a battlefield of continuous struggle for recognition. For understanding how the mechanism runs, the exclusionary side-effect of migration process should be mentioned. As Castles mentions, from the receiver's perspective, the issue of migration was based on a dual strategy which was to "maximize the profitability" while "minimizing the social cost" of migrant labour force.[187] In other words, "migrants were seen simply as workers whose labour was needed, while their social needs and their potential impact on receiving societies were largely ignored".[188] In contrast to the general understanding, which expected the question of immigration as a temporary phenomenon during the period between 1945 and 1973, migrant communities have become permanent residents of receiving societies without social and political rights; therefore, they attained a kind of "non-person" status in their new home.[189] As Castles and Miler suggest:

> *Multiculturalism is based on the idea that immigrant communities with ethno-cultural particularities should have certain rights to maintain their difference from receiving society on the frame of certain principles such as democracy.*[190]

In other words, multiculturalism was seen as a kind of remedy for the non-personification of migrant communities. However, this politics was counter-

[185] Yasemin Nuhoğlu-Soysal, ob. cit. , p. 7

[186], Meyda Yeğenoğlu, "Liberal Multiculturalism and the Etnics of Hospitality in the Age of Globalization" in *Postmodern Culture*, Vol: 13, No: 2, April 2003

[187] Stephen Castles, ob. cit. , p. 49

[188] Ibid. , p. 8

[189] Ibid. , p. 49

[190] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 116

productively and ended with the emergence of *new ethic minorities*[191] rather than the emergence of a ground for non-controversial integration of migrant communities. As Castles and Miller analyse, the emergence of new ethnic minorities mainly resulted from actions of two dimensions, which I may call, *introverting* tendencies of migrant communities and *extroverting* policies of receiver governments. That is to say, one the one hand, migrants tend to encapsulate themselves into socio-cultural enclaves in receiving-society. On the other hand, receiving-states lead migrant communities to consolidate those enclaves and to turn their attention to the home-land by limiting themselves in predetermined cultural categories. In this sense, the politics of difference in almost all receiving societies produces very similar results, even in societies which have diverse and even controversial conceptualisation of difference. For instance, irrespective of nuances among their politics of difference, both German and Australian socio-political structures have contributed to the emergence of new ethnic minorities by using migrants associations as socio-political instruments on the fame of multiculturalism.[192]

In this sense,

> *At one extreme, openness to settlement, granting of citizenship and gradual acceptance of cultural diversity may allow the formation of ethnic communities, which can be seen as part of a multicultural society. At the other extreme, denial of the reality of settlement, refusal of citizenship and rights to settlers, and rejection of cultural diversity may lead to formation of ethnic minorities, whose presence is widely regarded as undesirable and divisive. In the first case, the immigrants and their descendants are seen as an integral part of a society which is willing to reshape its culture and identity. In the second, immigrants are excluded and marginalised, so that they lives on the fringes of a society which is determined to preserve myths of a static culture and a homogeneous identity.*[193]

Therefore, migrants' tendency for organizing on the base of their particularities may be seen as a response to exclusionary socio-political structure of receiving societies. In this sense, "ethnic minoritisation" takes place as a result of exclusion from decision making mechanism on the one hand,[194] and complementarily, "the

[191] Stephen Castles, ob. cit. , p. 8

[192] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 120

[193] Ibid. , p. 26

[194] Ayhan Kaya, ob. cit. , p. 47

reward distribution" mechanism by which they can only benefit from when they tend to organize as an immigrant community on the other hand.[195] In other words, in the socio-political structure, "non-person" can only be personified by chiselling his/her particular originality in the light of pre-determined judgments of receiving societies with the delicacy of a sculptor.

3.3. Conclusion: The Emergence of De/Re-territorialized Social Space as a Ground of the Transnationalization of Migrant Communities

As a conclusion, the context of transnationalism can generally be summarized by referring to the changing international migration patterns,[196] the collapse of eastern blocks and resurgence of ethnic, religious and nationalist aspiration,[197] the appearance of "easier and more intimate connections" as a result of new communication and transportation technologies,[198] the changing nature of labour market due to the re-structuration and the de-industrialization of economic system and the rise of neo-liberal politics,[199] the increase of migrant ability to mobilize migratory resources in parallel with the liberalization of state policies towards the diversification of social structure,[200] the appearance of multicultural politics as a new social capital for immigrants for constructing their public presence on the basis of particular identities.[201]

All in all, the following factors are critical:

> *(1) The globalisation of capitalism and the repositioning of states, nations, and class, gender and ethno-racial formation within this global restructuring. (2) the transnational dimension of global political transformations like decolonisation, the*

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[195] Jackie Smith, Ron Pagnucco, and Charles Chatfield, "Social Movement and World Politics: A Theoretical Framework" in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, ed. by Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, Ron Pagnucco, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997): p. 59

[196] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, ob. cit. , p. 17

[197] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 4

[198] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 22

[199] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, ob. cit. , p. 8

[200] Thomas Faist, ob. cit. , p. 288

[201] Ayhan Kaya, ob. cit. , p. 142

> *universalisation of human rights and the rise of cross-national institutional networks, (3) the transnational social relations made possible by the technological revolution in the means of transportation and communication, (4) the spatial expansion of social networks "from below" that facilitate the reproduction of migration, business practices, cultural beliefs, and political agency.*[202]

All these have resulted in the emergence of strong social network between/among members of migrant communities in different locales in the home- and host-land(s). To illustrate the extend and the importance of these networks, for instance, certain practices of Muslim migrant communities such as "slaughtering according to Muslim rituals" caused vast discussions in the public sphere of receiving-societies.[203] As an outcome of these discussions, Muslim way of slaughtering was prohibited in Sweden. On the other hand, Muslim migrants in Sweden, as a response to the prohibition, started importing "Halal Meat" from Denmark where slaughtering without stunning is permitted.[204] This border-crossing ability of Muslim immigrants in Sweden arises on the base of emerging extensive social networks which unite diverse locales into a unity as an outcome of the transformations discussed above. Needless to say, this example obviously indicates that migrant strategy for crossing national borders operates not only in terms of geographic but also bureaucratic and legal limitations.

The relation between globalisation and transnationalization can obviously be perceived and discussed from different perspectives. As mentioned before, I tried to understand this relation within the frame of international migration to indicate the context on which transnationalism could arise. As Levitt puts it:

> *The globalisation of production and consumption, or the heightened mobility of people, goods, ideas, and capital, also created transnational communities and generated a demand for the skill and outlooks these communities offer…* [205] *Consequently, in this era of heightened globalisation, transnational lifestyle may become not the exception but the rule.*[206]

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[202] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 24

[203] Andreas Goldberg, ob. cit. , p. 44

[204] Jørgen Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe* (Edinburgh University Press., 1995): p. 84

[205] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 7

[206] Ibid. , p. 4

In this sense, components of effective-affinity-like relation between globalisation and transnationalisation have been discussed in relation with each other. To briefly summarize, in the light of this discussion, the emergence of transnationalism is mainly based on (1) the context of contemporary international migration, which has resulted in massive and highly fragmented population movements from developing to developed regions of the world, which in turn caused the emergence of informal networking, knitting strong social relations between sending and receiving-societies; (2) the context of new advances in communication and transportation technologies, which has made distances between countries and even continents easily and affordably surmountable for almost everyone; (3) as a reflection of technological revolutions, the context of the global economy, which has increased vulnerability of migrant communities by heightening their marginalization in the era of de-industrialization and neo-liberalism; (4) the context of socio-politics, which has equipped migrant communities with new opportunities for reversing disadvantageous marginalized location to advantageous niche position in receiving-societies and even in the global context.

All these fundamental transformations have ended with the emergence of a new social space. On this social space, people from different places can become a member of a particular social unity as long as they feel themselves associated with common values and shared practices such as language, ethnicity, religion and the home-land. The particularity of this new social form depends on its ability to generate an influential common belongingness for its members regardless of distance and national borders that crosses the space, which re-territorialized as a geography of solidarity by practices of its members.

Analysing the context of transnationalism is also important to understand this spatial de-/re-territorialisation. As Stack initially notices, this is the process of "transnational ramification of ethnicity" which has not come out of the blue but which blossomed out of a long maturation period since the end of the Second World War. According to him,

> *Increasing patterns of global interdependence in economic relations, communication and transportation systems, and the penetration of societies provide ethnic groups with unprecedented opportunities to enter the political processes of state, regions, and the global system.*[207]

This "good vehicle for carrying in demands to political field"[208] gave access to three different levels. In the intra-societal level, ethnicity has become a vehicle for interacting between societies and communities in diverse places by by-passing intervention of nation-states. For instance, in the 1970's, the Northern Ireland civil rights activists imitated the protesting strategies of the American Black Movement. This unplanned and uncontrolled interaction between different civil rights struggles in the new and the old continent indicates a proper example for intra-societal level. In the state level, ethnicity can be used for direct participation into world politics by interacting with states and other international actors. Especially, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, ethnicity has superseded ideologies in the field of international relations. Finally, on the global level, in accordance with the rise of international institutions and multinational companies, ethnicity may be used as an independent carrier of previously local issues to international level. As in the case of the European Union, lobbying regionally in Brussels may be much more effective than protesting locally.[209]

In this sense, after 1980s, emerging transnational context has overlapped with the process of "transnational ramification of ethnicity" that Stack attempts to understand. One of the most remarkable outcomes of this process for migrant communities is diversifying and increasing channels to give voice to their demands by mobilizing their particular identities in different levels. Lewellen indicates this process by referring to the concept of deterritorialized nation-state:

> *Living across borders, transnational migrants break down the identification of nation and state and give rise to the paradoxical concept of deterritorialized state or, more accurately, deterritorialized space. … It is basically social space, that is, it is defined in terms of social networks rather than in relation to political or geographical boundaries. … While defined in terms of social networks, these networks usually follow economic linkages, lines of capital that unite the group*

[207] John F. Stack, 1981 a, op. cit. , pp. 5, 7

[208] John F. Stack, 1981 b, op. cit. , p. 26

[209] Ibid. 19-27

> *within an interweaving of trade, finance, and remittances. … Highly dispersed population may construct themselves as deterritorialized nation-state with a common leadership.*[210]

In the age of transnationalism, sending national-states have also been rammed to reorganize itself as a result of socio-political impacts of its migrant citizens in the era of transnationalization. The relation between a nation-state and its citizens abroad may be either *consensually supportive* or *controversially impeding*. As Ercan-Argun basically categorizes:

> *On the one had states may be capable of exerting power over their subjects outside of delineated national boundaries. On the other hand, they can be utterly incapable of exerting power even within their own national borders, precisely because of the processes of globalisation and transnationalization.*[211]

One of the well-known examples for the case of consensually supportive is the Haitian *Lavalas Mouvman* (Deluge Movement). After the long-aggressive François Duvalier dictatorial regime since 1957, Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected as president among eleven other parties with % 67 of total votes in 1990.[212] His government immediately organized the *Lavalas Mouvman* with the slogan of "Lavalas for Home" to attract the attention and get the support of Haitian citizens aboard. Even in his inaugural ceremonies he met with representatives of Haitian citizens abroad and declared that "Haiti's prodigal children" will be "under the aegis and the protection of the political power of the Haitian nation-sate". This was a completely different political approach than that of Duvalier regime had executed during the period of dictatorship. Duvalier dictatorial regime required an absolute decision between "living abroad" and "staying home." During the dictatorial regime, Haitians, who chose the latter option, was labelled as "betrayers of their racial and national legacies" as a *kamoken* (suspicious and disloyal element). In contrast to this exclusionary politics, *Lavalas Mouvman* recognizes the right of Haitian citizens to stay as an

[210] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 151

[211] Betigül Ercan-Argun, op. cit. , p. 7

[212] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 150

essential component of nation even in the case of choosing citizenship of host-land.[213]

To realize the reconciliation of the relationship between Haitian citizens abroad and the home-land, Aristede government established *Dizyèm Departmanan* (Tenth Department) which refers to a new state in addition to the nine geographical regions of Haiti, namely, "virtual" state of Haitian citizens abroad.[214] Arsitede was forced to withdraw from power and he was exiled in 1991 by a military coup. During his exile, Haitian citizens abroad organized series of political campaigns to protect and support the Aristede regime. *Haïti Réalité* (Haiti Reality) radio station which is established by Haitian immigrants in New York played a very important role during those campaigns.[215] As a result of Haitian immigrant communities' effort, Aristede could come to the power in Haiti again. In the light of this experience, new government concentrated on building strong relations with Haitian citizens abroad. In 1995, *Ministére des Haitiens Vivant a l' Etranger* (Ministry of Haitians Living Abroad) established to assist Haitian citizen abroad in their visitations to, investments in and possible returns to Haiti.[216] In this sense,

> *These emerging transnational nation-states are 'deterritorialized' in the sense that persons who have emigrated and their descendants are defined as continuing to belong to the polity form which they originated.*[217]

The national Kurdish movement organized in Turkey and more extensively in Europe may be discussed as a reverse example. In this case, transnationally organized national Kurdish movement struggles with the existing nation-states of Turkey, Iran and Syria to establish independent Kurdistan. In the case of Turkey, as a result of political instabilities and armed conflicts in the south-eastern parts of

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[213] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 136

[214] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 150

[215] Nina Glick Schiller, Georges Fouron, "Transnational Lives and National Identities: the Identity Politics of Haitian Immigrants" in *Transnationalism From Below* ed. by Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, (Transaction Publisher, 1998): p. 134

[216] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 138

[217] Nina Glick Schiller, Georges Fouron, op. cit. , p. 133

Turkey, Kurdish communities have massively participated in international immigration as asylum seekers, especially after the 1980 military coup. Well-organized Kurdish diaspora in Europe have always been a very crucial problem for Turkish state as it zealously supported armed Kurdish movement and lobbied in a hostile way against Turkey in Europe. During the mid-1990's, the Kurdish national movement, was which organized as Kurdish community associations in Europe, could achieve important political power.

For instance, when the firebombing increased in frequency in 1995 after Turkey's offensive operation into Northern Iraq against PKK, Germany got in touch with the PKK Chief Abdullah Öcalan and warned him to hold back the PKK from any violent actions in German soil.[218] After that PKK has turned to more civil rights movement strategy and started to apply to the European Court of Human Rights for human rights violations in the south-eastern part of Turkey. Just after five years, in the 16th February 1999, Abdullah Öcalan was captured in Kenya and was sent to Turkey. At the same time, protest campaigns were immediately organized in twenty Europe countries with the slogan of "*if Öcalan dies, Europe goes up in flames!*"[219] Needless to say, organizing this kind of large-scale protest campaign beyond national borders requires well-established social networks among Kurdish communities in all these European countries. As Adamson mentions:

> *The communication technology which characterizes current processes of globalisation has made it possible for dispersed communities of Kurdish activist and intellectuals to pool their assets and thereby take advantages of the variations in resources and political opportunity structures which exist between different states.*[220]

Med TV in 1995 (Medya-TV in 2000), as pluri-local broadcasting branch of the Kurdish national movement, undertakes most parts of informing and networking responsibility. Their broadcasting politics may clearly explain why the newly emerging social space means an opportunity for contemporary migrant communities. Directors of Kurdish broadcasting company tend to produce

[218] D. Wesley Chapin, op. cit. , p. 138

[219] Betigül Ercan-Argun, op. cit. , p. 3

[220] Fiona B. Adamson, op. cit. , p. 161

different programmes in different European countries for benefiting from different subsidising opportunities as in the case of children's programmes produced in Sweden for maximising special funds from Swedish government.[221] In this sense, regardless of her *de jure* position in the home-land and/or in the global politics, as Faist mentions, Kurdistan is an *ex post facto*[222] construction which has only become possible on this newly emerging social space which re-territorialize de-territorialized Kurdish communities beyond historical, geographical and national borders and limitations.

[221] Ibid, p. 161

[222] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , p. 218

CHAPTER IV

DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF TRANSNATIONALISM

As we have seen, each case (the Haitian deluge movement as a *consensually supportive* or the case of the national Kurdish movement as a *controversially impeding*) clearly indicates the newly emerging social space as an outcome of transformations in international migratory patterns, technological development, the global economic system and socio-political structures of the home- or host-lands. In this chapter, I will mainly try to define this new social space from the perspective of transnationalism. To conclude my analysis, first of all, I will focus on discussions about the question of novelty of the phenomenon of transnationalism. Then, I will try to reach a general definition of this new conceptualisation by referring to its derivatives from the literature.

4.1. "It is not a New Phenomenon but …"

In the literature on transnationalism, one of the most common mottos reflects a suspicion about the novelty of the phenomenon. This suspicion is generally proved with certain examples from the human history, which suggest border-crossing practices are not unique to our times. Additionally, this discussion is ambiguously and schizophrenically located at the beginning of the chapter, which discusses novelties of contemporary transnationalism. For instance, just for exemplifying, Peggy Levitt mentions that "living transnationally is not a new" at the beginning of her book.[223] In this sense, it may be concluded that transnationalism is not a new phenomenon which contemporarily includes considerable novelties.

It is obvious that the question of novelty is much related to the definition of the concept of transnationalism. When the concept is defined as "having a multi-polar

[223] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 21

geographic orientation, rather than one limited exclusively to a single coherent geographical space", as Pries states, the Catholic Church may also be evaluated as a transnational phenomenon for almost two thousand years.[224] From a comparable point of view, in feudal Europe, aristocrat families or merchant classes may also be represented as "European's first transnational families."[225] For the reason that, as Norbert Elias indicates, irrespective of the feudal borders of that period, "the differences between them are less significant than the common features."[226] On the other hand, migration from the old to the new continent during the colonial period of the 15th-16th centuries also created huge amounts of outer populations, which had had continuous relation with their home-land for centuries.[227] For instance, Portuguese *Saudade*s with the motto of *estamos todos espalhados pelos mundo* (we are all spread through the world) constitute one of the foremost examples for dispersed communities whose "soul divided throughout the world the uprooted experience located between the desire of the future and the memories of the past" [228] which reminds the definition of diaspora as well.

In spite of current popularity of the concept of transnationalism, in fact, it was firstly introduced and used by Randolph S. Bourne (in 1916). Although, the concept used by Bourne directly refers what it actually means today, the concept did not recorded by social science lexicons until the 1980's. In his avant-garde article, Bourne starts with referring to a "shocking" discovery in the U.S.A of the 1920's:

[224] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 6

[225] Deborah Bryceson, op. cit. , p. 32

[226] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Sage, 2003): p. 66

[227] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 152

[228] Bela Bianco-Feldman, "*Multiple Layers of Time and Space: The Construction of Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism among Portuguese Immigrants*" in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton, (New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1992): p. 145

> *The discovery of diverse nationalistic feelings among our great alien population has come to most people as an intense shock.*[229]

Because no one was expecting migrants to continue a constant relation with their home-land while there were thousands of kilometres between these locales. Their home-land orientation in "the world federation in miniature" and "the first international nation" caused an amorphous social position on which "they merge but they do not fuse."[230] According to Bourne:

> *They come to escape from the shifting air and chaos of the old world; they came to make their fortune in a new land. They invented no new social framework. Rather they brought over bodily the old ways to which they had been accustomed. Tightly concentrated on a hostile frontier, they were conservative beyond belief. Their pioneer daring was reserved for the objective conquest of material sources. In their folkways, in their social and political institutions, they were, like every colonial people, slavishly imitative of mother country.*[231]

As a conclusion, Bourne states that "no Americanization will fulfil this vision which does not recognize the uniqueness of this trans-nationalism of ours"; therefore, "dual citizenship shall to be accepted"[232] as a recognition of their dual-positioning.

The case of Italian immigrants in the U.S.A constitutes one of the most proper examples of this type of immigrant in the period that Bourne wrote. For instance, 12.3 million individual money orders received to post-office in New York from 1900 to1906 which clearly indicated the volume of the relation between Italian immigrants in the host-land and non-immigrants in the home-land. For this period, Foner says that "It was quite possible that 'little Italy' in New York contributes more to the tax roll of Italy than some of the poorer provinces in Sicily."[233] Although most of them would never return to Italy, this significant contribution to the home-land economy was not worthless at all. By the 1925,

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[229] Randolph S. Bourne, "Trans-National America" in *Theories of Ethnicity: A classical Reader* ed. by Werner Sollars (MacMillan Press, 1996, originally 1916): p. 93

[230] Ibid. , pp. 100, 102

[231] Ibid. , p. 95

[232] Ibid. , pp. 105, 107

[233] Nancy Foner, ob. cit. , p. 357

twenty-seven organizations in the U.S.A were subsidised by Italian government in order to help her citizens abroad.[234] Prior to this governmental subsidy for Italian citizens abroad, the question of keeping them integrated into the home-land had already been putted on the agenda of Italian governments. In 1906, Voting Rights for citizens abroad was the key issue of this discussion, which actually was one of the earliest examples of political transnationalism as well. As can be noticed by Gino Speranza's words:

> *The old barriers are everywhere breaking down. We may even bring ourselves to the point of recognizing foreign 'colonies' in our midst on our soil, as entitled to partake in the parliamentary life of their mother country.*[235]

At the same period in which "the old barriers were everywhere breaking down", the Ottoman government published a public notice in Argentines newspapers to announce the names of wanted criminals, who emigrated to Argentina by escaping from the Ottoman police. According to the Ottoman authorities, these criminals could degenerate ordinary Ottoman citizens in Argentina who were seen as a potential returnees. Therefore, the idea behind this announcement was mainly to prevent degeneration of Ottoman society at home. These people were among the 1,2 million Ottoman citizens who immigrated to America from 1860 to 1914 and out of whom 100,000 Ottoman citizens were settled in Argentina.[236]

In accordance with these examples, the point should also be mentioned that, even at the beginning of the 20th century, emigrated members of some communities could have certain political effects on the home-land as well. For instance, the making of the Czechoslovakian nation by sociologist Thomas Masaryk and the publication of the first paper in the Lithuanian language were realized out of national borders, -at least out of the home-land.[237] In addition to these earliest examples of the political transnationalism, the pioneering study of William Isaac

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[234] Peggy Levitt, ob. cit. , p. 21

[235] quoted in Nancy Foner, ob. cit. , pp. 361-62

[236] İbrahim Murat Bozkurt and Hamdi Genç, "20. Yüzyılın Başlarında Osmanlı topraklarından Amerika Kıtasına Yapılan Emek Göçü", paper presented to 7. Ulusal Sosyal Bilim Konresi, 21-23 November 2001, Ankara.

[237] Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landott, ob. cit. , p. 226

Thomas and Florian Znaniecki in 1927 also indicates continuous emotionally motivated relations among Polish immigrants in U.S.A and those who left behind in the home-land. Needless to say, these relations functioned as mechanisms of social solidarity keeping communities united.[238]

"Merged but not fused" hyphenated Americans continued to attract social scientists' attention during the following decades. In the golden age of assimilationalist perspective, which anticipated assimilation of newcomers into the host-society step by step, migrant communities who insisted to "imitate mother country" were seen as a kind of deviant social characters. For instance, in his article *The Sojourner*, Paul C.P. Siu (in 1952) analysed Chinese immigrant communities who had already settled in the U.S.A in the 1950's as a "perpetual foreigners". According to him, they remained foreigners because they continued to "cling to the culture of their own groups" and "spend many years of their life time in a foreign community without being assimilated."[239] The sojourner type of immigrants does not search for any place in host-society. They come for working hard, saving a lot and returning to establish a better life in the home-land as just Italian immigrants did in the 1900's. [240] As a result, as McKeown contributes, the sojourner develops new way of living which reflects neither home- nor host-land characteristics.[241]

In conclusion, border-crossing practices can not be represented as completely new phenomena of our times. Regardless of how the concept of border defined is since the beginning of history, there were always certain groups of people who crossed borders in accordance with population movement as the concept of diaspora refers to. However, contemporary border-crossing practices and contemporary migrant communities as actors of those practices have certain novelties which push social

[238] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 204

[239] quoted in Philip Q. Yang, ob. cit. , pp. 235-236

[240] Nancy Foner, ob. cit. , pp. 358

[241] Adam McKeown, "Ethnographies of Chinese Transnationalism" in *Diaspora*, Vol: 10, No: 3, Winter 2001, Routledge, p. 341

scientists to reconsider theoretical frames and analytical tools. Conceptual boom in the social science literature especially after the 1960s refers to a search for more appropriate understanding of newly emerging migrant communities and their changing border-crossing practices. For instance, the appearance of the concepts of "symbolic ethnicity", "affective ethnicity", "phantom ethnicity", "imagined ethnicity", "pseudo-ethnicity", "optional ethnicity", "strategic ethnicity", and "international ethnicity" [242] was an obvious example of those endeavours to grasp shifting nature of the form of identification at the dawn of changing global context. The following part will mainly deal with those novelties of contemporary border-crossing practices.

4.2. The Novelties of the Contemporary Transnationalism

In the light of the discussion above, novelties which differentiate contemporary transnational practices from traditional border-crossing practices may be introduced for clarifying the theoretical and analytical functions of the concept of transnationalism. These novelties may properly be discussed by being categorised. First of all, although transnationalization is not a new phenomenon, the context and the ground of contemporary border-crossing activities are completely different. As mentioned above, the *geist* of globalization also affects the process of transnationalization as its coeval.

As we have seen, one of the most remarkable novelties of contemporary border-crossing activities is about the transformation of the nation-state. In the age of globalisation the nation-state has encountered new challenges from both supra- and intra-national levels but these challenges reassert their role rather than result in total abolishment.[243] With rearrangement of the role and the position of the nation state, previously mutually exclusive notions have found a ground for living together. Existence of particular cultures has become acceptable diversification under the universal category of national which identified space and societies. This

[242] Dominique Schapper, op. cit. , p. 247

[243] Victor Roudometof, "Transnationalism and Globalization: the Greek Orthodox Diaspora Between Orthodox Universalism and Transnational Nationalism" in *Diaspora*, Vol: 9, No: 3, Winter 2000, Routledge, p. 364

consensus gave rise to more tolerant atmosphere for migrant communities and their border-crossing activities. As Levitt mentions "…homeland connections sustained by migrants today differ from those in the past because they are forged within a cultural context more tolerant of ethnic pluralism."[244] In this sense, immigrants started to "express themselves more openly… in the more diverse social reality."[245] In other words, those kinds of practices are not perceived as social deviancy.

Additionally, transnational practices as a border-crossing activity has a multi-polar geographic orientation and has achieved more popular and regular characteristic in this age, needless to say, as a result of new technologies which "permit easier and more intimate connections."[246] In contrast to comparable practices in the past which were strictly limited to certainly defined membership (as in the case of the Catholic Church or Medieval Aristocracy), contemporary border-crossing activities are no longer "marginal". They have become "mass phenomena"[247] and "routine and normal lifestyles" of migrant communities[248] rather than "fleeting or exceptional". In this sense "regularity, routine involvement, and critical mass" may be represented as other important characteristics of contemporary border-crossing activities.[249] In other words, "it can be said that the speed and the frequency of the contact have changed."[250] From this perspective social space of contemporary border-crossing activities may be defined as

[244] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 25

[245] Dominique Schapper, op. cit. , p. 245

[246] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 22

[247] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 6

[248] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 253

[249] Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landott, op. cit. , pp. 219, 225

[250] Ramón Grostoguel and Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, op. cit. , p. 358

> *An emergent social field that is composed of a growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders.* [251]

This new social field supplies a fertile ground for new types of social practices and experiences as well.[252] These social practices and experiences should be seen as reflections of the global context in which they take place. For instance, contemporary migrant communities "forge social practice and ethnic identity that have a transnational character rather than becoming hyphenated"[253] This shift in identity formation also reflects into their way of politics. In contrast to migrant political movements of the past, contemporary migrants "are dually incorporated into both states and participate in the political events" of the home- and the host-land.[254] This pervasive characteristic of contemporary border-crossing activities of migrant communities has also increased their influences on the home-land. As Esposito notices, in contrast of superior position of the home-land over immigrants in the past, axis of this asymmetrical relation has currently shifted to host-lands.[255] For instance, reinterpretation power of new generation abroad has gradually started affecting the understanding of Islam at home. For the first time in history, the home-land has lost its importance to be reference point in terms of identity. As a result of interconnectedness of contemporary world parallel to the new technological, economic and socio-political contexts, migrant communities can be more interfering as a result of their economic, social and political superiorities, which derive from utilizing structural opportunities of more than one locale. By the assistance of transformative agency of transnationalized immigrant communities, non-immigrants have also transnationalized without experiencing migration. This is what Morawska (2002) and Alarcón (1989) call *pre-migration westernization* and *nortenización* (northisation), respectively.[256]

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[251] Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo and Patricia Landott, op. cit. , p. 217

[252] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, op. cit. , p. 24

[253] Nancy Foner, ob. cit. , pp. 355

[254] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, op. cit. , p. 281

[255] John L. Esposito, op. cit. , p. 245

[256] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 25

As Lewellen briefly summarizes:

> *Contemporary transnationalism within the context of globalization is deeper and more layered than its precursor: (1) "lives are lived across borders" with a high intensity of ongoing social and economic interactions made possible by cheap and rapid travel and by instantaneous communication. (2) Transnationalism is a fairly recent effect of the flexible job market made possible by the internationalization of capitalist production and finance. (3) Transnationalism creates a novel type of immigrant identity, a hybrid combination of both home and host requiring researcher develop new methods and new concepts to examine identity. (4) Over time transnationalism becomes increasingly independent of its original conditions, as migrants gain knowledge and acquire cultural capital and social networks are reformulated and expanded. (5) Transnational develop new modes of resistance – diaspora communities, interstate institutions, support network, and political power- to defend against their minority status in the host country and against asymmetries in the global marketplace.*[257]

In short, contemporary border-crossing practices mainly arise from the contexts which give rise to the emergence of a new social space, as discussed above. As an outstanding actor of this new social space, contemporary migrant communities has met with incomparable novelties, which makes them socially and politically more influential and technologically more equipped. All in all, the lack of an appropriate analytical tool has come to light under these circumstances, as a result of endeavours to understand sociological and anthropological outcomes of those transformations. In the next part, I will focus on these endeavours which try to understand those outcomes and, in this way, to define the concept of transnationalism as an appropriate theoretical frame and an analytical tool.

4.3. Defining the Concept of Transnationalism

As a newly emerging concept, defining transnationalism is one of troublesome issues of the literature on transnationalism. As Al-Ali mentions,

> *There is little doubt that the term transnationalism is currently en vogue, and that as a result it has been overused and misused, and furthermore, often used without conceptual or definitional clarity.*[258]

[257] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 152

[258] Nadje Al-Ali and Kahlid Koser, "Transnationalism, International Migration and Home" in *New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* ed. by Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Koser, (Routledge, 2002): pp. 1-14

Needless to say, these ambiguities derive from a lack of definite consensus on the concept of transnationalism and from disconnected endeavours to define transnationalism on the basis of case-based researches. Additionally, highly specialized disciplinary boundaries are another handicap for these efforts by making only certain aspects of phenomena visible. In other words, understanding locale and specific forms of these exceedingly complex phenomena may not be sufficient to grasp the holistic picture of their actuality. In this sense, starting with an analysis for understanding theoretical functions of the concept of transnationalism may be a starting departure point.

As Castles argues, the emergence of the concept of transnationalism has abolished old boundaries between nations as well as disciplines. According to him, the concept functions as a remedy for "social-scientific division of labour" by serving as transmission belt between different fields of studies. For instance, "migration" and "multiculturalism"[259] or "the importance of geographical movement across border" and "the impacts of migration on societies"[260] or presence of migrant communities in host-lands and their influences on the home-land were generally studied as individual social phenomena. Theorizing transnational orientation of migrant communities as social deviancy may no longer be analytically valid with the rise of transnational perspective. As Yang says, "boundary between sojourning and settlement become blurred" and the understanding of dual sojourning and/or dual settlement is no longer valid. So, liberation from this duality has become possible in the era of transnationalism.[261] These kinds of experiences started to be perceived "not as anomalies but representative of an increasingly globalised world."[262] In other words, we have started to understand that the world of migrant communities is not clearly divided between assimilation and integration.

[259] Stephen Castles, ob. cit. , pp. 22, 24

[260] Nadje Al-Ali and Kahlid Koser, ob. cit. , p. 3

[261] Philip Q. Yang, ob. cit. , p. 254

[262] Nadje Al-Ali and Kahlid Koser, ob. cit. , p. 3

In this sense, the concept of transnationalism refers to the end of *ancient* perspectives which perceive migration as "a single movement from one place to another"[263] and presence of migrant communities as "a dilemma between two cultures."[264] In contrast to such duality-based understandings, the transnational perspective offers a new way of understanding those phenomena. As Ercan-Argun briefly summarizes,

> *Rather than asking the cause-effect oriented question why and how migration occurs, the processual, as opposed to causal, approach is interested in what happens once migration starts. Migration from this perspective is seen as continuous process with economic, political, and social implication.*[265]

In other words, the concept of transnationalism reconceptualize immigration "as a process of network ties, of relationship between group and social agents distributed across different places, maximizing their economic opportunities through mutual and multiple displacements,"[266] which is not new features –as we have already discussed enough- but "have largely been ignored until recently".[267]

In this sense,

> *Transnationalism allows an understanding of migrants as no longer caught in the trap between either assimilation or nostalgia and the 'myth of return'. Rather, it is argued, migrants are more and more able to construct their lives across borders, creating economic, social, political and cultural activities which allow them to maintain membership in both their immigration country and their country of origin.*[268]

It has also be pointed out that:

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[263] Carolle Charles, "Transnationalism in the construction of Haitian Migrants' Racial Categories of Identity in New York City" in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton, (The New York Academy of Sciences, 1992): p. 101

[264] Rud Salih, "Shifting Meanings of 'Home': Consumption and Identity in Moroccan Women's Transnational Practice between Italy and Morocco" in *New Approaches to Migration?: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* ed. by Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Koser, (Routledge, 2002): p. 51

[265] Betigül Ercan-Argun, ob. cit. , p. 22

[266] Carolle Charles, ob. cit. , p. 101

[267] Nadje Al-Ali and Kahlid Koser, ob. cit. , p. 3

[268] Rud Salih, ob. cit. , p. 51

> *"These concepts* [transnationalism and its derivatives] *link migration and multicultural societies by emphasizing that migration does not simply mean a transition from one society to another: rather, migrants and their descendants often maintain long-term cultural, social, economic and political links with their society of origin as well as with co-ethnics all over the world.… Notions of transnationalism point to the need for news sites for democracy, both below and above the level of nation-state. Greater self-determination for local communities, together with mechanism for democratic control of global market forces and transnational corporations, are necessary if democracy is to remain our ideal in a globalizing world.*[269]

In the light of those analytical functions, discussion on the definition of transnationalism shall perhaps best start with the most frequently used quotation:

> *Transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call the processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships -familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political- that span borders we call transmigrants.*[270]

The space which has been spanned beyond borders by migratory practices and social networks in the era of globalization is conceptualized as *Transnational Social Space* (TNSS) on which a new kind of social networks emerged which knit formally -at least- two distant and different geographical spaces together "but is at the same time more than just the sum of the two".[271]

> *As dense, stable, pluri-local and institutionalized frameworks, TNSSs are composed of material artefacts, the social practices of everyday life, as well as systems of symbolic representation.*[272]

In this sense;

> *It* [TNSS] *basically social space… It is defined in terms of social networks rather than in relation to political or geographical boundaries. … While defined in terms of social networks, these networks usually follow economic linkages, lines of capital that unite the group within an interweaving of trade, finance, and remittances.*[273]

For further definition, according to Thomas Faist;

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[269] Stephen Castles, ob. cit. , p. 25

[270] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, ob. cit. , p. p. 7

[271] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 18

[272] Ibid. , p. 8

[273] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 8

> *TNSSs are characterized by a high density of interstitial ties on informal or formal international level… TNSSs are combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states. These spaces are denoting dynamic social process, not static notions of ties and position... TNSSs are constituted by the various forms of resources or capital of spatially mobile and immobile person, on the one hand, and the regulatory imposed by Nation-State and various other opportunities and constrains, on the other hand… They provide transmission belt that bridge collectives and networks in district and separate nation-state.* [274]

Migrant communities need to have this transmission belt because "resource inherited in social and symbolic ties… is difficult to transfer from one country to another."[275] As mentioned above, these resources are very crucial for migrant communities for reducing the migratory costs by mobilizing "local assets" beyond national borders. In this sense, TNSSs have certain opportunities by effecting "volume and convertibly" of certain capitals such as economic and social capitals and human resources. As the level of mobilization increases, the difference between staying at home- and living in host-lands dependently reduces. In other words, immigrant and non-immigrant communities in two geographical spaces have merged into "a single area of social action"[276] that also refers the rise of new type of space beyond the control of particular nation-state.[277]

> *The reality of TNSSs indicates, first, that migration and re-migration are not definite, irrevocable, and irreversible decisions. Transnational lives in themselves may become a strategy of survival and betterment. Second, even those migrants and refugees who have settled for a considerable time outside the country of origin frequently entertain strong transnational links. Third, to varying degrees activities in transnational spaces escape the control of the nation-state involved.*[278]

One of the most obvious examples of this new social space is residing in two countries in six months periods. This new trend has recently appeared and immediately popularised among Turkish migrants, as ex-guest-workers and new permanent settlers, at the end of the 1990's.[279] They started to spend just below

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[274] Thomas Faist, March 2000, op. cit. , pp. 190-194

[275] Ibid. , p. 194

[276] Nancy Foner, ob. cit. , pp. 355

[277] Thomas Faist, March 2000, op. cit. , pp. 190-194

[278] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , p. 200

[279] Ibid. , p. 194

six months in home-land during the winter because of climatic attraction and just above 6 months in host-land to stay under the guarantee of German social security system. As Jurgens exemplifies, The Özgür Family who has been actually residing in Völklingen-Germany has started spending six months of each year in "rural home outside Sivas and in their apartments in Ankara" in Turkey.[280] Needless to say, this ability requires a new kind of context which makes this dual-lives possible, well established social networks beyond one national border and a new type of migrant who "began to make family decision across national borders."[281] "We then speak of transmigrants" as that new type of migrant, according to Lewellen:

> *A transnational migrant is one who maintains active, ongoing interconnections in both the home and host countries and perhaps with communities in other countries as well.*[282]

This situation of belonging to more than one society is essential distinctiveness of contemporary migrants. Instead of passive acceptance of existing conditions, active participation into the social life of both societies underlines this difference. As Pries vividly defines:

> *Transmigrants differ from emigrants and immigrants, and from return-migrants, just because they move back and forth between different places and develop their social spaces of everyday life, their work trajectories and biographical projects in this new and emerging configuration of special practices, symbols and artefacts that spans different spaces.*[283]

And as Basch *et al.* indicate this web of practices and social relations has became very complicated than it was before:

> *Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations –familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously.*[284]

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[280] Jeffrey Jurgens, op. cit. , p. 97

[281] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, op. cit. , p. 238

[282] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 151

[283] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 21

[284] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, op. cit. , p. 26

In this sense, as inhabitants of emerging transnational social space, a clear distinction between the home- and host-lands is no longer meaningful for those transmigrants who can be active members of both societies. Also, due to the fact that family de-unification has become one of the common experiences in international migration process after the Second World War, migrants had automatically become members of geographically divided families. After 1970's, almost all these divided families have directly subjected to be transnationalization process as well. Even in the case of family re-unification, continuing familial relations with close relatives who remained at home gave rise to the emergence of a new type of familial relation with a new familial division of labour. In contrast to familial division of labour in classical model in which father goes to abroad as a bread winner and mother and children stays at home; after the family re-unification, emigrated family turned into *breadwinner-family* by economically supporting those who did not emigrate in return for their efforts to care immigrant families' properties in addition to classical child/elderly caring, namely, in return for keeping home warm in the case of return in indefinite future. This type of family, which has emerged in accordance with rearrangement of familial tasks across national borders among immigrants and non-immigrant members of the family, is conceptualised as a *transnational household*.[285] In spite of the distance between family members, they can stay connected with a "feeling of collective welfare and unity" or "family hood" even across national borders as a *transnational family*.[286] Consequently, empowerment of transnational ties increases dependency of family members on each other in order to reduce the costs of building a constant relation or of staying connected with home despite being divided among different locales.[287]

Belonging to more than one society causes certain identification problems for both migrants themselves and researchers who try to figure out their position. For

[285] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 75

[286] Deborah Bryceson, ob. cit. , p. 3

[287] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 75

instance, the concept of "status inconsistency" derives from efforts to understand the position of migrants in between two countries from the economical perspectives.[288] This inconsistency leaves them with two different socio-economic roles which must be fulfilled in different time in different places. As Lessinger points out,

> *In host, they are passive objects of capitalist forces but in home they can be active both politically and economically.*[289]

In other words, this initial problem was about identifying socio-economical position of migrants in between proletarian as a worker and disadvantageous as a migrant bourgeoisie in host-lands and petty bourgeoisie position in the home-land. Moreover, politically speaking, living across borders had a disembedding effect on identification of migrants with any particular nation state as well.[290] In other words, this "complex web of social relation" generates a new form of fluid and multiple identities. As Basch *et. al.* suggest:

> *Transnational migrants, with variation linked to their class background and racial positioning, have their own notions about categories of identity and their own conception of the rules of the hegemonic game. People live in and create a new social and cultural space which calls for a new awareness of who they are, a new consciousness, and new identities. … It is important to recognize that transnational migrants exist, interact, are given and assert their identities, and seek or exercise legal and social rights within national structures that monopolize power and foster ideologies of identity. At the same time, it is clear that the identity, field of action, ideology, or even legal rights of citizenship of transnational migrants are not confined within the boundaries of any one single polity.*[291]

Then, we can talk about a new form of community which transmigrant has constituted by mobilizing their presence beyond national borders in the form of new complicated identities. The concept of *transnational community* refers to these new communal forms, which "spread across borders, have an enduring

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[288] Quoted in Sami Güven, *Dış Göç ve 'İşçi Yatırım Ortaklıkları'* (Ankara: TODAİE yay., 1977): p. 44

[289] Johanna Lessinger, "*Investing or Going Home? A Transnational Strategy among Indian Immigrants in the United States*" in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton, (The New York Academy of Sciences, 1992): p. 77

[290] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 151

[291] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, op. cit. , pp. 39-40

presence abroad, and take part in some kind of exchange between or among spatially separated component groups."[292] The exchange among transnational communities does not only depend on economical relations. Exchanging information on new opportunities in labour market and immigration policies in host-lands, exchanging of service and sharing of domestic tasks, and even mate matching should also be considered in the frame of transnational social network.[293] On the other hand, transnational families and transnational communities are quite different, namely, the latter is organized form of the former, as we will see later. By establishing transnational communities, migrant communities can "keep their feet" in two or more locales in different societies "instead of loosing their connection and trading one membership for another."[294] As Pries mentions, this new type of communities can have pluri-local characteristic because

> *Transnational communities (as) local communities constituted through their own transnational political and social processes, existing within but constituted apart from the larger states and societies within which they are situated.*[295]

This constitution is directly related with the ability to utilise existing opportunities in political and social structures by mobilising particular socio-cultural and religious networks in order to "forge social relations, earn their livelihoods, and exercise their rights across borders."[296] In this sense, a case of institutionalisation of any transnational community in the form of a well-established association which connects different locales in order to increase and strengthen their influence can be evaluated as *transnational social movements* (TNSMs). According to Smith *et al.,* as a new type of social movement,

> *TNSMs incorporate members from more than two countries, have some formal structure, and coordinate strategy through an international secretariat,*

[292] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 242

[293] Carolle Charles, ob. cit. , p. 111

[294] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 3

[295] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 19

[296] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 3

> *communication and association across national borders. Address issues that governments cannot resolve alone.*[297]

McCarthy's definition of social movements (SMs) in the era of globalization may also be stressed to define TNSMs:

> *SMs may form around chronic social cleavages such as class, religion, region, language, and ethnicity. However, as associational structures increasingly replace more traditional communal structures as the locus of personal identity, social movements are more likely to develop around emergent, socially constructed categories of shared identity and/or grievance. And they may seek broader or narrower goals. Finally, social movement dynamics are conceived as ongoing strategic interactions between movement elements and other institutions, organizations, groups, individuals within a society, and, especially, state authorities.*[298]

In his article, McCarthy also draws main features of globalised SMs and/or TNSMs. First of all "strategic framing process" is a very crucial step for generating shared "understanding of the world and of themselves", namely, common codes. For McCarthy, CNN International is a proper example for generating a transnational discourse. Secondly, "activists' identity and carriers" refer to members' "cognitive adoption" to identity that is generated by organisation. Furthermore, "mobilizing structure" means the ground on which an organisation is formed such as religious group or neighbourhood association. These structures are not static. They can gain different direction as well as they are reoriented by new actors at different moments of history but they are always important by drawing general silhouette of an organisation. Additionally, the concept of "political opportunity structure" can also be applied to TNSMs. As discussed above, "right revolutions" as a socio-political transformation constitutes one of the most crucial political opportunity structures of contemporary TNSMs. Lastly, "repertories of contention" is the final feature of TNSMs which refers to diverse set of tactics and strategies of movement for achieving aimed goals. Related with the previous feature, even branches of same TNSMs can incline to equip themselves with different political discourses and strategies. In addition to this analysis, Smith *et al.* also highlights certain functions that TNSMs started to

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[297] Jackie Smith, Ron Pagnucco, and Charles Chatfield, op. cit. , p. 61

[298] John D McCarthy, "The Globalization of Social Movement Theory" in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: solidarity Beyond the State*, ed. by Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, Ron Pagnucco, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997): p. 244

fulfil in this period. According to them, in most cases, they become "the eyes, ears, and hand of some intergovernmental agencies" by monitoring human right violation cases.[299]

In sum, six premises of Basch *et al.* may be mentioned as general frame of understanding transnationalism:

> *The six premises central to our conceptualization of transnationalism are the following: (1) bounded social science concepts such as tribe, ethnic group, nation, society, or culture can limit the ability of researchers to first perceive and then analyse, the phenomenon of transnationalism; (2) the development of the transnational migrant experience is inextricably linked to the changing condition of global capitalism, and must be analysed within that world context; (3) transnationalism is grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationship of migrants; (4) transnational migrants, although predominantly workers, live a complex existence that forces them to confront, draw upon, and rework different identity constructs -national, ethnic and racial; (5) the fluid and complex existence of transnational migrants compels us to reconceptualize the categories of nationalism, ethnicity, and race, theoretical work that can contribute to reformulating our understanding of culture, class, and society; and (6) transmigrants deal with and confront a number of hegemonic contexts, both global and national. These hegemonic contexts have an impact on the transmigrants' consciousness, but at the same time transmigrants reshape these contexts by their interactions and resistance.*[300]

To conclude, the concept of transnationalism and its derivatives refer to a newly emerging social space as an outcome of changing migratory patterns and transformations in technological, economical and socio-political structures. Migrant communities as a subject and an actor of this complicated process have met with certain opportunities to utilise newly emerging conditions and mobilise their presence beyond nationally defined borders. By depending on this new social space, they can constitute a new form of community by interacting with different contexts of different countries and, additionally, by liberating their existence from limited frames of individual locales. This transnational communal form can also be institutionalised in the form of transnational social movement. In other words, migrant communities can tend to transform the home-land socially and politically. They can mobilise their demands on different levels of actions by associating those levels. In this sense, understanding these newly emerging form

[299] Jackie Smith, *et al.*, op. cit. , p. 69

[300] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, op. cit. , p. 5

of border-crossing practices, transnational social space and transmigrants as the ground and actors of those practices, transnational communities and transnational social movements as communal and institutional forms of those practices requires new theoretical frames and analytical tools as well. In the following chapter, I will try to operationalize the concept of transnationalism to analyse the theoretical and analytical novelties of the concept.

CHAPTER V

OPERATIONALISATION OF THE CONCEPT OF TRANSNATIONALISM

In the light of pervious discussions, in this chapter, I will try to operationalize the concept of transnationalism to reach a methodology for transnational research. In this sense, first of all, the transnational phenomena will be differentiated. In spite of its complex and multi-local characteristic, transnational social space is not a homogenous space, which refers to a monolithic social unity. In this sense, differentiating transnational phenomena may supply us with an in-depth understanding of the very essence of this new social space and its actors. Additionally, in the second part of this chapter, I will try to reach a methodology for researching transnational phenomena by referring to related researches from the literature.

5.1. Differentiating Transnationalism

As mentioned before, parallel to Al-Ali and Koser's critiques about the lack of "conceptual or definitional clarity" in discussions on the concept of transnationalism, new type of social space or practice, which the concept refers to should not be evaluated as a homogenous space or space of consensus. As Guarnizo and Smith mentions:

> *Transnationalism is a multifaceted, multi-local process. A main concern affects power relations, cultural constructions, economic interactions, and, more generally, social organization at the level of the locality.*[301]

In this sense, border-crossing practices of large scale economic and political institutions should first be separated from those of migrant communities in the form of familial and communal social networks. In other words, it is important to notice that, *transnationalism from above* and *from below* are different fields of

[301] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 6

transnationalism.[302] To exemplify, whereas activities of international institutions such as the U.N and the I.M.F "to regulate transnational flow of capital, trade, people, and culture" may be categorized as transnational from above; in contrast to –and mostly against–these attempts, practices of local collectives or communities "to create and reproduce another kind of transnational migration social space… to sustain material and cultural resources in the face of the neo-liberal storm" can be seen as transnationalism from below.[303] This classification also generates different understanding about various types of actors who are mobilising different on that transnational space. For example, in contrast to transmigrants from below whose transnational practices are mainly perceived as cunning attempts for abusing existing opportunities and by-passing given legal procedures, *transnational elites* from above "are highly-skilled personnel who move temporarily within specialised international labour markets."[304] As such, they are preferred to be understood as "mobile" rather than "migrant" in spite of the very same transnational space they are moving in.[305]

In addition to this general scaling, practices on transnational social space may also be categorized according to intensity, regularity and constancy. As Itzingsohn categorizes, transnational practices, as a *broad transnationalism*, which takes place regularly, frequently and constantly are different from *narrow transnationalism*, which refers to very limited participation in border-crossing practices.[306] In a similar point of view, Esposito separates *passive* and *active transnationalism* on the base of objectives and influences a transnational practice has. In his categorization, passive and narrow transnationalism refers to border-crossing practices such as annual visiting and/or regularly sending money to the home-land, which has very limited influence and has no any long-term socio-political objectives. This is in contrast to active and broad transnationalism such

[302] José Itzigsohn, op. cit. , p. 221

[303] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 7

[304] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 14

[305] Deborah Bryceson, ob. cit. , p. 8

[306] José Itzigsohn, op. cit. , p. 293

as constituting organizations, which reinterpret cultural heritage according to new context in host-lands and organizing international protest to push socio-political transformation at the home-land.[307]

In the light of this discussion, it may be argued that particular migrant communities can have different types and forms of transnational existence with diverse sets of practices, as Itzingsohn and Faist analyse. Firstly, according to Itzingsohn, transnational practices may occur on the form of *transnational entrepreneurs* "who mobilise their contrast across borders in search of suppliers, capital and market." Secondly, migrant communities may tend to political activities as a transnational community to achieve certain level of political power. Finally, they may be organized as "socio-cultural enterprises oriented towards the reinforcement of a national identity abroad on the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods" such as inviting local musical folk groups from the home-land.[308]

As Faist suggests, migrant communities can enter into transnational social space by generating one of the three general forms of transnational unity. *Transnational kinship group* is the most basic form whose social relations depends on reciprocity that is controlled by social norms. As discussed above, transnational family as a unity whose members share familial tasks across national borders in return of mutual benefits can be presented as an appropriate example for this form of transnational unity. On the other hand, *transnational circuit*s instrumentally depend on exchange on the base of mutual obligations and expectations. Benefiting from advantages of being inside consolidates in-group unity as in the case of Chinese or Indian trading networks. In contrast to instrumental reciprocity, *transnational community* is constituted on the base of solidarity. As in the case of Jews or Palestinians diaspora, "shared ideas and beliefs give rise to mobilization of collective representation over time and across space."[309]

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[307] Ibid. , p. 248

[308] Ibid. , p. 221

[309] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , pp. 203-209

In addition to differentiation of transnational activities in accordance with diverse forms and types of transnational unity, a transnational community can also be differentiated in itself. These differences may arise from different patterns of integration, diverse types of activities that members participate in, and their place in the transnational social networks. As Levitt notices among the Dominican transnational field between Mirafloreños and New York, some members of transnational community are *recipient observers* who have very isolated social life in receiving society. They are mainly female "who do not work outside their home" or they just work among their compatriots. On the contrary, *instrumental adapters* can "alter their routines for pragmatic reasons". They can integrate in the receiving society especially as a result of occupational activities. Also, *purpose innovators* are "sponges who aggressive seek out, select and absorb new things". They can creatively play and mix new things without losing their origin.[310] According to Levitt, inhabitants of Dominican transnational social space also differentiate the members of this huge family according to ethnical and social norms. Those who participate in certain kinds of illegal activities such as drug smuggling are excluded from community as *Dominicanyork*, (New Yorker Dominicans) in contrast to esteemed *Dominicano Ausente* (absentee Dominicans) who work hard and save honesty.[311] As a result of this differentiation, Dominican migrants generate, what Levitt calls, *mistrustful solidarity*, which refers to a "high degree of scepticism in their relation within the community".[312]

Finally, as Guarnizo mentions, "transnational flows are not limited to geographic mobility."[313] As ideas and information flow between the host- and home-lands and among transnational communities with the assistance of international or internationalised local media, material gifts from host-lands and ethno-cultural tourism, non-immigrants may also enter into the field of transnationalism as

[310] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 57

[311] Ibid. , p. 123

[312] Ibid. , p. 118

[313] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, ob. cit. , p. 19

miserably dependent to immigrant members of transnational community. In other words, there are two kinds of inhabitants of the transnational social space: are people at the core and at the periphery of this space.[314] As Levitt concludes:

> *Many of their social ties and practices are transnational, though they themselves may only travel once or twice a year. Likewise, the individual who never migrated, but who is completely dependent on the economic remittances she receives each month and who lives in a socio-cultural context completely transformed by migration, also inhabits a transnational migration and development.*[315]

In this sense, as a result of asymmetrical relation between diverse locales of the transnational social space, transnational communities also include certain levels of intra-communal economic and social stratification and differentiation.[316] In other words,

> *The costs and rewards of transnational community membership are not more equitably distributed than they are in communities rooted in one place.*[317]

And, therefore

> *Transnational spaces are full of tension and limitation.*[318]

Moreover, it can be argued that the level of exploitation inscribed in all types of familial or communal social relations intensifies in the case of transnational communities. Social, economic, political and cultural asymmetries between the home- and host-lands cause a brutal condition in which non-immigrants or newcomers can easily be exploited as domestic labour force by their immigrant relatives. As Basch *et al.* analyse, this familial or communal exploitation is one of the main characteristics of the transnational social space. According to them:

> *The rubric of family solidarity, shared mutual interest, trust, and responsibility is used to justify both at home and abroad the exploitation of individuals as cheap labour. As we have seen, transnational survival strategies are not of equal benefit*

[314] K. Tölölyan, ob. cit.

[315] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 9

[316] Fiona B. Adamson, ob. cit. , pp. 158-159

[317] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 13

[318] José Itzigsohn, op. cit. , p. 294

> *to all players. Consequently, the tension of family life may at the same time reflect the tension of class struggles.*[319]

Erdemir *et. al.* noticed very resembling exploitative relations among Turkish migrant communities, even among a single family, in London,. For instance, an eldest brother, who initially emigrated from Turkey as an asylum seeker at the end of 1980's, has pulled all his three brothers to London step by step after he achieved to establish a kebab shop. Because of the change in British immigration policy during the last two decades, his brothers could immigrate by using different strategies. Most interestingly, in the last case, the family paid 5,000£ to *şebeke* (literally "network", connotatively illegal organization) for bringing the youngest one to London. During their indefinite period and even after having residence permits, all three brothers "devotedly" work at the kebab shops for 18 hours a day under the supervision of the eldest one.[320]

In this sense, practices of trans-migrants who are unique actors of transnationalism from below can be "counter-hegemonic but not necessarily resistant."[321] As 59 years-old Haitian non-immigrant, Edner, puts it briefly in words, in this space:

> *There are those who have and those who have nothing. It is a collaboration among these people that give you the diaspora.*[322]

So, all those factors mentioned above are significant to study the transnational phenomena. Contemporary border-crossing practices are not uni-directional; rather, they differentiate according to specific characteristics of a transnational community and the contexts of the home- and host-lands. Additionally, actors of those practices can also be differentiated in accordance with their positions at the communal social network and on that highly complicated social space.

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[319] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, op. cit. , p. 241

[320] Aykan Erdemir, Besim Can Zırh, Cemre Erciyes, ob. cit.

[321] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, ob. cit. , p. 5

[322] quoted in Nina Glick Schiller, Georges Fouron, ob. cit. , p. 140

5.2. The Methodology of Transnationalism

In the light of discussions on definitions and differences of transnationalism, the main question is how to design a research on such a complex and sprawled phenomenon? In addition to the contribution of the concept of transnationalism to theoretical studies with its conceptual functions, these can also be used to generate a new research agenda for understanding those phenomena. In contrast to the geographically-bounded approaches, a new agenda should have certain abilities to deal with complex and sprawled web of social relations across borders on different levels of action. As mentioned before, in the classical research agenda:

> *Each population was studied as bounded unity, living in one place, bearing a unique and readily identifiable culture.*[323]

To expand this "narrow" understanding, studying on transnationalism requires new analytical tools for understanding new practices of new actors on new space in the era of transnationalism. As Pries mentions:

> *In our understanding, the approach of TNSS is not the product of a closed paradigm or a finished conceptual framework, but a research agenda… Studies of TNSS require methodological and methodological innovations as well.*[324]

On the other hand, as Basch *et al.* warn (in 1990):

> *It is not an established field: it is highly contested approach that has yet to form a common agenda for research and analysis.*[325]

Before discussing some pioneer examples of researches on transnationalism, TNSS should initially be operationalized to clarify sites of research. In this sense, as Schien argues, in contrast to dual scaling in the form of micro- and macro-level of analysis, three diverse levels of the research field, which require specific analysis and inquiries, should be separated. For avoiding the danger of overgeneralization or over-privileging of macro- and micro-level analysis, meso-level analysis should also be added into the research design in order to

[323] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1992, ob. cit. , p. 31

[324] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 28

[325] quoted in Sarah J. Mahler, op. cit. , p. 74

understand the relation between these controversial levels.[326] As Faist operationalizes, collectives and social networks as main forms of transnationalism *from below* should be considered as intermediate phenomena between individual values, desires and expectancies and structural opportunities, namely, as a meso-level between micro- and macro-level.[327] In this levelling, parallel to differentiation of transnational activity according to different locales, units of analysis should be also differentiated not according to nationally defined boundaries but on the basis of core-, semi-peripheral-, and peripheral-zones of that new social space.[328]

In addition to this new levelling strategy, defining sites and actors of TNSS is another important step to generate a new research agenda. Actually, in his book on classical migration, Sowell indicates some crucial dynamics which cause differentiation in migratory experiences. According to him differences "among the migrants themselves, in the circumstances from which they came and in the changing settings in which their life evolve" give particular characteristics to migrant communities.[329] In other words, main characteristics of a migrant community, sending- and receiving-society frame the general characteristic of specific migration experience. This model is also valid to understand contemporary border-crossing practices, which require more detailed analysis.

For instance, to define sites and actors of TNSS, Itzingsohn focuses on the home-land by referring to the state apparatus, the political parties, and migration related organizations in the country of origin as important dynamics, which shape types and forms of transnationalism.[330] Castles also attempts to understand the context of perception against migrant communities, which is very crucial for understanding the condition of "being migrant" in host-lands. In his host-land-

[326] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 25

[327] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , p. 31

[328] Ramón Grostoguel and Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, op. cit. , p. 364

[329] Thomas Sowell, op. cit. , p. 3

[330] José Itzigsohn, op. cit. , p. 292

centred analyse, Castles indicates "the state policies directed at a specific migrant group, the reaction to and perception of the immigrants by public opinion, and the presence or absence of an established ethnic community to receive the migrants."[331] On the other hand, Faist tries to unify all these sites and actors within a pentatonic schema to map TNSS.[332] According to his model, the socio-political structures and civil society organizations in sending-societies and receiving-societies, and specific characteristics and particular migratory experiences of transitional groups determine the general frame and rules of the game concerning TNSS. As Guarnizo and Smith briefly summarize:

> *Transnational actions are bounded to the transnational networks and the policies and practices of territorially-based sending and receiving local and national states and communities.*[333]

Additionally, when the phenomenon of transnationalism is defined as a state of *polyfocality*, which refers to the ability of "thinking and acting simultaneously at multiple scales"[334], new units of analysis and new research agenda are also required for studying TNSS.[335] For instance, Louisa Schein's "itinerant ethnography" and George Marcus's "multi-sited ethnography" directly refer to these endeavours to generate a new research agenda to study transnational phenomena. Schein's "unorthodox ethnographic methods moves back and forth between text and context" depends on participant observations and interviews in all related fields of border-crossing practices of specific Chinese community both in the U.S.A and China. Due to the mobile characteristic of her research subjects, she completed her research by moving back and fort between those research sites. In other words, as Guarnizo and Smith conclude, "travelling cultures requires travelling researchers."[336] From the similar stand point, Marcus also offers a new research agenda, which follows "the people", "the things" / "the

[331] Stephen Castles, ob. cit. , p. 357

[332] Thomas Faist, , March 2000, op. cit. , p. 192

[333] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 10

[334] Louisa Schein, op. cit. , p. 293

[335] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 23

[336] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 26

commodity chains," "the metaphors," "the stories," "the life or biography" and "the conflict"[337] in all related sites in which units of analysis circulates. Novelty of this new research approach on transnationalism may be properly concluded by referring to its researchers:

> *I intend my use of 'ethnographic' to be provocative, since the character of this kind of research is necessarily divergent from a conventional sense of ethnography. Because it is siteless, and lacks any fixed duration, I have cast it as 'itinerant ethnography'… Because of the mobility of the cultural producers and their products, my research on this process has of necessity been multi-sited and episodic. Indeed, to talk about "sites" seems not the point since there is no place one can go to watch this process unfold. Often, too, as in the case of the fax above, the encounter with "data" has been unplanned or incidental.*[338]

As a conclusion, researching on a transnational community requires being aware of diverse situations and characteristics which affect the way of transnationalization of a particular migrant community. As we have seen, considering different places and different actors of TNSS both in home- and host-land is very important for designing a research on transnationalism. Moreover, parallel to differences of transnational activities; socio-economical and political positions of migrant communities before migration (being rural or urban origin, qualified or non-qualified, educated or uneducated), reason and motivation behind the immigration (economic or political, voluntarily or involuntary), particular ways of immigration (by contract or as an asylum seeker), socio-political conditions of the home-land (governmental policies for and public opinions about (ex-)citizens in abroad), the length of stay (how old is immigrant community, generational problems and differences), the distance between home- and host-land, socio-political conditions of host-lands (governmental policies for and public opinions about immigrants), types and forms of transnational social relation that migrant communities constitute (transnational kinship group or community), physical and/or social positions of specific member groups of a migrant community on that TNSS (being at the core such as global city in host-land or at the periphery such as small village in home-

[337] George E Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 1995, pp. 106-100

[338] Louisa Schein, op. cit. , pp. 294, 296

land) may be considered as main dimensions, which frame a particular transnational community and its border-crossing practices.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I tried to understand and analyse the context of the emergence of transnationalism as a new concept and approach with the assertion of generating a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool to understand contemporary border-crossing practices and relations in a changing world. To conduct my study, I first focused on the odyssey of the concept of diaspora. This analysis obviously indicates the contextuality of the emergence of the concept of transnationalism by referring to the fact that every concept arises, changes and falls in accordance with the transformation of realities it refers to. Especially, in the period after the Second World War, changing international migratory patterns caused great accumulations of "legal foreigners" and/or "new citizens" in the developed parts of the world. These populations were expected to be assimilated into host-societies by being integrated into economic life. However, in contrast to expectations, they could not be assimilated. Rather, they constituted new forms of community out of the home-land on the basis of the image/idea of their home-land which did not disappear. They knitted strong and constant relations with the home-land and other compatriots communities in different locales. Realisation of the gravity of the home-land and the importance of border-crossing practices and relations in migrants' life required a new understanding of these new forms of being a community across national borders.

In this sense, the concept of diaspora "is not a new concept but a newly used analytical concept in immigration literature."[339] This thousand-year-old concept tried to be reformulated and reconceptualised to cover all related migratory phenomena. It was re-discovered to understand newly emerging forms and relations of migrant communities during the 1960's and the 1970's. On the other

[339] Yasemin Nuhoğlu-Soysal, op. cit. , p. 2

hand, as far as the concept was extended to cover almost all migratory phenomena, its analytical function had also degraded. As Palmer criticizes, if all migrant communities can be considered as a diaspora, "all of humanity may be considered as a part of the African diaspora."[340] In other words, parallel to its near-universal applicability to almost all migrant communities, the concept of diaspora gradually became an empty signifier to understand very complicated and divergent border-crossing practices and relations. This dilemma has been my starting point to understand the contextuality of the concept of transnationalism. Because, at a certain point in history, the concept of diaspora had become inadequate to understand newly emerging migratory phenomena and the need for a new approach appeared.

In my opinion, understanding the context of those newly emerging migratory phenomena could be helpful to understand the contextuality of the concept which has derived from endeavours to understand those migratory phenomena. In the light of this proposition, I tried to contextualise those phenomena by analysing the changing migratory patterns in relation with new technological advances and economic transformations which are also very crucial to understand transformations in the global socio-political structure. International migratory patterns have gradually become "globalised," "accelerated," "differentiated" and "feminised"[341] after the Second World War. These transformations, which complicated the phenomenon of migration, caused the accumulation of great numbers of migrant communities in host-societies with strong and constant relations to their home-lands. Because of newly emerging technological advances, which also restructured the global economic system, these communities have been enabled to stay in contact with the home-land and other compatriots' groups in host-lands. Establishing social networks beyond transnational borders does not just arise from nostalgia of the home-land. In most cases, these social networks mainly function as a survival strategy especially under difficult conditions of economic life in host-lands especially after the 1973

[340] Kim Butter, op. cit. , p. 189

[341] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, ob. cit. , p. 8

Oil Crisis. In other words, transformations in global economic structure pushed migrant communities to sustain these social networks to reduce their cost of "being migrant".

In addition to these transformations, which have generated a new ground for migrant communities, the transformation of global socio-political structure has also contributed to the complication and differentiation of contemporary migratory phenomena. For instance, the emergence of multiculturalism as a new politics of difference opens a new space for migrant communities in host societies. In these new spaces, migrant communities found new opportunities to stay different by reproducing and reformulating their particular culture. On the other hand, this new context does not directly refer to a consensual integration. Despite differences in socio-political structures of host-societies, all forms and types of multiculturalism produce similar results for migrant communities. To obtain certain rights and opportunities, they are enforced to shelter certain cultural categories, which are pre-determinedly defined in accordance with socio-political structures of host-societies. In other words, they have to fulfil a certain cultural niche role which heightened their marginal and isolated position in host-societies. This position of "being migrant," in my opinion, strengthened the transnational practices and relations.

In sum, changing migratory patterns which resulted in the accumulation of a great numbers of migrant populations in host-lands; technological advances, which enabled these populations to stay in strong and constant relations with the home-land and other compatriots groups in host-lands; the restructuration of global economic system, which pushed them to alternative survival strategies, generally conceptualised as "informality" and the transformation of socio-political structure of host-lands, which opened a new space for their improper existence in host-lands constitute the core context of contemporary transnational practices and relations beyond national borders. In other words, the newly emerging global context plays a dual-role in the transnationalization of migrant communities. During this period, on the one hand, their invulnerability has been increased due to heightening global economic conditions; on the other hand,

transformation in socio-political structures has supplied these communities with new opportunities to establish and sustain transnational social networks as a solution to increasing economic and social marginalisation. As a result of this process, a new social space has emerged as a ground of transnational practices and relations of migrant communities. On this ground, they can mobilise, utilise and maximise their facilities beyond national borders by merging different locales into a single social space.

In the light of this analysis, I tried to contextualise the concept of transnationalism. In other words, in my opinion, the emergence of the concept of transnationalism is an attempt to understand reflections of these transformations into the daily life of migrant communities. As a matter of fact, researchers initially referred to these new migratory phenomena mentioning their findings as a new discovery. As Basch *et al.* mention "the research team soon discovered that the lives of their 'subjects' did not fit into the expected research categories of 'immigrants' and those 'remaining behind'"[342] In this sense, the emergence of the concept of transnationalism is an outcome of the inconsistency between classical theoretical frames and analytical tools and newly emerging migratory phenomena which require new understanding.

Following this discussion, I tried to define the concept of transnationalism as a new theoretical frame and an analytical tool. The first step of this endeavour was about the discussion on novelties of the new migratory phenomena. As Pries states, if the phenomenon of transnationalism defined as belonging to more than one locale, the Catholic Church should be considered as a two thousands years old transnational institution.[343] In this sense, I stressed certain novelties of contemporary transnational practices and relations. First of all, in contrast to the previous approach on international migration, which understood home-land orientation of migrant communities as marginal and socially deviant phenomena, contemporary transnational practices and relations, on the one hand, has become

[342] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, op. cit. , p. 5

[343] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 6

a kind of "mass phenomenon"[344] and, on the other hand, have met with great tolerance.[345] Secondly, contemporary migrant communities can "dually incorporate"[346] into social, economic and political life both in the home-land and host-lands. In brief, "regularity" in transnational practices and relations, "routine involvement" in related locales, and covering a "critical mass" are main novelties of contemporary migrant communities.[347]

After this discussion, I defined the concept of transnationalism by referring to the relevant literature. In this sense, *transnational social space* as a new social space of "dense, stable, pluri-local and institutionalized frameworks, composed of material artefacts, the social practices of everyday life, as well as systems of symbolic representation that are structured by human life"[348] constitute a ground for these transnational practices and relations. *Transmigrant* as the main actor of this new space refers to a person "who maintains active, ongoing interconnections in both the home and host countries and perhaps with communities in other countries as well."[349] Additionally, different forms and types of communalities are constituted by transmigrants are generally conceptualised with the concept of *transnational household*[350], *transnational family*[351], *transnational community*[352], *transnational social movements*[353]. Each concept also refers to various forms and types of transnational practices and

[344] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 6

[345] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 25

[346] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 1995, op. cit. , p. 281

[347] Ramón Grostoguel and Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, op. cit. , p. 358

[348] Ludger Pries, op. cit. , p. 8

[349] Ted Lewellen, op. cit. , p. 151

[350] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 75

[351] Deborah Bryceson, Ulla Vuorela, ob. cit. , p. 3

[352] Nicholas Van Hear, op. cit. , p. 242

[353] Jackie Smith, Ron Pagnucco, and Charles Chatfield, op. cit. , p. 61

relations which are different according to regularity, strength, volume and outcomes.

In the fifth chapter, I tried to operationalise the concept of transnationalism to analyse the concept as a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool. In this sense, first of all, I tried to differentiate transnational practices and relations to reach a conceptual and definitional clarity. The main motivation behind this endeavour is to indicate that the phenomenon of transnationalism does not refer to a homogenous or consensual social space. Rather, this new social space emerged with new fields of conflicts that may be overlooked in the frame of classical approaches. Conflicts can appear at different levels. A transnational practice and relation may be manifested *from above* or *from below*[354] and as *active* or *passive*.[355] A transnational communality may be constituted for achieving different aims in different levels.[356] A transmigrant may participate in this new social space with various expectations and she/he may fulfil a very different role.[357] In brief, the phenomenon of transnationalism should be differentiated on the base of macro-, meso- and micro-levels of analysis,[358] in accordance with regularity, strength and volume of transnational practices and relations[359], by considering different forms and types of experiences[360] and inter- and intra-societal differentiation[361].

In the light of this operationlisation, I tried to reach a methodology to study transnational phenomena. On the other hand, as Basch *et al.* mention "it is not an established field: it is a highly contested approach that has yet to form a common

[354] José Itzigsohn, op. cit. , p. 221

[355] John L. Esposito, ob. cit. , p. 248

[356] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , pp. 203-209

[357] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 57

[358] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 25

[359] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , p. 31

[360] Ramón Grostoguel and Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, op. cit. 364

[361] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, ob. cit. , p. 5

agenda for research and analysis."[362] In this sense, I mainly referred to initial researchers of the field. For instance, Louisa Schein's "itinerant ethnography"[363] and George Marcus's "multi-sited ethnography"[364] directly refer to these endeavours to generate a new research agenda to study transnational phenomena. In brief, transnational methodology requires a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool which can cover all related sites of the object of study. In other words, as Guarnizo and Smith conclude, "travelling cultures requires travelling researchers."[365]

To generate a transnational research agenda, first of all, levels of transnational practices and relations should be differentiated. As Faist underlines, this new social space also requires a new scale of analysis. According to him, meso-level should be introduced to research as a level of interaction of macro structural and micro individual phenomena.[366] Secondly, to operationalise the unit of analysis, fields of subject of study should be clearly defined. According to Faist's pentatonic schema: the socio-political structures of and civil society organizations in sending-societies and receiving-societies, and specific characteristics of and particular migratory experiences of transitional groups determine the general frame of transnational practices and relations of a specific migrant community.[367] In this sense, particular migratory experiences of a migrant community, and general characteristics of socio-political structures where they came from and where they settled in, their experiences in host-societies and transformation of the home-land as a historical background should be covered by researchers to understand transnationalization of a community from a holistic perspective. Additionally, as Marcus suggests, following "the people, follow the things or the commodity chains, follow the Metaphors and the

[362] quoted in Sarah J. Mahler, op. cit.74

[363] Louisa Schein, op. cit., p. 293

[364] George Marcus, op. cit.

[365] Luis Eduardo Guarnizo and Michael Peter Smith, op. cit. , p. 26

[366] Thomas Faist, op. cit. , p. 31

[367] Thomas Faist, March 2000, op. cit. , p. 192

stories, follow the life or biology and/or follow the conflict"[368] on the transnational social space of a specific migrant community which merge various locales into single social space may be the most adequate way of analysing transnational practices and relations.

In conclusion, I argue that the emergence of transnationalism as a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool is very related with the changing global context mentioned above. On this newly emerging ground, as my unit of analysis, migrant communities, experienced certain transformation as a response to changing global context. As a result of this interaction between global context as a structure of macro-level and migrant communities as an agent of micro-level, a new type of social space has emerged by merging nationally divided locales into single social space. The contemporary transnational practices and relations appear and flow on this social space, and in that sense, understanding these phenomena requires a new approach with new methodology. In spite of the fact that transnationalism is not a well-established approach, it can also be discussed as one of the most appropriate "endeavours" to grasp the very essence of contemporary border-crossing practices and relations. As Levitt says:

> *What other types of cross-border communities does transnational migration give rise to, and how do we explain variations within and among them? What is the relationship between these transnational social groups and broader, diasporic ones? How do migration-generated, place-based, or normative communities compare to the epistemic, professional, or issue-oriented transnational social groups and movements that are becoming increasingly common? What does this tell us about how ordinary people live their lives in this increasingly globalised world? There is much research to be done.*[369]

In this sense, as the final remark of my study, I argue that the concept of transnationalism can be adequate to generate a new theoretical frame and a new analytical tool to study on these new phenomena.

[368] George Marcus, op. cit.

[369] Peggy Levitt, op. cit. , p. 216

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