

'T(here)': A Research on Refugee Migration and their Behaviour from a Transnationalism Perspective



BSc Thesis - ‘T(here)’: A Research on Refugee Migration and their Behaviour from a Transnationalism Perspective.

This BSc thesis has been written to conclude the major specialization Sociology of Development within the Bachelor Programme of International Development Studies at Wageningen University and Research Centre. Within eight weeks, a literature study has been conducted on refugees’ transnational migration and how their multiple rootedness is reflected in the performances of their daily practices.

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Preface

This report is my BSc thesis for the Bachelor International Development Studies at Wageningen University and Research Centre. I wrote this thesis at the chair group of Sociology of Development and Change under supervision of Robert Fletcher. Hereby, I would like to express my gratitude towards him for supervising me and providing me with useful feedback during the writing process. His advice and positive, relaxed attitude helped me proceed at moments when I did not know how to do so myself. I would also like to thank my boyfriend and friends: Joey, Jalou, Harmen, Tamara, Marleen, and Henrieke, who helped me put things into perspective and made sure I put my thesis aside now-and-then to spend time with them. After six years, I am happy to have finally completed this last phase of my bachelor's programme. Writing this report surely was a mental challenge, but I am proud to present my final product to the reader.

Since a young age, I have been interested in issues concerning multiculturalism, migration and refugees. In primary school, two of my friends were from Afghan and Moroccan descent and I was intrigued by their customs, cultural backgrounds and origin countries. My fascination for different cultures continued as I went to high school. At that time, my mother was teaching Dutch language to several Iraqi, Georgian and Iranian refugees. I was fond of the stories my mother told me about these people and occasionally met them myself. Now, I am proud to have followed in her footsteps and to be teaching Dutch language to Syrian, Eritrean and Afghan refugees myself. It is as rewarding and fulfilling to help these people integrate in the Dutch society, as it is interesting, moving and amusing to hear their personal stories.

In April and May 2016, I volunteered for a Dutch non-governmental organization which commits itself to providing basic needs to stranded refugees in Greece. During these two months, I worked in several refugee camps in region of Athens. The people I met and the circumstances under which they were living made a big impression on me. Here, I witnessed what it is like to be trapped in between places, to have no official legal status, nor future perspective. It inspired me to write this report on transnational migration. I strongly believe that, when a theory that proclaims social inclusion instead of exclusion – the latter, in my regard, is often the case with refugee related topics in Western countries – is translated into policies and practices, this may lead to a more inclusive approach towards refugees in all realms and fields of our Western societies.

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Chapter 1 - Problem Statement

1.1 Introduction

For several years, the global number of refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons has been increasing tremendously. Violent conflicts in the Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia in combination with persecutions and human rights violations elsewhere, have led to a number of 65.3 million forcibly displaced people worldwide in 2015 (UNHCR, 2016). Amongst them were 21.3 million refugees and 3.2 million asylum seekers. They are often aiming to build up a new life somewhere else, outside of their home countries. Most of them try to do so in a country located in the region of their homeland, while others flee to more distant regions to find peace and pursue a life in safety, far away from war and conflict.

Current migration flows put many governments under a lot of pressure as they feel refugees should be received in the region of their homeland and not in Western countries. A currently popular argument to support this statement is that their culture is believed to be very different from Western cultures. Such a cultural difference would interfere with the integration of refugees in these countries (Klaas Dijkhoff¹ in BN DeStem, 2016). Xenophobic sentiments like this draw much attention to migrant integration in host country societies, albeit in a negative way. Refugees are depicted as people who are and never really will become part of these host country societies. Furthermore, migrants' home country governments and institutions have become interested in the ways in which migrants contribute to their economies by sending remittances. The single focus on issues concerning refugees in relation to either their host country, or their home country, but hardly ever combined, has split the lives of refugees. In practice however, migrants and refugees are often engaged in activities in both 'here and 'there' at the same time and these parts should not be studied separately (Mazzucato, 2008). Refugees are often being perceived and pathologized as 'uprooted' and 'land-less' people without a proper identity that fits the 'here' or 'there'. They are regularly not taken into account or taken seriously as full-membership citizens in their host country (Grillo and Mazzucato, 2008; Malkki, 1992).

By using a transnationalism perspective on migration, this thesis will focus on the ways in which refugees' connections with 'here' and 'there' are exhibited in processes concerning behaviour, and in the performance of daily practices. It exposes why perceiving refugees as uprooted people is a problematic and outdated standpoint. Migrants have cultural, social and economic connections with multiple countries and are affected by social, cultural and economic contexts in just as many. This paper will focus on the extent to which this so-called 'double engagement' of refugees manifests itself in identity shaping-processes and how it affects the performance of refugees' daily practices.

1.2 Research Objective

So far, a considerable amount of research concerning the double or multiple rootedness of migrants has been done. Migrants, often 'labour migrants', cross borders in search of employment. Their movement is based on somewhat different grounds than that of refugees, who forcibly flee their homelands due to a deterioration of their safety, living conditions and lifestyle. Searching for safety, refugees often find themselves in situations of poverty and unemployment, and are commonly housed in austere refugee centres lacking sanitation, food, and personal hygiene. In most Western host countries, refugees get social state support to sustain themselves and make a living. They are often not allowed to have paid jobs and become full-member citizens in social, economic and political sense, however. This thesis aims to explain the ways in which refugees deal with their migration and affects their performance of daily practices and behaviour. This will be studied from a transnationalism perspective. Within the theoretical framework, different aspects of transnational migration are explained, and questions on transnationalism and why it is a proper lens to study this very case are addressed. A transnational perspective on refugee migration contributes to maintaining the 'neutrality' in perceiving the act of migration, since both 'here' and 'there' - the home country and the county of destination - are regarded equally important components for constituting refugees' lives, morals and values. In doing so, a transnational approach contributes

¹ Klaas Dijkhoff (1981) is the Dutch State Secretary for Security and Justice (2015-). He is involved with issues concerning refugee immigration and the refugee asylum system in the Netherlands. In an interview with regional newspaper BN DeStem he stated that the large amounts of refugees arriving in the Netherlands these days are culturally more different than the Yugoslavian refugees that arrived back in the 1990's. According to him, the cultural distance between the latter and 'us' [the Dutch] was smaller, since many Dutch had visited Yugoslavia for holiday purposes. They thus 'knew' the Yugoslavians and their culture, and the Yugoslavians knew us and ours.

to a holistic perception on refugee migration as it unites migration and all its aspects and studies them as an inextricable whole.

1.3 Social and Academic Relevance

The social relevance of this literature study is to contribute to the debate of refugee integration that is currently held in many Western-European countries. It is important that people are aware of the sedentary perspective that is often used to address issues concerning migrants' and refugees' rootedness, cultural identity and migration. Besides, it is important to acknowledge that migrants represent various cultures and social, political and economic contexts, and unite these within themselves. Migrants are connected to multiple countries in different ways, and should therefore be studied from a transnational perspective. Migrants and refugees should no longer be seen as uprooted strangers from another country and culture, but as 'transnationals' who represent different cultures and countries, both their country of origin and countr(y)(ies) of destination. A transnational migration paradigm could benefit the current political-societal debate on migration, which might result into a more open and nuanced attitude, and understanding towards migrants and refugees.

The academic relevance of the paper is to explore the transnational ties of refugees. Much research has been done on the transnational roots, connections, practices and identities of migrants in general. However, little is known about the ways in which these aspects of transnationalism are related to processes concerning the behaviour and the performance of daily practices of refugees in particular. This thesis explores the available literature on the topic, and connects different theoretical perspectives and research results in order to create a holistic overview. Besides this, the report aims to reflect upon transnationalism theory and tries to bare its theoretical shortcomings, gaps and obscurities. In this sense, it contributes to the already available scientific literature on transnationalism migration theory.

1.4 Research Question

The main research question that will be covered within this study is: *In which ways does the multiple rootedness of refugees affect their behaviour and the performance of daily practices?*

1.5 Structure

This thesis will continue by giving a theoretical framework, in which the concepts of (up)rootedness and multiple engagement will be discussed from a transnational migration perspective. A chapter describing the used research methods employed in the study will follow. The next chapter focusses refugees' behaviour and how it is affected by their multiple rootedness from a transnational perspective. Furthermore, an analysis is conducted on transnational migration theory, its theoretical gaps, obscurities, and shortcomings. This thesis concludes with a brief summary of the research findings and a discussion that reflects upon both the research content and the research process as a whole.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical Framework

To assess the interrelation between migration, and behaviour and daily practices, a theoretical framework that consists of three parts will be used. The first part is about theorizing transnational migration. It will explain its theoretical background, how migration is approached from such a perspective, what this implies for examining migration as a concept, and what its assumptions are concerning the rootedness of migrants and refugees. Issues concerning multiple engagement, and a transnationalism approach of integration are addressed within this part. The second part is about identity shaping and integration and will examine the different ways in which migrants and refugees shape their identity (both actively and passively) after they started living in a host country. A social-psychological perspective is applied to approach this issue. The third part focuses on the ways in which refugees' rootedness affects the performance of their daily practices. Here, special attention is given to the interrelation between such practices and integration from a transnational perspective, and to the ways in which they latter affects those. A schematic overview of the theoretical components that will be used for analysing the research topic of this thesis can be found in Appendix 1 at page 11 of this research proposal.

2.1 Transnationalism and Transnational Migration

The mobilities paradigm challenged traditional nomadic and sedentarist perceptions on migration. In the early 1990s, this led to the construction of a new transnational perspective on migration, in which not only the place migrated to, but also the place migrated from, is studied. Herein, the focus lays on the connections and links between both places unified within the lives and bodies of migrants. These 'transnational spaces' concern the people who are engaged in transnational cultures and embed both "material geographies of labour migration or the trading in transnational goods and services" and "symbolic and imaginary geographies through which people attempt to make sense of our increasingly transnational world" (Jackson *et al.* in Blunt, 2007:4). "It was noted that migrant realities could only be understood by taking the linkages between home and host countries and the simultaneity of flows with which these linkages are created and maintained into consideration" (Mazzucato, 2008:69).

In a globalizing world, the role of the nation-state should be reconsidered. Hegemony should no longer be seen as social domination exercised by states, "but by social groups and classes operating through states and other institutions" (Robinson, 2005:561). A transnational approach that is not tied to national/international approaches and takes the nation-state as starting point, is necessary to study and interpret (social) hegemony. This also requires a rethinking of 'development' (Robinson, 2005). Robinson (2001) argues that recent changes in economies and societies force us to move from a geographical to a social understanding of development. Therefore, it is necessary to throw overboard the idea that development and social hierarchy can still be analysed within the borders of the nation state. Globalization has led to the fragmentation of numerous processes and made them transnational rather than (inter)national. Economies, transnational migration networks, and global social hierarchies require that we no longer see development as a process that happens within the borders of a single nation-state, but rather as one that happens in a transnational environment. In this sense, the unit that develops is no longer 'the nation', but unfixed population groups that occupy a certain place within the transnational hierarchy (Robinson, 2001). While this perspective is promoted by some, others suggest that this overemphasizes the challenge to nation-state hegemony posed by globalization. Blunt (2007) in contrast, contends that geographical borders actually do remain important in a transnational approach to migration. In order to perform the proper act of migrating itself, individuals need to cross international, regional, national borders, and their related power structures. In contrast to most transnationalism theorists, she points out that role of power of nation-states and territories therefore needs to be recognized when studying migration (Blunt, 2007).

Dunn (2005) asserts that a transnationalism paradigm is very useful for studying migrants and migration, because transnationalism is defined by the activities of migrants, such as sending remittances, correspondence, transport, political activity and various forms of care and emotional networking. It has been defined as the "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (Vertovec in Dunn, 2005:16). In this sense migrants have become transmigrants that maintain and create several types of connections with both their country of origin and host country. Migrants live in transnational social fields that can be characterized as being 'cross-border' and 'multi-national' (Dunn, 2005). He (2005) brings forward three strengths of using a transnationalism paradigm when studying migration-related topics.

Firstly, transnationalism acknowledges the multiple attachments of migrants with various soils, cultures, and contexts. It not only focusses on the lives of migrants in either the home country or the host country, but aims to combine these two factors that are united within the bodies of migrants themselves. Migrants are the socio-cultural outcomes of their own spatial movements and therefore represent multiple cultures at the same time. Secondly, transnationalism links movement to (processes of) identity (shaping). Previous research has shown that movement, cultural change, and thus (cultural) identity are strongly intertwined (Baldassar in Dunn, 2005). Through the act of migrating, people develop new senses of the Self and the Other that were often not seen before. In this sense, movement correlates with identity and is important in cultural change. "Identities are formed by movements as much as they are by the long-term relationship between people and place" (Hiebert in Dunn, 2005:23). Thirdly, transnationalism proposes a holistic view to migration studies. Lately, in research immigration became detached from emigration, internal migration, and mobility. The holistic character of a transnationalism mobility paradigm can combine these spare parts again and address them as a whole. Research trajectories of emigration, immigration, temporary movement, visitation and communication would become reintegrated again (Dunn, 2010). This makes transnationalism a useful paradigm to grasp the connection between migration, communication, and cultural exchange. In order to focus on migrants as individual outcomes of transnationalism, one should use an embodied approach in which bodies are perceived to be the outcomes of social processes, sites of action and resistance, or the negotiated space between social processes and action (Winchester *et al.* in Dunn, 2010:4).

Mazzucato (2008) adds to this that a transnational approach to migration focusses on the connections that bind people who are or have been living in various countries. In this way, "it recognizes the individual migrant as a member of a larger whole that extends beyond the geographical boundaries" of nation-states (Mazzucato, 2008:71). Simultaneity is an important aspect of transnationalism, since people can be engaged in activities in both their home countries and host countries at the same time. New technologies, such as airplanes, telephones, and computers, enabled and facilitated this simultaneity of activities that migrants can be engaged in. In this sense, borders between 'here' and 'there' begin to weaken or even disappear. Furthermore, a transnational approach allows migrants to adapt to new livelihood opportunities, social institutions to change, and hybrid identities to develop. Studying migrants thus implies the creation of a new social field that recognizes linkages between spatially dispersed people and activities (Mazzucato, 2008).

2.2 (Up)rootedness and Double Engagement

In many (Western) countries, refugees and migrants are perceived as people who lack roots (Malkki, 1992; Grillo and Mazzucato, 2008). They are often seen as 'strangers' or 'unintegrated people'. These visualisations are poor and split migrants' lives up in two parts: a life 'here' in the host country, and a life 'there' in the home country. Firstly, such a strict division does not do any justice to the international connections that these people certainly do have, and which affect their lives considerably. Secondly, this means that migrants are often not seen as part of host country societies, because they still have ties with 'there'. This puts migrants in a position in which they have to reflect actively upon their nationality, identity, and culture. It makes it harder for migrants to integrate, since integration is often framed as a political end goal where the migrant has to successfully transform him- or herself into a host country citizen (Mazzucato, 2008).

According to Malkki (1992), having genealogical roots, or 'to be rooted', is widely seen as a very important cultural aspect. In our current era, marked by mass migration, extensive refugee flows, and the socio-cultural complexity of multicultural societies, this rootedness is becoming increasingly relevant and complex. Migrants identify with their native soil, the dominant culture yonder, and their origin, but also connect to the culture of the country in which they have sought sanctuary. Malkki describes how issues of national identity and of belonging to a given geographical territory are implicitly expressed in everyday language, academic studies and discourses, and how all reflect a certain degree of cultural sedentarism. She argues that it is a social convention that 'real' nations are located within a defined, predetermined soil. In this view, concepts like 'homeland' and 'national territory' have an important role, since they define peoples' nationalities and make them feel rooted 'somewhere', thereby giving them a sense of belonging. Ethnicity, culture and national identity are largely derived from the soil in which one was born. In linguistics, this connection between people and places is regularly described in botanical terms and metaphors. The fact that these botanic metaphors are found in several national discourses indicates the implicit assumption that people would be genetically attached to their native soil and

are part of the cultural tree that is rooted in it. In this respect, it is impossible to be connected to or be part of more than one tree (Malkki, 1992).

For a long time, anthropologists studied culture as something that is anchored 'within the soil'. This resulted in the emergence of a paradigm in which 'culture' and 'nation' were not seen as social concepts. Culture and nation were both linked to demarcated territories where they would have derive their characteristics from. Nations and cultures supposedly belong to one particular national soil and cultural and national identities became territorialized. In the above-outlined paragraph lies the reason why migrants and refugees are not often considered being part of a culture or nation. They would be neither attached to the soil of their home country, nor host country. Because of this they are often treated as displaced strangers or uprooted outsiders, and seen as people lacking genealogical ties with the host country, nation and culture. They do not belong to the 'tree' that defines the nationality of a given territory. In this view, migrants do not belong to any culture or nation, but are somewhat trapped in between. Studies on migrants show that they - due to a lack of ties with their homeland - are often regarded as unreliable citizens. They would have been stripped of any cultural morality, norms and values. In current migration studies refugees are often portrayed as a 'problem'. Here, the problem is not seen as something that is in the political circumstances that caused the displacement of these people, but as something that is in the bodies and minds of the refugees themselves: they become pathological objects. Migrants would be displaced, uprooted, and therefore be in poor mental condition. When one is not seen as part of the strictly organized community of nations and territories, he or she will be rejected; as if one floats around 'cultureless' and 'nationless' in the world (Malkki, 1992).

In their article *Africa <> Europe: A Double Engagement*, Grillo and Mazzucato (2008) offer an alternative perspective on migrants' rootedness, introducing the concept of 'double engagement'. Instead of focussing on migrants' ties with either their home country or their host country, they concentrate on the act of migrating itself and on how it establishes connections between migrants and their home and host countries at the same time. So, instead of perceiving migrants as uprooted people, double engagement regards them as people who are rooted in more countries. This makes the concept intrinsically holistic and very useful for studying migration-related topics. It implies that migrants are simultaneously connected to their home country and destination country, and are thus connected to various cultural, social and economic contexts. This multiplicity of connections results in the lives of migrants being 'multi-sited'. Instead of perceiving migrants as cultureless or uprooted people, the concept of double engagement unites the several ties that migrants have with different territories, nations and cultures. This theory does not lead to a pathological perspective on migrants, but to a transnational one, according to which migrants are seen as individuals shaped by different cultures and different territories due to their spatial movement. The ties they have with their home and host country should not be observed separately. The concept of double engagement creates a new single social field in which all existing links and connections between migrants and countries are established. No distinction is made between a world 'in here' and a world 'out there'. Although migrants are affected by socio-cultural conditions in different potentially widely separated countries, they converge within the bodies of migrants. In this perspective, the lives of migrants should no longer be divided into 'a life here' and 'a life there'; they should be studied holistically as a single transnational phenomenon. A transnationalism paradigm prevents us from characterizing migrants as uprooted people. The importance of such an approach is that social, cultural and economic phenomena are amalgamated and studied as one indissoluble unit.

2.3 Multiple Rootedness <> Identity and Integration

People's identities are not fixed; they are continually under construction. They are being defined and redefined through many types of interactions at all levels of societies and states. Furthermore, identity means different things to different people and its conceptualization is therefore a highly personal matter. 'Backward', for example, can mean completely different things to different people depending on the context from which they give meaning to it (Taylor, 1994). "Identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others" (Taylor, 1994:25). According to a transnational perspective on migration, migrants' lives and identities are heavily influenced by their stay in the host country. Experiences and identifications in the host country affect their personal identity. They are often introduced to a different socio-cultural and economic environment than they were formerly used to, and have to deal with sentiments of hostility towards them (Grillo; Mazzucato, 2008).

When observing the ways in which migration affects the identity of migrants, one cannot ignore the influence of the process of integration. Erdal and Oeppen (2013) state that integration has always been analysed in relation

to migrants' participation in labour markets and citizenship, but not in relation to social membership. Integration is often perceived as an end point in becoming one of 'us' by politicians and policymakers, while it should be studied from a transnationalism paradigm as a process. 'Old' integration studies have often focussed on differences between migrants and majority populations. Erdal and Oeppen see the process of integration as "one whereby actors negotiate membership in a particular place" (2013:871). In that sense, integration is not just about adapting to the context of the host country (and seen as an 'end goal'), but rather an interplay between them. To see integration as a process that shapes migrants' identities, instead of being an end goal, allows one to observe the transnational aspects of migrants' lives holistically. In doing so, transnationalism can be mutually supportive, since it supports the assumption that migrants can ingrate without necessarily having to give up their connections with 'there'. Integration and transnationalism are only compatible when the first is regarded a process, instead of something that migrants are forced to and have to achieve within a certain amount of time. Both integration and transnationalism are processes that change cultures and identities over time. Both are influenced by the place where one is living and the cultural, social and economic processes that surround one.

According to transnationalism, people adapt to a new context due to their own spatial movement or that of others. They partially adapt and (re-)position themselves to a new form of 'locality'. Both integration and transnationalism are about interactions between migrants and (non-)migrants, individuals, groups and societies, and both are multifaceted (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013:875). For most migrants their presence in the host country requires that a certain extent of integration is unavoidable. They have to balance the demands of transnational ties with those of negotiating membership in their current place of settlement (Erdal and Oeppen, 2013:879). This act of balancing requires migrants to adapt and shape their identity (sub)consciously. They have to reflect upon how they relate themselves to both their host country and their homeland, each with specific cultures, values and socio-economic contexts. In this sense migration affects the identities of people considerably. According to Kirkwood *et al.* (2013), the extent to which refugees felt persecuted in their home land plays a large role in their feelings of residing legitimately in their host society. The perception of one's situation in his or her home country is thus constitutive of his or her personal identity. The homeland must be presented as a proper danger to the individual's safety in order for the refugee to be accepted as 'really' being a refugee. Besides this, refugees are depending on the attitudes of host countries' societies attitudes towards them, which may affect processes of identity shaping as well (Kirkwood *et al.*, 2013). "Constructions of the host society may function to justify or resist the presence of asylum seekers and refugees through presenting it as an appropriate or inappropriate place of refuge" (Kirkwood *et al.*, 2013:454). More research has to be done however in order to study these societal constructions and if they affect refugees' personal identities.

2.4 Multiple Rootedness <> Daily Practices

Besides their identities, migrants' daily practices are also influenced by their multiple rootedness, since they are often a mix of practices that are performed 'here' and 'there', which makes them a form of transnational practices (Schans, 2009). Although the ways in which migration and double rootedness affect migrants' and refugees' daily practices are manifold, not much research has been done on this particular topic yet. However, some migrant or refugee studies that have been conducted concerning refugees' double engagement also paid some attention to the ways in which this rootedness was reflected in refugees' daily practices. Lewis (2010), for example, studied refugees' parties and events in the UK. According to her, these refugee community events are not just replications of practices as they were performed in their country of origin, as she states the "events merge the familiar and the strange, continuity and discontinuity" (Lewis, 2010:586) and resemble 'home' as much as they represent the host country Great Britain (Lewis, 2010).

In order to illustrate the transnational connections of migrants and how these affect their daily practices, Grillo and Mazzucato (2008) illustrate the double engagement of refugees in relation to the performance of several of these daily practises and activities. A first and commonly known example of a transnational practice is the sending of so-called remittances. Remittances are the international cash flows sent by migrants to their families or their nearest and dearest in the country of origin. Transnationalism affects migrants' patterns of earning and saving money. Many migrants and refugees send remittances that they earned with jobs or received via social support to close relatives in the homeland, while simultaneously investing in services, companies, products and taxes in the country where they reside. In this manner, migrants contribute to the economies of both territories and are economically tied to both (Grillo; Mazzucato, 2008). According to Schans (2009), 33 percent of the migrants of Moroccan, Turkish, Antillean, and Surinamese descent in the Netherlands send remittances to relatives in their homelands. The higher these migrants' incomes are, the more likely it is that they will send

remittances. Working migrants send remittances more often than unemployed ones. The chance that migrants perform this activity is related to the duration of the period in which they are living in the host country. The younger they migrated, the smaller the chance they will send remittances to their relatives.

A second activity that shows the transnational character of migrants' performance of daily practices is the fact that they have often left their children with relatives in their homeland. In this way, families are separated and have to rely on a system of kinship, often in exchange for financial support (Grillo; Mazzucato, 2008). A third transnational activity is the contact and communication between migrants or refugees and their relatives in their country of origin. The majority of Dutch migrants have frequent social contact with close relatives and due to recent technological developments, migrants have multiple options to do so. They have extensive phone, (e-)mail, and face-to-face contact with friends and relatives in their home country. The frequency of having contact varies amongst the different groups of migrants. Most Turks and Moroccans have contact with their relatives at least once a week; Surinamese and Antillean migrants have less contact. This difference is probably caused by the culturally varying family structures in the home countries of these families. The longer people have lived in the host country, the lower the frequency of contact with close relatives (Schans, 2009). Often acts of communication and contact with family members in the homeland cohere with the sending of remittances. The more contact they have, the more likely it is that they will send remittances, and vice versa (Schans, 2009). Furthermore, the performance of these acts correlate with integration. The younger migrants are when they arrive in the host country, the less likely it is that they will send remittances and have intensive contact, but the more likely it is that they will develop stronger ties with the destination country than with the country of origin (Schans, 2009).

2.5 Conclusion

A transnational approach to study refugee's rootedness and how this affect their daily practices is relevant for answering the main research question that was stated in the introduction. It is a useful gaze when studying refugee migration and how this affects their behaviour in balancing themselves between their origin country and host country. As Mazzucato (2008) argues, the concept of multiple rootedness and double engagement can help define the complexity that affect refugees' transnational lives. Transnational behaviour arises out of a particular context and is shaped by social, cultural, economic, political and juridical factors and contexts in both the home country and the host country that all affect refugees' multiple rootedness and engagement in their own way. They all have a particular stake in shaping the extent to which the performance of refugees' daily practices and behaviour become transnationalised. To assess refugees' social, cultural, economic and political ties with their home country and host country, and how these affect their behaviour, they are combined in order to analyse refugees' transnational behaviour in a holistic manner in the continuation of this paper.

3.1 Research Design and Type of Analysis

The research design of this thesis is a literature review. Due to a lack of material for a more empirical approach, this thesis describes the topic from a broader perspective and mostly reflects on other studies rather than focussing on a particular case. The chosen research topic is critically examined by exploring and reflecting literature that has been produced from previous research. Within my thesis, the main aspects of transnational migration will be summarized and linked to the performance of daily practices and processes of identity shaping by refugees. Although a considerable amount of research has been done on transnational migration and the multiple rootedness of migrants in general, there exist a gap when it comes to research that elaborates upon the implications of this multiple rootedness on the identity shaping and the performance of daily practices in the lives of refugees specifically. My thesis will be an exploration of the available literature on the chosen topic and I will aim to connect different research results and theoretical outcomes. The analysis will be done from a sociological and human geographical perspective, and the character of my research will be descriptive and theoretically reflexive.

3.2 Methodology

This thesis is based on a literature review and is part of the bachelor's programme of International Development at Wageningen University and Research Centre in the Netherlands. A wide range of different types of literature has been used, including empiric and ethnographic studies and policy briefs of (non-) governmental organizations. This thesis is mainly based on qualitative data - with quantitative data serving to support or to illustrate these. Combining several types of literature from different angles provides a clear and holistic view of the ways in which refugees perceive their multiple rootedness. Literature studies in the field of globalization, transnationalism, migration, development studies, refugees, and integration have been consulted. Databases used are Search Global from the WUR-library, JSTOR and Google Scholar. Search terms that were used to find literature are, among others: 'transnationalism refugees', 'transnationalism migration', 'multiple rootedness refugees', 'double engagement refugees', 'migration mobilities', 'refugees migrants integration', 'refugees transnational behaviour', and 'refugees camp transnationalism'. From these various areas of research, concepts have been used and applied to the case scrutinized during this research project. Due to the short period of time in which this thesis has been carried out, no data have been obtained by personally conducted practical research. No personal ethnographic fieldwork has been carried out during this study, though this could have improved the quality of argumentation and could have led to a more in-depth analysis, particularly when it comes to assessing the impact of refugees' double or multiple rootedness on the performance of their daily practices. Despite the above-mentioned limitations, this thesis will shape a clear insight in a particular part of transnational migration by refugees.

Chapter 4 - Analysis: Refugees' Transnational Behaviour

In this chapter a transnationalism paradigm will be used to analyse to what extent refugees' lives are affected by their multiple rootedness. It provides an overview of the various transnational acts that refugees perform and explains how these affect their connections with 'both' here and 'there'. Several studies on refugees' transnational practices conducted by other authors are combined and analysed. In doing so, these transnational acts are observed from both a 'home country' perspective and a 'host country' perspective. The aim is not to split refugees' behaviour up in two parts – since a transnational approach unites refugees' roots -, but to show that every transnational action is as much related to 'here' as to 'there'. In doing so, specific attention will be given to the social, political, economic and cultural contexts in the origin country that may affect refugees' transnational activities.

4.1 Context

Though much research has been done on the transnational activities of migrants in general, refugees' activities remain understudied (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a; Morrell, 2008). It is disputable however, whether a difference should be made when studying refugees' and migrants' transnational behaviour. Refugees are often perceived to be a certain sub-group of migrants, though there are some obvious particularities in their migration motives, and their opportunities for performing certain activities, such as keeping in touch with family and sending financial remittances. In general, it can be stated that migrants, or at least labour migrants, have more opportunities to carry out transnational activities, since they are not explicitly forced to move and can often do paid work (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a; Bakker *et al.*, 2014). Where migrants choose to migrate for employment purposes, refugees are regularly forced to do so due to a deterioration of their environments and livelihoods. Their decision to migrate was usually taken more suddenly and had to be made quickly. Furthermore, refugees are often unable to bring their financial assets with them as they migrate, which makes them somewhat disadvantaged compared to labour migrants when it comes to sending financial remittances for example. Due to their lack of financial assets and being prohibited from doing paid work in the host country, refugees cannot perform the same transnational activities as most labour migrants. Furthermore, it may be harder for them to maintain social transnational relations, as their stay-behind relatives and friends may reside in an unstable environment in the home country. Phone lines and communication networks might be dispersed or destroyed during conflicts or fights. Refugees' transnational contacts could be hindered as well by host country governments as these persecute them for political reasons. In this sense, refugees can avoid contact with their relatives as they do not want to put their family's lives at risk (Mascini *et al.* in Bakker *et al.*, 2014). Labour migrants are more likely to be able to maintain transnational contacts without facing impediments like the above-mentioned.

Other authors, however, wonder whether the distinction made between refugees and migrant is valid (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a; Morrell, 2008). The distinction is often based on migrants' and refugees' motives for migrating. It is quite hard to establish a difference based on this single feature, as both migrants and refugees regularly have multiple motives to migrate. These are often a mix between social, political and economic motives (Koser in Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a). The question is thus, to what extent such a distinction is relevant. Besides this, the distinction that is made between voluntary and forced migration is not always accurate, since labour migrants might be forced to migrate due to economic or political barriers and refugees might also migrate in order to fulfil personal interest or to obtain social status (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a). Whether this distinction is made or not, could depend on the perspective or paradigm used to analyse migration.

In this report, I choose to separate refugees and labour migrants and regard them both as unique groups with varying characteristics. A first reason for this is that refugees obtain a different legal status than labour migrants. This difference based on legal status results in the fact that migrants and refugees have different options regarding their livelihood strategies. Furthermore, both groups often have a completely different place within the host country society. In the Netherlands, for example, labour migrants from countries such as Poland and Bulgaria who engage in seasonal employment are allowed to have paid jobs, which is often the reason why they migrate. Refugees however, are not allowed to engage in any paid activities until they have completed their naturalization process, and passed their language tests. Instead of a salary, they receive social state funding. Also, both groups have different rights and the expectations raised towards them by the Dutch government and society regarding social integration and assimilation differ as well. Such differences in the way in which labour migrants and refugees are treated must result in differences regarding their multiple rootedness and

subsequently in the performance of their daily practices. Such differences in legal status and obtained rights between refugees and labour migrants do of course differ and strongly depend on the country wherefrom and where to one migrates. Another reason for studying refugees' transnational behaviour *an sich*, is that their homeland situation is often more precarious than that of labour migrants. This also leads to differences in their rootedness and transnational behaviour. Furthermore, labour migrants often stay in a host country on a short-term basis. They often engage in seasonal employment and earn money for a couple of months per year, before they head back to their family in the home country. Refugees' migration is often more long term-oriented, since they cannot return that easily and have to rebuild their whole lives in the host country. This results in completely different expectations and future plans amongst both groups.

4.2 Home Country Situation

The home country situation is an important feature in the possibility for refugees to engage in certain transnational activities (Bakker *et al.*, 2014). Refugees are often studied as one unified group, though their cultural backgrounds can be very different and they may have fled for very different reasons. These factors intertwine and affect refugees' multiple rootedness. As a result, refugees' daily practices strongly depend on the home country from which one has fled. According to Bakker *et al.* (2014) the home country situation may affect the transmission of financial remittances and the frequency of transnational family contact. Economic factors such as the GDP per capita and HDI from countries partially determine a refugees' likelihood to engage in transnational behaviour (Bakker *et al.*, 2014). On the other hand, one could state that when refugees have arrived in a certain Western host country they will often receive financial support from the state. This could diminish host country related differences between refugee groups that reside in the same host country. It is obvious that the safety situation in the host country affects refugees' multiple engagement and the possibilities to perform certain practices. For example, relatives and friends in a home country at war may be harder to contact than those in more stable home countries, as communication channels can be cut off or censored. In this sense, the overall situation in a country affects the ease with which transnational activities are performed. This affects people's rootedness. Surely it is likely that one's connections with the host country will increase or be reinforced when the safety situation in the homeland prevents him or her from connecting with the latter. In this sense, transnational behaviour is continually (re)shaped, both actively and passively (Bakker *et al.*, 2014).

Another factor that affects transnational behaviour is the home country culture. The extent to which this is significant is hard to assess, but Schans (2009) has shown that the frequency of social contact and the sending of remittances vary amongst different migrant groups in the Netherlands. Cultural values regarding the importance of family ties and social-hierarchical structures are factors that support or discourage these transnational acts (Schans, 2009). As refugees are shaped by various backgrounds too, it seems likely that cultural difference determines their multiple rootedness and performance of activities too.

4.3 Transnational Activities

Refugees are engaged in many different kinds of transnational activities. I choose to categorize these and make a distinction between socio-cultural and economic activities. Socio-cultural activities concern social practices such as transnational contact and family visits and cultural components such as language and religion, whereas economic ones merely concern monetary flows and transactions between refugees' host and home countries.

4.3.1 Socio-cultural Activities

4.3.1a Social Contacts and Home Country Visits

Social contacts with family and friends are one of the foremost transnational activities that refugees perform. Due to technological developments in communications, it is possible for refugees to maintain intensive contact with relatives and friends in the home country (Grillo and Mazzucato, 2008). As mentioned already, the intensity of transnational social contact depends among other factors on the political and safety situation in the home country. Since refugees' origin countries are often involved in long-term warfare, people's chances and possibilities to communicate with family and friends may be hindered. Another important factor regarding social contact is the extent to which the home country is 'developed'. The extent and intensity of communication networks, such as phone lines, and aspects regarding human development, such as phone possession or the

number of internet connections, affect the extent to which social transnational activities can be performed (Bakker *et al.*, 2014). According to Bakker *et al.* (2014) the overall safety situation in a country affects the likelihood of refugees showing transnational behaviour. She studied refugees from several countries and found that Somali refugees are less likely to perform social transnational activities than, for example, Iranians, because the safety situation in the latter is more secure and people have better access to telephone and internet connections (Bakker *et al.*, 2014).

Another social transnational activity refugees engage in is home country family visits. Whether such visits are possible or not also depends on the political situation in the home country. During warfare or conflict, refugees will less likely be able to visit. Besides the homeland situation, someone's flight motive is also crucial regarding their possibility to visit friends and family. When an individual is persecuted by his or her home country government, it is less likely that he or she will have the ability to visit family or friends. Also, persecution can thwart social transnational contacts entirely (Mascini *et al.* in Bakker *et al.*, 2014). This could lead to refugees not having any contact with their family and friends in the home country, as they do not want to put their nearest and dearest's lives at risk. In this sense, their activities are affected by external factors. For refugees who fled the home country because of personal reasons, such as threat related to their sexual orientation, it might be hard to keep in touch with their family, since they may have banned the refugee from the family circle and do not approve of someone's sexuality and sexual behaviour.

4.3.1b Social and Cultural Remittances

Refugees exchange social remittances with their families, friends and communities in the homeland. These remittances are created when refugees visit their homelands and exchange ideas and practices with their relatives, when they communicate by phone or internet, or when they discuss values, morals and opinions. These remittances are thus double sided and simultaneously impact the lives of refugees 'here' and the lives of their relatives 'there' (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011). Social remittances are thus shaped by circumstances and events in both the home and host country and affect people in both. Many intellectual refugee writers, artists and musicians continue their profession in the host country. Their writings, music and art are distributed in both the host country and 'exported' to the home country (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a). Some refugees continue to work for home country television networks or newspapers from the host country, while promoting ideas of tolerance and multi-culturalism, which change and shape opinions in the home country (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a).

4.3.1c Social and Cultural Events

Refugees engage in community organisations and events with compatriots in the host country. These events are perceived to be important and have large cultural value, since they make it possible for refugees to stay in touch with fellow refugees from the same country. Furthermore, attending these events give them options for gathering information on diaspora-related topics and keeping up with recent occurrences and developments in the homeland (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a). Such events are very important to refugees: on the one hand, they reassure refugees' cultural identity as a proper ethnic group in the host country; on the other hand, they are options for refugees to discuss home country-related topics with compatriots. Cultural and social events are thus related to both the home country and the host country.

The difference between cultural and social events is quite hard to grasp, because both types of activities regularly overlap. According to Al-Ali *et al.* (2001a), there is one main difference. Unlike social events, cultural events are about preserving the cultural ties between the refugee community and the home country. Examples of cultural events are attending home country related concerts and celebrating home country holidays. Such events often have a transnational character, due to performances of home country writers and musicians who are invited for these events. However, it should be noted that these socio-cultural events are not just ordinary copies of similar events in the origin country (Lewis, 2010). They contain transnational elements and should therefore be regarded as such. In fact, socio-cultural events happen simultaneously in the realm of the host country and home country, and therefore mix aspects from both 'here' and 'there'. These activities are strongly linked to cultural aspects of the homeland. One could argue however, that the very core of these events is strongly linked to the host country, as they are organized for and by the diaspora in the host country and therefore contain certain host country elements too (Lewis, 2010). By creating a part of home in 'here', these events show refugees' adaptation to their host country lives and their establishment as a unified population group in the host country society. Many events, like concerts, art or performances might be perceived to be replicas of home country events, but Lewis states

they are “neither a transposition of cultural practices brought from the country of origin, nor does transformation sever a link to past, distant or imagined identity and community” (Lewis, 2010:580). The events happen in a diasporic public sphere and include interactions of here and there, tradition and modernity, change and stasis that emphasize heterogeneity within groups and the ‘tendency of community towards fission and fusion (Weber in Lewis, 2010:580). During these events transnational conversations on topics such as one’s refugee-ness (i.e. the extent to which one can be perceived a ‘proper’ refugee) or social class are covered amongst refugees in the UK. This shows that there is a certain establishment of a ‘we’ versus ‘they’ rhetoric amongst diaspora refugee groups that helps them defining themselves as a social group within the host country society (Lewis, 2010). Other examples of transnational cultural activities are ritual performances, the celebration of national holidays or traditions, listening to home country music, and cooking. Most refugees engage actively in many kinds of transnational social and cultural activities.

4.3.1d Language and Religion

Another prominent example of socio-cultural transnational behaviour is language. Refugees who migrate at a young age often become more fluent in the host country language than in their mother tongue (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, 2010). Many refugee parents fear that the children will lose their mothers tongue, which may lead to a ‘weakening’ of the ties they possess with the origin country (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, 2010). It also happens that refugees speak their native language at home and the host country language outdoors (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, 2010). In this sense, the performance of language becomes ‘transnationalised’ as well: it may depend on the context or situation which language people aim to use at a certain moment. Furthermore, refugees’ religions and cultural identities may become transnationalised, as people may adapt to or embrace certain cultural norms and values that reshape their religious views and beliefs, and affect their religious behaviour (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, 2010).

4.3.2 Economic Activities

4.3.2a Financial Remittances

One of the most palpable of examples of economic transnational activity is the transmission of financial remittances. These remittances are sums of money that are accumulated in the host country and sent to relatives in the homeland in order to support these. In 2015, the total sum of remittances sent to developing countries worldwide was 431.6 billion dollars (Ratha *et al.*, 2016). The Middle East, North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa, where refugees’ home countries are often located, received 50.3 billion dollars and 35.2 billion dollars of remittances respectively (Ratha *et al.*, 2016). Since refugees and asylum seekers in host countries are often not allowed to engage in paid jobs, it can be difficult for them to send remittances due to their lack of financial assets. Remittances can be individual (donations from individual refugees to their relatives in the origin country) or collective (donations collected amongst refugees by charity organisations, and sent to the homeland). Remittances affect both refugees’ expenditure and savings patterns here as they enlarge their families’ wealth ‘there’. In some countries, Eritrea for example, remittances function as a proper alternative to social state support and therefore benefit stay-behinds’ livelihoods and the GDP of the country to a large extent (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a).

4.3.2b (Diaspora) Taxes

Another economic transnational act that refugees from certain countries perform is the payment of diaspora taxes to the home country government. This is the case for many Eritrean refugees, who are more or less obliged to give up two per cent of their incomes to their home country government. This so-called ‘recovery and reconstruction tax’ could be raised up to ten per cent in times of war (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001a). These taxes are still collected amongst Eritreans in the United Kingdom, albeit illegally. They are collected by Eritrean embassies and are an indicator of the long arm of the Eritrean government. Often, people are not able to send parcels home or get a passport without paying the 2 per cent tax. This measure heavily affects the lives of many Eritrean refugees. Since not paying the tax may have negative implications for these people, they are indirectly forced to pay every month. The money is used to support the army and the home country regime. This obviously is a forced transnational act though, as it limits Eritreans in their possibility to perform transnational behaviour in their own way. They are not free to decide by themselves what to do with their financial assets. Instead of sending the money to relatives as financial remittances, it ends up in the Eritrean treasury. This has also implications for the

ways in which Eritrean refugees are able to spend and save their money in host country. It thus limits them in their individual transnational behaviour and deprives them of establishing stronger economic ties with the host country.

4.4 Conclusion

The interrelatedness between refugees' multiple rootedness and their daily practices is complex. Multiple rootedness is a very broad concept that enhances many different personal, social and economic factors. All these factors interfere in many ways and affect the daily practices of refugees in their own particular way. Therefore, it is impossible to determine which factors exactly lead to which particular type of transnational behaviour. It is clear however that refugees' multiple rootedness results in many forms of transnational behaviour. Refugees are tied to their home and host country in numerous ways and their activities are almost continually affected by these ties. Transnational behaviour is certainly not static, but rather is it continually (re)created and (re)shaped as refugees continually (re)positioning themselves with regard to their home and host country.

Chapter 5 – Analysis: Transnational Migration - A Theoretical Reflection

In the previous chapter, I have shown how refugees' transnational practices can be studied from a transnationalism perspective. Due to its unifying character, a transnationalism discourse is highly applicable to studying refugees' ties with their home and host country and helps these ties to be defined and conceptualised in the right manner in which attention is paid to the multiple levels of practices, contexts and developments that continually shape and constitute transnational behaviour. Transnational behaviour is a highly complex concept that depends on many different individual, collective and (inter)national factors in socio-cultural, political, economic, and historical realms in both the refugees' origin country as in his or her host country. Some of these aspects have been studied rather well, other aspects are still under-studied and leave some theoretical gaps within the field of transnational migration. Though transnationalism offers a robust framework for the analysis of refugees' ties with 'here' and 'there', and the various ways in which this multiple engagement affects their lives, transnational theory has some intrinsic gaps and shortcomings. This chapter will elaborate upon these existing obscurities in transnationalism theory. Furthermore, it will be analysed how these gaps may provide a more detailed and qualified understanding, which may provide a more holistic and in-depth analysis of refugees' transnational behaviour.

5.1 Embodied Approach

Dunn (2010) contends that, besides its pragmatic and useful role in analysing migration-related topics, transnationalism has focussed too much on the concept of 'mobility'. He states that mobilities have often been exaggerated and that this has led to several assumptions that are somewhat disputable. Mobility is surely not a naturally available asset to every person to the same degree. Its availability depends on many local and (inter)national economic, political and social factors that vary amongst individuals, countries and cultures. This makes international movement inaccessible to many, whereas it is accessible for others (Dunn, 2005).

In order to deal with the uneven access to migration, Dunn (2010) proposes a - what he calls - embodied approach to transnational migration, which focusses on the individuals who perform the act of migrating instead of on the act itself. Bodies can be read as outcomes of social processes, they can be seen as sites of action and resistance, or they can be seen as the negotiated space between social processes and action (Winchester *et al.* in Dunn, 2010:4). An embodied perspective on transnational migration helps recognizing migrants' personal experiences, needs and desires that are included in their transnational environment. In this sense, a more in-depth analysis of migration can be carried out in which is focussed on the bodies, or people, that migrate and the context in which they perform their migration. 'Bodies' are the things that cross borders, and that are the smallest field of transnationalism migration analysis. A transnational embodied approach combines both the events that bodies attend in both 'here' and 'there' and thus represents the act of migrating strikingly. These bodies represent all types of social, cultural, political, economic, historic and biological factors and developments that migrants have to deal with and have to balance living their transnational lives. An embodied approach could provide new insights regarding the ways in which affective and emotional geographies of transnationalism are experienced by migrants themselves, and could clarify the geographic relation between migrants and the different ways in which they are bound to places (Dunn, 2010).

However, Dunn's embodied approach focusses on the migrant as an individual 'body', which he thinks is very important. Within the act of migration, (international) borders have to be crossed. This is easier for some than it is for others, since not everyone possesses the same chances and possibilities to perform the act itself. The extent to which one is able to migrate strongly mainly on one's social status, education, income, home country situation, socio-cultural background and general economic and political factors. Because the circumstances under which people migrate strongly differ, it would be useful to study migration as an act or performance of a single person, or 'body'. In doing so, the amalgam of interrelated factors that affect transnational migration can be defined and determined, and the complex of transnational ties can be studied profoundly. An embodied approach thus prevents migration to be studied from a macro level solely and can provide a more nuanced image of migrants, in which attention can be given to emotions and experiences that migrants witnessed during their migration (Dunn, 2010).

In the case of refugees, an embodied approach can be very helpful in clarifying certain aspects of their transnational lives. As appeared based on my findings in the previous chapter, refugees' transnational practices

and activities are manifested in miscellaneous forms of behaviour and are affected by many different factors that depend on personal features and on the origin country and host country context and circumstances. In order to analyse the share of every single factor, an individual-focussed in-depth analysis of refugees' transnational behaviour should be made to assess each of these factors individually. Such analysis could result in a more detailed and nuanced understanding of refugees' transitional behaviour and the different factors by which it is constituted.

5.2 Territories and Borders

In addition to Dunn and his proposal to include an embodied approach within transnationalism migration discourse, Pasquetti (2015) adds to this that the role that national borders play is often undermined and remains under-scrutinized, while borders are highly important factors that affect transnational migration and migrants considerably. She states that transnationalism is often framed in opposition to the entrapping effect of borders (Pasquetti, 2015:2738). Because of this, transnational theory focusses on connecting and uniting migrants' ties with 'here' and 'there' in the broadest possible sense, but in doing so it ignores the fact that in order to migrate actual borders do need to be crossed. These borders affect or hinder transnational migration and, as a result, the extent to which migrants' transnational ties can be developed. So-called 'border entrapment' remains under-scrutinized in the field of transnational migration and is often not linked to transnational processes (Pasquetti, 2015). In addition to this, transnationalism ignores the fact that actual borders need to be crossed in order to migrate, it is what actually specifies the act of migration. Moving is an intense and unsure act and it is often difficult for people to cross regional, national and international borders. Nation-states remain in charge of their borders and are important players in the field of (inter)national migration laws and policies that decide whether bodies are allowed to enter certain territories or not. Besides national borders of territories, refugees and migrants may witness new boundaries that are fed by xenophobic sentiments in host society countries. This leads to migration being highly affected by assumptions regarding race, skin colour and gender, not only in the host country, but in the home country as well (Dunn, 2010). Within transnationalism not much is known of this 'dark side' of migration that includes racism, discrimination and cultural hierarchies, privileges and other social borders, though it is obvious that these impact refugees' and migrants' transnational behaviour (Dunn, 2005:27). Pascucci (2016) adds to this that within transnationalism research more attention should be paid to uncertainties, borders and frictions, and that these shape migrants' transnationalities possibly more than the simultaneity of transnational acts.

According to Pasquetti, not acknowledging the effect of borders is problematic. Firstly, because it encourages the assumption that people who are trapped in between borders are excluded from transnational processes, while this is not the case. These people's transnational behaviour is affected by constraints that have been forced upon them from outside often by legal and political spheres. As a result, these people are not regarded transnational migrants, but are studied in the context of trapped people that are living in a 'vacuum' (Pasquetti, 2015). Secondly, in neglecting the transnational experiences of entrapped people, transnationalism neglects power-related issues. Border entrapment has to do with the enforcement of power of nation states, which legal or political frameworks prevent migrants from entering their country. Which implications this has to migrants, mainly depends on their migration motive and the stability of their origin country. Border entrapment can thus be linked to the inequality of people's access to mobility. Hence, transnationalism and border entrapment are connected and more research should be done on the uneven distribution of mobility, immobility, and how entrapped people are affected by the power of nation-states. (Pasquetti, 2015)

For refugees, to be entrapped in between borders may affect their transnational behaviour tremendously. For example, migrants that consider themselves as refugees, but are not considered as such by juridical spheres, such as the Afghani refugees in Greece, are entrapped in these political and legal restriction that are forced upon them. Because these people often do not possess any legal documentation that 'recognizes' their flight motive, and neither have the possibility to get any, they find themselves in a vague legal-political position and are withhold from crossing any border in order to proceed with their journey. These people fall 'victim' to international law, politics, and power issues that should be recognizes within the transnationalism migration paradigm.

5.3 Cultural and Historical Context

Another remark that can be made in regard to transnationalism migration theory is that not much attention is paid to the historic and cultural contexts in which each form of migration takes place. Each form of migration is determined by the historical and cultural context in which it happens. These contexts are often underrepresented when it comes to researching migrants' and refugees' transnational ties, though they are very important and determine migration and the extent to which transnational ties can be developed strongly. Since all context are specific to certain countries or even regions, it is important that more research is conducted in order to map their relations with transnational migration. Therefore, research should investigate both in the origin country and in the host country, to assess what the cultural and historical determinants are for a certain form of migration between certain countries. Cultural and historical context are shaped by complex processes and are determined by socio-cultural, economic, political circumstances in the home country and they should be taken into account and be included in studies on migrants' transnational behaviour (Grillo and Mazzucato, 2008).

Another remark that can be made on the context in which transnational migration takes place, addresses the lack of attention for the emphasis on the host country and an underrepresentation of the home or sending country. Transnationalism theory often focuses on the social context in 'here', the host country, and neglects to include social and historical contexts concerning the homeland (Binaisa, 2013). Since transnationalism aims an inclusive and holistic approach to migration, so that it can do justice to all different parts that migration is involved with, it is remarkable that the host country context is favoured and a Eurocentric perspective seems to be present, be it ambiguous. Issues such as integration and assimilation in host country societies are widely scrutinized, though hardly any research seems to be done on the consequences of migration for stay-behind relatives in the host country society that should be part of the same theoretical framework as migrants (Binaisa, 2013). Furthermore, the overall focus of transnationalism discourse in general is on migrants in relation to issues as legal status and integration, whereas cultural and historical matters of the home country and migration patterns are often cold-shouldered. In this sense, transnational migration theory could use some 'refinement' that can help understand migrants' engagement in transnationalism, from both a sending and a receiving context, whereby attention is paid to cultural and historical processes and migration is placed in a cultural-historic framework. Al-Ali *et al.* (2001b) state that the historical context of migration is important to keep in perspective, since it produces uneven patterns of migration due to its links with social, political and institutional factors that affected people then as they do now. This results in different patterns of activities amongst different migrant groups. A country's migration history might be able to explain - at least partially - contemporary migration and determine the extent to which transnational practices can be performed. Social, economic, political and cultural processes and contexts in both countries determine migrants' chances to migrate and shape migrants' transnational lives. Refugees are continually repositioning themselves in their transnationality and are constantly reconstructing and negotiating their transnational ties. Transnational fields are not static phenomena, but rather processes that evolve in time and that is influenced by a multitude of factors that shape it in their own distinct manner. This means that time plays a crucial role in the constitution of refugees' transnational behaviour just as social and cultural contexts in both the home and the host-country (Al-Ali *et al.*, 2001b).

A simultaneous multi-sited (SMS) methodology can be used for collecting more data on transnational activities. It can offer clarity on both the simultaneity-aspect of transnationalism and its border- crossing transnational networks. In studying transnational ties it is important that data from both 'here' and 'there' are collected simultaneously. To be able to perform such an SMS methodology, researchers should have knowledge on the socio-cultural, economic, and political circumstances of the country where the migrant comes from, as well as those in the country where he or she migrates to. This requires an interdisciplinary approach in which researchers from different fields converge their expertise in order to create a holistic image of the scrutinized form of migration in which factors regarding development, anthropology, sociology, law, economy and history are combined (Mazzucato, 2008).

5.4 Refugees in Transnational Research

The role of refugees in transnationalism is somewhat marginal, as in research the role of labour migrants is emphasised. In addition, it remains unclear whether a proper dichotomy can be made between the two groups, as some authors mean so and others doubt the differences and focus on the similarities. Morell (2008) for example, says that the line between labour migration and refugee migration remains thin, as migration is a

complex phenomenon and obvious differences between migrants and refugees flight motives and transnational ties do not *per se* exist, as it is hard to state whether both groups are either economic migrants or political refugees. Economic factors of refugee migrants have often been neglected due to the fact that refugees are seen as political migrants and their flight would assumingly be forced. Refugees should be included in the transnationalism paradigm, although one should acknowledge and be aware of not homogenising them, as there exist many differences amongst different groups (Morrell, 2008). Besides this, the relation between refugees and the state of the home and host country are often uncertain or unstable. The relation between refugees and their origin country has been analysed, though not much is known of “the impact of transnational links and obligations upon refugees’ experiences in the host country” (Morrell, 2008:24). More research on refugees’ transnational engagement is necessary in order to better understand the interrelations between refugees and their integration in the host country society and how this relates to origin country processes (Morrell, 2008).

Another factor that affects refugees’ possibilities to engage in transnational activities is their living environment. Worldwide, many refugees are living in camps that might hinder the possibility for refugees’ to perform transnational behaviour. Hardly any research is done on the transnational ties of refugees that live in refugee camps in the global South, which is remarkable since camps are the most common places where large refugee populations are housed (Brees, 2010). Brees studied Burmese refugees in exile in Thailand and shows that they maintain economic, social and cultural ties with compatriots. She argues that these transnational ties are largely determined by one’s legal status, the home country one migrated from and the host country one migrated to (Brees, 2010). Refugees who live in a host country are still connected to their origin country and their stay-behind relatives. Even in the absence of a legal status, refugees engage in transnational activities, such as the sending of remittances that affect the origin country’s economy, albeit that these activities are affected by political factors and factors regarding the development of both countries (Brees in Brees, 2009). The extent to which refugees are able to engage in transnational activities thus strongly depends on their legal status, and of situation in the home and host country. The fact that each of these factors influences refugees’ transnational lives in its own specific way and the relative obscurity that exists around refugees’ transnational practices, make it difficult to make general statements. Refugees’ transnational activities need to be studied more in depth and ‘per case’ in order to gather more knowledge on this very topic.

5.5 Conclusion

Although transnationalism migration theory is a useful gaze to observe migration and migrants’ multiple rootedness, it remains obscure and shallow at certain points. Firstly, the undisputed and overstated focus on mobility and migration has led to ignoring questions concerning their accessibility to individuals. Migration is subject to social hierarchies and privileges and therefore very unequal, which should be acknowledged more in transnationalism theory. Secondly, people that are hindered by physical borders or social frontiers should be included in transnational research and more attention should be paid to the factors that hinder transnational migration, instead of mainly focussing on its simultaneity. Thirdly, the cultural and historical context in which migration takes place should get more attention as they shape migration flows and determine migrants’ transnational ties substantially. Finally, refugees’ position within transnational research should be (re)questioned. Although refugees and labour migrants mostly have similar motives to migrate, the risk of homogenizing ethnic groups should be eliminated. More research should be done on refugees’ relation with their origin country and in regard of the ways in which transnational links affect refugees’ experiences in the host country society.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion and Discussion

6.1 Conclusion

In this thesis the main research question - "In which ways does the multiple rootedness of refugees affect their behaviour and the performance of daily practices?" - is answered. Transnational theory and the concepts of multiple rootedness have been central concepts in answering this question.

Transnational theory offers a useful framework for studying refugee migration. The concept of multiple rootedness helps to address refugees' simultaneous ties with here and there and make sure that these are unified within a single social field. Refugees' multiple rootedness influences their daily practices as these practices become a 'mix' that contains aspects of both 'here' and 'there'. Within this report, a distinction was made between transnational socio-cultural activities and transnational economic activities. Firstly, refugees maintain transnational social contacts with stay-behind relatives and possibly visit them. The intensity and frequency of these contacts depend on the safety in the home country as well as the extent of phone and internet networks, and refugees' individual migration motives. Secondly, refugees exchange social remittances - opinions and practices - between their host and home countries. These remittances affect people's ideas and practices in both countries and vice versa. Thirdly, social and cultural refugee events that are hosted in the host country are a transnational activity. Often musicians, writers or artists are performing at such events, and these events are often a mean of refugees to gather information on diaspora-related issues and home country developments. Though these events focus on the host country, they are not copies of home country events, but rather transnationalised events with which refugee groups simultaneously maintain updated on the home country, but also aim to establish them as a minority group in the host country. Fourthly, language and religion become transnationalised, since refugees use their mother tongue less and focus more on the host country language which may affect their cultural ties with the home country. Religious and other cultural ideas, perceptions and rituals may change as well due to refugees' exposure to host country opinions, values, and rituals or practices. Fifthly, financial remittances are sent from the host country to the home country. These simultaneously affect refugees' saving patterns in 'here' as they affect stay-behind relatives in the origin country. Furthermore financial remittances can contribute to origin countries' GDPs significantly. Sixthly, diaspora taxes are collected among certain refugee groups, such as those from Ethiopian descent. These taxes are a merely forced form of transnational activity as refugees are obliged to yield a certain percentage of their income to the home country government, which uses the money for military or developmental goals.

Concluding, though, it is clear that multiple rootedness affects refugees' daily practices it is hard to assess exactly which factors cause what kind of behaviour and to what extent. It is certain that refugees' individual social, educational and financial assets play a role in this, even so as the home country situation, host country policies concerning refugee admission, and refugees' legal status. All these factors and contexts can hinder or support refugees' engagement in transnational activities, although it depends on the broad context in which migration takes place to which extent and in which ways. This is socially, culturally, economically, and politically dependant.

6.2 Discussion

This thesis also discusses transnationalism migration theory's gaps and shortcomings concerning refugees' transnational behaviour. Firstly, the concept of mobility is often not put into question and it is important to recognize that mobility and migration are not equally accessible to everyone. An embodied approach that focusses on migration of individuals, could offer a solution to this and lead to a nuanced understanding of the accessibility of migration. Secondly, borders maintain important in a transnational approach, though they can be easily overlooked due to transnationalism's unifying character of 'here' and 'there'. Nation-states' physical borders remain important in refugees' migration as they can prevent refugees' from entering certain territories, hereby possibly preventing them from having the possibilities to develop transnational ties and perform transnational activities. This is directly linked to refugee's legal status, that affects their transnationality as well. Furthermore, social or economic borders can hinder refugees' in performing transnationality (e.g. racism and discrimination; or being prohibited to engage in paid jobs). It is important that the entrapping effects of borders are acknowledged within the transnationalism paradigm. Thirdly, more attention should be paid to the historic and cultural context of migration, as both have a large impact on the extent to which refugees can develop transnational ties. Fourthly, more attention should be paid to the interrelations between refugees and their

integration in the host country society and how this affects their ties with the origin country. Furthermore, the impact of refugees' legal status on their possibilities to perform transnational behaviour should be studied and not much is known on the transnational ties of refugees who live in camps or exile.

Although there is a lot of information available on transnational behaviour of migrants in general, there is a lack of up-to-date sources on refugees' transnational connections and how these affect their behaviour. Being dependant on a relatively small amount of sources, which often had an exploratory character, made it hard to write a more in-depth analysis on the subject and to draw firm conclusions. Furthermore, focussing on a certain case was difficult and left this thesis to describe refugees' migration and behaviour from a transnationalism perspective in general. This made it challenging to offer a coherent and complete view on the subject. More research is needed on the home country context, the role of borders and of the nation-states, and on the culturally determined and individual factors that shape refugees' transnational behaviour. Transnationalism is a useful paradigm for researching refugees' migration, albeit it a complex one that consists of many different factors that all impact it in their own way and of which should be assessed to what extent they do so.

In practice, a shift to a transnational gaze on refugee migration implies a change in how is looked at issues concerning hegemony and the role of the nation-state. Hegemony should no longer be seen as a the geographic exercise of power by nation states, but as a more social form of domination in which certain groups exercise power over other by using institutions. In this sense, hegemony should be regarded as a social phenomenon that is not tied *per se* to the territories of nation-sates, but rather overcrossing these. This also implies a re-thinking of the concept of development. Development should no longer be studied in regard to the nation-sate, but it should be studied from a broader, social perspective, as it are social groups that exclude other groups from the 'global system'. The role of nation states is often emphasized in development studies, while hierarchy is exercised by border-crossing social groups and institutions rather than by geographical aspects.

In the current refugee 'crisis', refugees are framed as a 'problem' for nation-states and are excluded from social participation. A transnational perspective uses a more inclusive approach towards refugee migration by nuancing the current stereotyping of refugees as 'right-less people' and 'strangers'. An inclusive approach that appreciates refugees potentials and talents can change the current, nation-state oriented focus on refugees' lack of legal status and economic value. This implies a re-thinking in the meaning of borders of nation-states and of excluding refugees based on nation-state related assumptions, such as a lack of legal status. A transnationalism approach helps to focus on refugee migration as a whole and nuances the image of refugees' being outsiders. In this sense, refugees would be included, and would be 'free' to engage in transnational activities that cross the nation-state's borders. Besides this, a transnationalism perspective on migration leads to a different, more inclusive perception of integration. Instead of seeing integration as an end-goal, integration is regarded as a process that continually changes due to developments in both the home country context and the host country context. In this sense, it de-problematizes the broad connectedness of refugees to their homeland, which could lead to more inclusionary political policies and could change the current perceptions on refugees' economic value and legal status. Refugees then would be able to become part of development frameworks, instead of being excluded from social development theory.

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