Transnational networks
of Eastern European labour migrants

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Studying networks, particularly those linked to family and households, permits understanding migration as a social product – not as the sole result of individual decisions made by individual actors, not as the sole result of economic or political parameters, but rather as an outcome of all these factors in interaction. (Boyd 1989: 642)

1　Introduction

In the early 21ˢᵗ century more people are on the move than at any other point in history. The United Nations (2006) estimated that there were 191 million international migrants worldwide in 2005 and uncounted more internal migrants in many countries. One third of the international migrants' population is living in Europe (34 percent), followed by Asia (28 percent) and North America (23 percent; ibid.). Although this only represents roughly three percent of the world's population, international migration has become one of the core issues both internationally and on the national level of origin and destination countries. International migration, on which this study focuses, has increased immensely over the last two decades for mainly the following reasons. First, the progressing worldwide socio-economic restructuring processes, which many people refer to as 'globalisation', have made people follow the (higher paid) jobs. Second, political changes like the fall of the 'iron curtain' in 1989 and the subsequent political overthrows in Eastern Europe as well as ethno-political conflicts and civil wars in Central Asia, Africa and South Eastern Europe have forced many people to flee from their places of residence. Third, although the global population is growing at only 1.2 percent per year, population growth is highly uneven; while the countries of the Global North are growing at only 0.3 percent per year, the rest is accounted for by the countries of the Global South. The countries of the Global North, with their ageing, shrinking populations and still attractive economic situations are thus appealing destinations for people from the Global South, who face high population growth rates and difficult economic circumstances. Finally, the emergence and persistence of migration networks between origin and destination countries concomitant with transnational forms of migration due to technological advancements in travel and communication is seen by the International Organisation for Migration as a driving force of migration today (cf. IOM 2009; MÜNZ and RIETERER 2009).

Migration studies, therefore, are currently at the centre of attention worldwide[1]. The study of migration is nothing new, as questions surrounding the causes of migration, the nature of integration as well as the persistence of migration regimes have persisted for over a century, stretching back to the 'laws of migration' (Ravenstein 1889) at the end of the 19th century. Nonetheless, the quest to explain migration decision-making and enduring migration regimes has not yet resulted in adequate answers and research on these topics remains important. As neither atomistic theories nor structural theories alone adequately explain migrants' decision-making and the perpetuation of migration (cf. Massey et al. 1998: 50), researchers have turned to more intermediating approaches or, in Faist's words, to the crucial meso-level (Faist 1997b), to find answers. This involves taking into account migration networks as a mediating level between the insufficient micro and macro theories, which alone are insufficient.

This study illuminates the meso-level, and especially the structure and functioning of migration networks, with reference to labour migrants. Labour migrants, who compose one of the most dominant groups of recent migration movements, are defined as persons who decide to move between two or more countries mainly based on economic grounds[2]. Nevertheless, I recognise that these economic decisions can be mediated by other factors. As Massey and associates (Massey et al. 1998: 8) state: 'Although migration is clearly related to differentials in wages and employment (little movement generally occurs in their absence), economic disparities alone are not enough to explain international movements.'

In the study of networks of labour migrants I focus on the European migration space, one of the most prominent ones at the moment. Substantial changes to the political systems of Eastern European countries in the 1990s have reshaped the

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1   A committee of the Association of Geographers at German Universities (VGDH) identified the topic of migration as one of the main future topics in geography (cf. Gebhardt 2009).

2   Although I admit that there are cases of mere forced migration unrelated to economic reasons, the differentiation between labour and forced migration should be eased. Labour migration can also be seen as forced migration if it involves economically induced shortcomings like unemployment or earnings being under the minimum income for living in a locality or region. Likewise, many cases are discussed under the label of 'forced migration' like asylum seekers or climate refugees also subject to economic needs. This is why Faist (2000), for example, differentiates migrants according to their degree of freedom.

migration space spanning Eastern and Western Europe significantly (cf. Fassmann and Münz 2000; Hillmann 2008). As will be shown in this study, continuing and emerging migration patterns in this space have resulted in the persistence of migration networks and the concomitant emergence of transnationalism.

The study starts out by providing a status report on research about migration networks and forms of transnational migration (cf. Portes et al. 1999: 223f) in chapter 2. In chapter 3 I explain why migration from Eastern to Western Europe is especially worth considering in the context of research on transnational migration networks. This is followed by the derivation of research questions from the discussions about mediating approaches applied to the East-West European migration space in chapter 4 and a presentation of the methodology used in chapter 5. As this study consists primarily of three research articles which have already been published in international, peer-reviewed journals (*Global Networks*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and *Europe Asia Studies*) and one research article published in an international anthology on Polish migration after the expansion of the European Union in 2004 (*Ashgate*), chapter 6 explains the interconnections between these articles, each of which comprises a chapter. Chapter 7 elaborates on the relation between migration patterns and migration networks, and addresses how these patterns evolve as well as how they might change over time. As nation-states have more and more difficulties to manage migration flows (cf. IOM 2009), chapters 8 and 9 discuss the relationship between migration networks and migration policies; the former by analysing the influence of networks on the achievement of migration policy objectives, the latter by examining how restrictive migration policies lead to adjustments in the structure and functioning of migration networks drawing on the destination context. Chapter 10 turns to the origin context and expounds on the influence of migration networks on origin communities. This study concludes with a refinement of the consideration of migration networks and offers research desiderata about how to continue examining transnational migration networks of Eastern European labour migrants.

2   Migration networks revisited

Migration networks are sets of complex social relationships between migrants or migrant groups. Migration networks, therefore, can be considered as nothing else but social networks. In anthropology, the discipline in which the thinking about networks of social relations initially evolved, the term 'social networks' was first applied only in a metaphorical sense (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1940). Only in the 1950s and 60s was the concept of social networks used more frequently in an analytical way, first by Barnes (1954), then by Bott (1971), in her seminal study[3]. These pioneer studies on social networks were mostly concerned with explaining urban social relationships (cf. e.g. Bott 1971; Mitchell 1969). The first scholars to transfer these concepts to migration studies were sociologists John and Leatrice MacDonald, who used the idea of networks to define chain migration in 1964 (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964), and sociologist Charles Tilly and urban studies scientist Harold Brown, who used networks as a basis for discussing re-settlement processes in 1967 (Tilly and Brown 1967). In the 1970s and 80s, when social network concepts had already been refined (e.g. Gouldner 1960 on reciprocity or Boissevain 1974 on the role of friendship within networks), the idea of networks in migration studies provided a way to explain why migrations take place, what the destinations are, and how people decide to migrate (Caces et al. 1985; Choldin 1973; Coombs 1978/79; Jedlicka 1978/79; de Jong and Gardner 1981; Ritchey 1976). After Leinhardt (1977) and Wolfe (1978) posited the rise of a new paradigm, the social network paradigm, in social sciences, Boyd (1989) made the same claim for migration studies.

The hypothesis that networks, and not people, are at the centre of the migration process, as Tilly (1990)[4] asserts, is the subject of the following status survey. To this end, I will consider different approaches to explain migration processes and

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3   Analytical considerations of social networks were not restricted to anthropology; in mathematics (e.g. Rapoport 1957) and social psychology (e.g. Cartwright and Harary 1956), graph theory was applied to explain the structure and functioning of networks, before it was used in structural analyses in sociology (e.g. Wellman 1988).

4   'By and large, the effective units of migration were (and are) neither individuals nor households but sets of people linked by acquaintance, kinship, and work experience who somehow incorporated American destinations into the mobility alternatives they considered when they reached critical decision points in their individual or collective lives.' (Tilly 1990: 84 while describing North American immigration history)

migration decision-making, with reference to network effects. According to GURAK and CACES (1992: 152), who edited a well-renowned anthology on migration networks in 1992, it is important to differentiate between local community networks, networks of internal migrants, and networks of international migrants, because of their different modes of composition, ways of functioning and opposing constraints. This study focuses exclusively on networks of international migrants. In the following, I present and evaluate different approaches to international migration networks from the disciplines of economics, sociology, anthropology and geography, along a virtual scale of increasing use of social capital ideas as well as complexity.

2.1   Micro-economic approaches

The discourse on neo-classical economics was long the most influential basis for migration modelling. Beginning with the 'laws of migration' formulated by Ernest George RAVENSTEIN (1889), economists propounded individualistic, rational-choice-based explanations for migration decision-making processes which emphasised the maximisation of utility. SJAASTAD (1962) and TODARO (1980) developed models in which migration was modelled as a reaction to (expected) income differentials and as a balancing out between source and destination countries/regions. These models were extended when Stark and Bloom (STARK and BLOOM 1985) challenged the assumptions and conclusions of neoclassical theories. They shifted the research focus in their 'new economics of labour migration' (NELM) from individual actors to larger social units like households and families. The assumed reason for migration was expanded to include maximising expected incomes, minimising risks and loosening 'constraints associated with various kinds of market failures, apart from those in the labour market' (MASSEY et al. 1998: 21).

Subsequently, studies on the new economics of labour migration examined manifold market failures and relative deprivation at a household level. Studies prior to the NELM considered migration as a risk-reducing strategy to overcome economic risks on different markets by sending household members abroad for a certain amount of time (cf. DAVANZO 1981). Studies concerned with relative deprivation saw migration

as a response to a relatively low income level in a given household as compared to other households that the migration-favouring household knows about.

The shortcoming of these approaches, however, lies in the fact that they simply shift the responsibility for decision-making from the individual to the aggregated household level, disregarding intra-household processes.

In response to this shortcoming, other economists like BAUER, EPSTEIN and GANG (2000; 2002) or MARTIN and TAYLOR (1996) included network effects as the intermediary level in their models. MARTIN and TAYLOR, for example, explained the increase and decrease of net migration in a period following a major economic transition in reference to network effects, although they did not explain in detail how.

BAUER and colleagues (2000) modelled the network effect by taking into account the wage differential, the number of immigrants at a location[5], the origin-village's total experience in the host region and the total number of origin-village members currently in the host region. They assumed an inversely U-shaped relationship between wages and number of immigrants at a location, and that migration depends on village-specific effects, i.e. social networks created among people from the same place of origin. Although general dependencies could be shown, research findings from other social sciences suggest that migrant networks are not shaped by whole villages or other locations, but are dependent *inter alia* on the social structure of the location (cf. e.g. (BOYD 1989; KOSER 1997; WILPERT 1992). Furthermore, a general dependency is not very striking because of a general effect of the law of large numbers.

In another paper BAUER an his associates (2002) compared the network effect to the so-called herd effect. The latter implies that a migrant follows other migrants without knowing them or having their knowledge on migration-specific topics, and disregarding their own knowledge of other places. In their own words: 'Behavior is rational on the supposition by new emigrants that previous emigrants had

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5   The number of immigrants in a location is difficult to determine because of statistical insufficiencies due to undocumented and naturalised migrants. The research on illegal migration (e.g. ALSCHER et al. 2001) suggests that there is a large number of illegal migrants in most host countries. In countries like Germany, the official statistics heavily distort the figures on residing migrants because of insufficient definitions. Both impediments could have an impact the analysis on network effects.

information that they do not have.' (ibid.: 3) Herd effects would therefore result in inefficiencies. However, in my opinion, network effects might result in inefficiencies as well, due to bounded rationality or goals other than purely economic ones. Sometimes it could be rational to 'follow the flow'; however, especially in cases of bounded rationality, the lemming-like effect should appear only in exceptional cases. Bauer and colleagues allowed network effects and herd effects to coexist. This led them to the following conclusion: 'Finally, herd behavior enables us to understand how an individual makes a decision when there is more than one country that provides the immigrant with the same level of network externalities.' (ibid.: 24) This conclusion is only defensible within the assumptions of their model. If variables other than wages and number of migrants were included in the model, there would hardly be 'the same level of network externalities'.

The studies considered here represent the state-of-the-art in economic migration network theorising. However, they do not provide a satisfying explanation of migration decision-making within the context of network effects. They over-generalise the way in which networks are important for the decision-making process and cannot explain the correlation between networks and the actual decision.

2.2   Rational choice approaches

Beyond micro economic approaches, rational choice theories from other social sciences utilise the value-expectancy theory to explain migration decision-making (DaVanzo 1981; Haug 2000; de Jong and Fawcett 1981; Kalter 1997). The approach used by Haug, which explicitly includes social networks, is discussed in more detail here. She claims (Haug 2000: 126) that the subjective nature of an individual's decision to migrate has not yet been adequately addressed.

According to Kalter (1997) migration decision-making should be divided into three phases: thinking about migrating, planning to migrate and the actual act of migration. However, Tilly (1990: 87) disagrees: 'It is not very useful to classify migrants by intentions to stay or to return home, because intentions and

possibilities are always more complex than that – and the migrants themselves often cannot see the possibilities that are shaped by their networks.' HAUG (2000: 108f) only considers the *act of migration* assuming that the distinctions are due to sub-processes.

HAUG uses the *subjective expected utility theory* to model migration decision-making while using an extended resource concept. The model is a derivation of the *expected utility model,* which assumes that actors have only limited access to information. Potential migrants, hence, try to maximise their subjectively assessed utility (less the assessed costs) of migration regarding economic, educational, cultural and social resources in different places[6]. It is assumed that the extension of the rational choice model, especially the inclusion of social capital, increases the explained variance. The actors compare the total amount of utility to be gained from the location-specific capital which is built by the above mentioned resource dimensions, at the place of origin and the place of destination that they are considering. The reference to location-specific capital is based on the assumption that the utility of some resources is geographically limited (see as well DAVANZO 1981). The attractiveness of the place of origin and different places of destination is determined to a high degree by the endowment of these places with location-specific social capital.

The rational actor consequently decides in favour of migration when

$$SEU_{mig} > SEU_{stay} \quad \text{with} \quad SEU_{xy} = \sum_{n} (p_1 U - p_2 C) \quad [7]$$

(adapted from HAUG 2000: 112ff). This leads to an indifference curve analysis between the net utility in the place of origin and at the destination. Social capital can have either an additive, multiplicative or interaction effect on the other types of capital. HAUG concludes that social capital has more effect on its own than as a strengthening effect on other types of capital[8].

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6   The resource concept is based on the distinction between different types of capital made by BOURDIEU (1986) and COLEMAN (1990: 300ff).

7   SEU = subjective expected utility; mig = option to migrate; stay = option to stay; x = location under consideration; y = types of capital; n = all different singularities under consideration; p = probability of occurrence; U = utility; C = cost

8   Although the additive effect is empirically difficult to show. (see HAUG 2000: 122 & 200ff)

Haug (2000: 122ff) posits to work on a multi-level basis because, following Faist (1997a), she introduces structural variables as the macro-level, and social capital as the meso-level into the rational choice model. In my opinion this approach is only an endogenising of variables of different dimensions (taking place on diverse levels) into an individual actor model. However, I regard it as seminal to include all these variables into a model.

The model is extended to take into consideration the costs that arise due to the risks associated with trusting persons who might not be trustworthy: 'The decision to migrate is made on the condition that the subjectively expected total utility of migration less the *opportunity costs* caused by the loss of use at the place of origin is higher than the total utility of staying at the place of origin' (Haug 2000: 129)[9]. In this context Haug (2000: 127ff) discusses different types of actual and perceived risks faced by potential migrants. Her discussion of perceived risks refers to distinctions made by different authors: one group considers migration as a risky undertaking (e.g. Massey et al. 1993); another group regards migration as a risk-averting behaviour (e.g. Stark 1991). In my opinion it is a matter of perspective: migration can reduce insecurities while, at the same time, the actual move to the destination country can be risky until the process of resettling is well advanced. Haug (2000: 133) therefore concludes:

> Because migration is a risky investment, it can be assumed that only risk-loving persons or persons whose costs can be considered as low will migrate without the outlook of having a supporting social network abroad. Pioneer migrants have other reasons for their decision to migrate than followers who have social capital in the place of destination. Pioneer migrants often have above-average education (DaVanzo, Morrison 1978) and come from the social middle class of the country of origin (MacDonald, MacDonald 1964, Massey 1986, 1987, Massey, España 1987)[10]

Haug states that pioneer migrants are not necessarily more willing to take a higher risk than their followers, because the former probably have more resources other than social capital available.

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9   Translation by the author; emphasis in the original

10 Translation by the author

In sum, HAUG provides a rational choice model that is useful for explaining chain migration. It makes use of the above mentioned hypotheses on social networks and even includes different life cycle events in order to arrive at a generic explanation of migration (cf. ibid.: 140ff). The cumulative migratory process is explained coherently using threshold and diffusion models (like MASSEY et al. 1993 and FAIST 2000; see also chapter 'Transnational perspective' starting at page 22). However, the model is not immune to a general criticism applied to rational choice models, namely that actors are regarded as rational where they are only 'bounded rational' (SIMON 1957). HAUG, indeed, discusses framing models to mitigate this general weakness but does not integrate these insights coherently.

2.3   Social network hypotheses

A significant body of literature shows that social networks can play a leading role in explaining decision-making in the migration process (BOYD 1989; GURAK and CACES 1992). Unfortunately most of them only provide general hypotheses about the correlation between the decision-making process and the networks influencing this process; only the social network theory, as the term suggests, generates explanation beyond hypotheses (see chapter 2.4).

Although GURAK and CACES (1992: 156) postulated that '[t]rust and affinity can attract people to migration as well as keep them in the origin area,' more decisive hypotheses can be built. However, they are more valuable in a heuristic sense to get to a conclusive approach than they are detailed models, as FAWCETT (1989) suggests.

RITCHEY (1976) formulated three hypotheses on how social networks influence the migration decision-making process:

- According to the affinity hypothesis, the probability of migration decreases as the density of the network of friends and family in the origin society increases.
- The facilitating hypothesis states that social networks can facilitate migration because social contacts based in these networks provide support, e.g. by lending money or helping to find a job in the place of destination.

- The information hypothesis proposes a correlation between the tendency to migrate and kin and friends living abroad who provide information on migration and life abroad. It also points out that migration is directed towards the places where the social contacts are located.

These hypotheses were expanded by Hugo (1981) through the following additions:

- The conflict hypothesis says 'that intrafamily and intracommunity friction of one kind or another is a significant factor impelling migration among some groups.' (ibid.: 203)
- According to the encouraging hypothesis, family members are encouraged by the family to migrate for a certain period of time, for example as a risk-reducing strategy to secure the household income (cf. Stark 1991).

According to Haug (2000: 123) only three hypotheses are relevant upon closer examination: the information hypothesis can be regarded as a specific case of the facilitating hypothesis, and the conflict hypothesis can be interpreted as the inverted effect of the affinity hypothesis. This leaves the affinity, the facilitating and the encouraging propositions as the hypotheses that are worth considering when it comes to network effects.

Both the affinity hypothesis and the conflict hypothesis are problematic in my opinion because Caces and associates (1985) discovered the effect of 'competing auspices', which means that a potential migrant can have affinities to several, however mutually exclusive, networks. In this case it would be crucial to include a hypothesis about the strength of the social relations.

With regard to the value of information within the migration decision process, Fawcett (1989: 678f) adds more hypotheses:

- 'Family relationships have an enduring impact on migration. Policies, rules and even norms may change, but obligations among family members are of an abiding nature.
- The credibility of the source has much to do with the effectiveness of communications. Family members are trusted sources for information about migration – more so than migrant recruitment agencies.

- Information is better absorbed and retained when the vocabulary and dialect are close to everyday language. Such compatibility is more likely when information about places is provided by relatives, as opposed to mass media sources.

- Family members become role models through their achievements in foreign countries; such models have more behavioral immediacy than information about labor market disparities.'

KOSER and PINKERTON (2002: 16) support these findings on the information issue in their study about asylum seekers: '[...] there is a consensus that social networks – particularly personal networks – are viewed by asylum seekers as the most trustworthy sources of information. What is interesting, however, is that while personal networks are trustworthy, they may not necessarily be accurate'.

MASSEY and associates (1993: 460f) add the following propositions from a general network perspective:

- Once someone has migrated internationally, they are very likely to do so again, leading to repeated movements over time.

- Independent of former individual migration experience, the probability of international migration is higher for someone who is related to a person with prior migration experience or a person living abroad.

- The greater the barriers to movement, the more important should network ties become in promoting migration since they reduce the costs and risks of movement.

- Within households the probability of migration rises if a family member already endues migration experience.

- At the community level, people should be more likely to migrate abroad if they come from a community where many people have migrated or a large knowledge of migration is available.

KOSER and PINKERTON (2002: 10f) conclusively deduce certain ways in which social networks influence the migration decision-making process: social networks

influence migration selectivity (i.e. who migrates), the migration timing (i.e. when someone migrates) and the migration destination (i.e. where someone migrates to).

The hypotheses presented here are important heuristic means to get to conclusive models. However, they are not models in and for themselves. Haug (2000) and Massey with his colleagues (1987) use the hypotheses to formulate approaches for empirical testing (see sections below).

2.4   Social network theory

Social network theory advances the propositions about social and migrant networks beyond the mere hypotheses presented in the previous chapter. Migrant networks are a special form of social networks, in which *egos,* i.e. the persons in the centre of these networks, are (potential) migrants. Social network theory focuses on the more or less rational actors who take into consideration their relational position in the structure of social interrelations. Unlike the theory of cumulative causation, which I discuss in the chapter on 'Systemic approaches' (p. 18ff), this approach focuses only on the impact of networks on the migration process.

Social network theory assumes that networks operate through the creation and use of social capital. Due to the different strands on which this theory is drawn, the definitions of what social capital is differ. According to political scientist Putnam (1993: 163ff) social capital is comprised of features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives. In so-doing it facilitates coordinated actions and is historically developed in a region. Social capital occurs as bridging and bonding capital; the former helps to connect rather unrelated social groups, the latter helps to facilitate action within a social group. This collective definition of social capital is less useful for uncovering the decisive structure and functioning of social networks and, from a geographical point of view, there are provisos to the equating of social and geographical space. However, the distinction between *bridging* and *bonding* social capital is a useful idea to explain the behaviour of network actors (cf. e.g. Burt 1992; Granovetter 1973). Moreover, the notion of historically developed social capital

evokes the crucial idea that the geographical and historical contingency in the process of the creation and maintenance of social networks should be kept in mind.

Alejandro PORTES follows an individualistic approach in defining social capital as 'the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures' (PORTES 1995: 12). As the sources of social capital (ibid.) are further explained in chapter Fehler: Referenz nicht gefunden (p. Fehler: Referenz nicht gefundenf), I concentrate here on another individualistic definition put forth by James COLEMAN (1990: 300ff) to explain the general ideas of the social network theory. It emphasises the value of interpersonal ties and conceives of networks as a representation of aggregated social capital. Compared to human or economic capital, which are embodied in material or individual forms, social capital is embedded in the relations between the actors. Hence, it is fragile and often non-transferable. The rational actor uses social capital as a resource similar to material resources to pursue his aim of maximising utility, for example, to obtain financial resources: 'Network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to various kinds of financial capital: foreign employment, high wages, and the possibility of accumulating savings and sending remittances' (MASSEY et al. 1998: 43).

The maintenance of social capital is often dependent on single actors highly engaged in its creation. These actors obtain a high position within the given social relations but risk being exploited by others because the maintenance of social capital creates a so-called free-rider problem: some actors may benefit from the product without contributing. For example, migrants may arrive in the destination country and use the social structure and the relations created by former migrants without contributing anything to the functioning of these constructs.

COLEMAN (1990: 304ff) identified different forms of social capital: obligations and expectations, norms of reciprocity and solidarity. Obligations and expectations are used by the actors to pursue their aims within and through the network. During their journey migrants ask for help from different actors within the migration network, like smugglers, job agents or landlords. These aides purposely create obligations and expect a certain reward for the work they do. Thus, obligations and

expectations emerge among the members of a network. This in turn causes the creation of virtual social capital depots in which obligations and expectations are compiled. As a matter of fact, migration networks tend to be large in scope. Hence, calculations are often imprecise and cause externalities. There are two ways of compensating for this mismatch. First, the more powerful actors could simply assert themselves against others, as actors are not equal in terms of power or resources available. Second, and more likely, norms of reciprocity and solidarity could emerge as a moral standard between the different actors. According to the norm of reciprocity, actors ought never to impair people who have helped them in the past, but help those who offered help earlier. A prerequisite for the norm of reciprocity is solidarity backed by a feeling of collectivity, which could be defined along arbitrary (e.g. ethnic) or functional borders.

Thus, social capital is inherent in all social networks. Furthermore, its precise form is shaped by various factors. First, as mentioned above, network boundaries (arbitrary vs. functional) influence the form of social capital. For example, ethnic networks support mainly the members of the same ethnic group; therefore, ethnicity becomes a prerequisite for access to the resource inherent in the network. In contrast, arbitrary delineations should not play a role in networks defined along functional borders. In functionally defined networks, what an actor can contribute to the functioning of the network is decisive. Feelings of solidarity are generally weaker in these networks compared to ethnic ones, and collectivity is not heavily stressed. Members can be excluded if they are unable to contribute resources to the network, whereas members of ethnic networks are linked through feelings of shared norms, values and imagined history, which constitute stronger social cohesion rather than merely functional bindings.

Second, the character of relations within a given network and the number of actors involved shape the network as well. Strong ties which are common in small groups, like families or cliques, are equally necessary for the functioning and maintenance of a network as weak ties are. The latter play a crucial role when it comes to the enhancement of social capital. Network members who are not only integrated in a strong tie social group, but have relations to other social actors, could play a critical

role for bringing in new resources into their strong tie group (cf. GRANOVETTER 1973). On the other hand, the information flow is more warranted in close networks than in loose ones because members know and trust each other. Analysing the importance of every single member for the functioning of the network, one can state that small networks are more dependent on individuals and large ones more on the fulfilment of the social roles allocated (cf. SIMMEL 1983). Hence, replacement without endangering the existence of the whole network is more likely in large ones. Consequently, it is more likely that a rational actor will choose a large network to migrate into because they tend to be more long-lasting than small ones and thus reduce the risk of movement (MASSEY et al. 1998).

Third, the scope of the network is important for analysing the forms of social capital and the effects on the migration process. Social capital embedded in networks could be helpful for the rational actor in the decision-making process, not just by generally motivating the actor to migrate. Especially location-specific social capital, which is embedded in and, hence, dependent on close social relations, tends to prevent migration. Obligations and expectations which are closely related to family or community issues (e.g. support of the elderly, carrying out official functions in the community) are often dependent on the on-site presence of the actor. It is almost impossible to transfer these forms of social capital, and the potential migrant in such situations may be more likely to stay than to build up new social capital abroad. On the other hand, as I have already pointed out, 'networks make international migration extremely attractive as a strategy for risk diversification or utility maximization' (ibid.: 43). Therefore the actor has to deliberate about the value of local and transnational networks in his personal concept of utility maximisation.

To sum up, social network theory is valuable in so far as it is the first step towards a more integrative theory than those which focus solely on specific variables (e.g. economic) or on constraint levels (macro- and micro-oriented approaches). It sets aside assumptions that the size of the migratory flow between two countries is solely related to wage differentials or employment rates because, whatever effects these variables have in promoting or inhibiting migration, they are 'progressively

overshadowed by the falling costs and risks of movement stemming from the growth of migrant networks over time' (ibid.: 45). Due to the extension of networks they become not only more and more institutionalised and independent of initial factors but also unassailable for migration policies: 'Governments have difficulty controlling migration flows once they have begun because the process of institutionalization is difficult to regulate' (ibid.: 45)[11].

Nevertheless, social network theory leaves some issues unaddressed. First, it says a lot about the functioning of networks but nothing about their emergence. Second, the individualistic approach to social network theory leaves aside the impact of time and space on the contextual contingency of networks.

2.5   Systemic approaches

Systemic approaches try to address the shortcomings of the aforementioned approaches. To address the many facets of migration they combine a multi-level analysis with a longitudinal perspective, like in the theory of cumulative causation (Massey et al. 1987) or in the analysis carried out by Müller-Mahn (2000). They provide a detailed review of interconnections among individual behaviours, household strategies, community structures and national political economies. They indicate that inter-level and inter-temporal dependencies are inherent to the migration process and, therefore, give it a strong internal momentum. The dynamic interplay between network growth and individual labour migration, migration remittances and local income distributions creates powerful feedback mechanisms that lead to the cumulative causation of migration. These mechanisms are reinforced and shaped by macro-level relationships within the larger political economy.

The theory of cumulative causation is a useful example of a systemic approach (cf. Kandel and Massey 2002; Massey et al. 1987; Massey et al. 1998). The theory differs from

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11 Faist (2000: 94) adds from a political sciences point of view: '[..] in liberal democratic immigration states, the presence of immigrant groups on their territory carries implications for human, civil and social rights. These claims form the basis for subsequent migration from the same region, subverting the original intentions of policy-makers concerning temporary labour migration, the selective import of human capital migrants, or the limited recognition of refugees from a particular country during a specific conflict. Through international human rights discourses and domestic rights expansions niches of opportunity open for migrant networks that foster specific mechanisms such as family reunification.'

the aforementioned approaches in mainly two ways. First, it does not focus solely on micro-, meso- or macro-level variables, as neo-classical theories or the social network theory do. This approach is more integral as it includes economic variables and takes into account social networks and the socio-cultural context in which the migration process takes place. Thus, cumulative causation is neither a purely micro-, nor a purely meso- or macro-level theory, but an integral one: the actor is rational but makes his or her decisions in the context of a specific environment and has to cope with different social, economic, and cultural constraints.

Second, this theory is one of the few which explain not only migration decisions made by an individual, but also the perpetuation of international migration, by scrutinising how the migration of individuals changes the values, norms and expectations within the sending society. Massey and associates identify some variables which constitute this context and thus affect the migration decision.

The first is the enlargement of networks. Once established, networks tend to perpetuate the migration flow because they lower the risk as well as the expected costs of migration. Every new migrant could help (un)intentionally to expand the network and thus provide more and more detailed information about routes of migration, the destination country, and the possibilities of earning money and getting shelter/assistance abroad.

The second is the distribution of household income. As stated in the relative deprivation approach (Stark and Taylor 1991), households compare themselves to others, and there is little evidence that one will motivate a family member to migrate when there is income equality among them. But after a few households have improved their income situation by sending pioneer migrants abroad, a certain motivation among other households can be observed to follow suit in order to overcome the emerging income inequality between them.

Another factor, which is particularly important regarding migration between the global South and the global North, is the acquisition of land in the country of origin as an old-age provision. In developing countries, where pension systems are ineffective or inaccessible for a large part of the population, the purchase of land

functions as a substitute. Migrants buy land with money they earned abroad but do not till it until they return. However, this has a significant side-effect: 'This pattern of land use lowers the demand for local farm labour, thereby increasing the pressures for out migration' (Massey et al. 1998: 47). But even if they tilled the land, they would be more likely to use modern machinery than to hire farm workers. This increases the pressure on the local population to search for work abroad.

The core of the cumulative causation theory is the influence of culture on migration and vice-versa. Getting in touch with a different society and a highly diversified labour market leads migrants to migrate again in order to attain and to maintain the level of prosperity they have reached. This leads not only to repeated migration, but motivates the non-migrants to migrate as well. Those who are not able to migrate tend to expect other household members to do so. Thus, over time migration not only changes the attitudes of the individual, but also influences community values and expectations. The social environment tends to expect migration or at least support migration. Members of the community who refuse to migrate are likely to be sanctioned. Migration finds its way into the complex net of values and norms and consequently into the socialisation process. Finally, migration becomes a value in and of itself and gets embedded as a culture of migration in the perception of obligations and expectations of every actor.

When it comes to the professional skills of the migrants, it can be observed that the distribution of human capital is a crucial factor for the initialisation and the perpetuation of the migration process. The first to migrate are quite often well educated and motivated. This leads to the so-called brain-drain, which means that the most qualified workers look for work abroad, whereas the less educated stay behind. Thus the reinforcement of the receiving economies goes hand in hand with the depletion of the sending economies. Educational programmes in the latter ones are seldom helpful: they could indeed enhance the educational level, but this often amplifies migration.

Finally, according to the segmented labour market theory (Piore 1979), there is an emerging structural demand for migrant labour in the receiving economies because jobs are quickly branded 'immigrant jobs' and local workers refuse to fill them.

The integral value of the theory is that the approach not only focuses on micro- and macro-factors, but also takes into account the meso-level (networks) and the opportunity structure. Furthermore, this approach could explain the phenomenon of ethnic niches in the labour market due to the labelling of certain jobs as 'immigrant jobs' (MASSEY et al. 1998: 50). Nevertheless, once migratory flow has become established, it 'becomes less selective in socio-economic terms and more representative of the sending community or society' (ibid.: 50).

But the theory is also problematic because some of the factors mentioned are not generally applicable. As already stated, the aspect related to land distribution and the organisation of farm production is more or less only applicable to South-North (not East-West) migration systems, and it can not explain why people from urban areas should migrate.

When it comes to a comparison of social network theory and the theory of cumulative causation one could state that they are similar in that both pay attention to the social environment within which a migration decision is made and explain the difficulties of controlling the migratory flows through policy measures. Moreover, both theories show that the 'movement of people has a powerful internal momentum' (ibid.: 49) which perpetuates migration partially even against control efforts of sending or receiving countries. The difference lies in the scope: whereas social network theory focuses solely on the effects of networks, the theory of cumulative causation takes this as only one factor in the decision-making process. Furthermore, social network theory could not properly explain the creation of migration, but only the perpetuation. The creation and maintenance, as well as the vanishing are explained in the framework of cumulative causation.

Although MASSEY and associates (1998: 57) assume that these systemic models are testable using a combination of individual- and aggregate-level data as well as longitudinal data, it is doubtful that such comprehensive data on all variables is available to test the whole model[12]. The systemic approach, however, can be viewed as a comprehensive attempt to model migration processes.

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12 MÜLLER-MAHN tests the concept qualitatively using anthropological methods.

2.6 Transnational perspective

As will be explained in this chapter, I regard transnationalism as a perspective rather than a real theory in migration studies. First, I present the foundation of transnationalism in migration studies. I then discuss geographical aspects of transnationalism, followed by a critique of transnationalism as a theory. I conclude this chapter with a synopsis of the transnational perspective on migration networks.

2.6.1 Transnationalism

At the end of the 1980s more and more migration researchers noted that many immigrants did not behave as immigration theories at that time predicted (for a survey see Boyd 1989). They maintained close relations to their countries of origin, even to distant places and lived their lives *across* national borders. A workshop among anthropologists at the beginning of the 1990s identified and defined this phenomenon as 'transnationalism'[13] (Glick Schiller et al. 1992a). Drawing on the connotation of the term 'transnational' for companies with a significant simultaneous organisational presence in more than one country, transnationalism was defined by Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Christina Blanc-Szanton

> 'as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated "transmigrants." 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.' (ibid.: 2)[14]

Suggesting a definition could not hide the fact that the term was still contested in this newly emerging research field. The discussion about 'transnationalism from above' and 'transnationalism from below' gave evidence to this. Legal scientist

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13 Although 'transnationalism' resonates a kind of ideology in contrast to the more neutral term 'transnationality', the former encroached upon migration studies.

14 Although the phenomenon was already described in the 1960s as Goeke (2007: 39ff) could show in a detailed historical encounter, the term as well as the concept was popularised among migration researchers by the prominently placed article of Glick Schiller and associates in the *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences.*

Richard FALK first delineated the 'from above' perspective in the context of globalisation discourses (FALK 1993: 39; see also chapter 2.6.2 on 'Transnational spaces'). In this diction, 'transnationalism from above' can be understood as

> 'multinational corporations, media commoditization ("mediascapes", "technoscapes," and "finanscapes" in Appadurai's terms [1990: 296-99]) and other macro-level structures and processes that transcend two or more states are not produced and projected equally in all areas, but are controlled by powerful elites who seek, although do not necessarily find, political, economic and social dominance in the world.' (MAHLER 1998: 66f)

By contrast, 'transnationalism from below' refers to the "common people" conducting "daily" activities who adapt to the influences of global capital by means of transnational practices (cf. PORTES 1997; SMITH and GUARNIZO 1998)[15]. Recently, migration scholars came to the conclusion that transnationalism in the field of migration studies is best depicted from a 'below' perspective[16], which 'refers primarily to the crossborder activities of private grassroots actors, including immigrants.' (PORTES 2003: 275f; cf. also MAHLER 1998: 73). This comprehension of the term forms the basis of transnationalism in this study on the structure and functioning of transnational migration networks.

According to PORTES and colleagues (PORTES et al. 1999: 223f) there are two necessary conditions for the appearance of transnationalism: technological advancement and the emergence of migration networks across national boundaries. Although the phenomenon of transnational activities is historically not new (cf. e.g. FONER 1997), the scale of this activity is: 'The ready availability of air transport, long-distance telephone, facsimile communication, and electronic mail provides the technological basis for the emergence of transnationalism on a mass scale.' (PORTES et al. 1999: 223) Additionally, social networks of migrants span the distant places of origin and destination to establish the phenomenon of transnationalism[17]. The latter characteristic of transnationalism is in the focus of this study.

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15 Additionally, there are now attempts to bring the dichotomous perspective together in one 'middling form' of transnationalism (e.g. CONRADSON and LATHAM 2005 on middle class migrants).

16 However, migration scholars do recognise that there are further delineations of transnationalism (cf. e.g. VERTOVEC 1999: 448ff)

17 First noted by the remarkable study of Thomas and Znaniecki THOMAS and ZNANIECKI (1918-1920) on Polish migrants to the United States at the beginning of the 20th century.

2.6.2 Transnational spaces

The discourses about transnationalism, especially the epistemological discourses, tend to the conclusion that the concept of space has become obsolete in a globalised world. However, it can be shown that even non-spatial social theories of globalisation need spatial couplings, at least as spatial metaphors: 'It is not possible to ignore the structural power of spatial metaphors in the social sciences.' (Luutz 2007: 29)[18] For the rest, Mitchell (1997) suggests 'bringing geography back in'.

The thinking about the conception and understanding of space in transnational studies is influenced by the questioning of the hegemonic imaginations of space in geography. Along with many other social sciences, like sociology or political sciences, geography was dominated throughout modern times by space conceptions rendered as a Cartesian clipping of the earth's surface, referred to in transnationalism discourses as the 'container space'. In this Cartesian thinking, spaces on different geographical scales were thought to be more or less homogeneous; therefore, society was thought to be composed of substantive abstractions of reality in territorially bounded entities, like regions or nation-states. Globalising processes, however, have led to the insight that space can no longer be captured in these simplifying conceptions (cf. e.g. Beck 2000; Giddens 1990; Werlen 1997). Through innovations in communication and information technologies as well as easier means of travel, the boundaries in time-space have been challenged 'from below' (cf. Castells 1996). Increasingly entangled financial, economic and political dependencies on the international and supra-national levels, like the European Union, the WTO or the World Bank, leave less scope to manœuvre for single nation-states 'from above'. This leaves territorially fixed space conceptions less valuable for explanations of societal concerns (cf. Massey 2005).

Globalising processes dissolve boundaries that were seen as long-standing and fixed on national and sub-national scales. Globalisation and transnationalism, therefore, are not just an extension of the 'geographical surface space' as sociologist Pries suggests (Pries 2001, 2008). In his concept of transnational social spaces he posits

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18 Luutz here refers to Beck's world risk society Beck (2009) and Luhmann's social system theory Luhmann (1995)

that transnational processes lead to a divergence of geographical and social spaces. Globalisation, he claims, is both a geographical extension of socially relevant interdependencies and a reason for weakening bonds to specific localities and regions. Instead, globalisation leads to a *de-territorialisation* and *re-territorialisation* of social processes and practices. In the field of migration studies, WIMMER and GLICK SCHILLER (2003) have dubbed this the end of 'methodological nationalism'. They call for an epistemological shift – in line with the one that had already taken place in geography – away from the consideration of discrete, autonomous nation-states in order to better grasp the interconnectedness of goods, people and ideas. WERLEN here refers to the concept of 'world-binding' when analysing the social practices of subjects in a globalised and globalising world. These 'world-bindings' allow subjects, and here especially migrants, a form of 're-mooring' under principally 'unmoored' living conditions (cf. WERLEN 1997: 216). The idea that transnational space is something like an imaginary 'third space' (SOJA 1996) where migrants are seen as deterritorialised, uprooted subjects, free-floating between locations or nation-states, cannot belie the fact that subjects are grounded in time-space and have to master the everyday material matters which continue to be starkly regulated by nation-states (cf. ZHOU and TSENG 2001). Reasons for the latter view, which was common in the early days of the 'transnationalism hype' in the 1990s, are found on an empirical as well as a theoretical level. Empirically, the ever growing movement of goods and people within the last decades as well as the growth of ever more entangled networks (on a material basis as well as on an imagined one) across borders of nation-states could mediate the metaphor of a boundless transnational world (e.g. VOIGT-GRAF 2005). Theoretically, the term transnationalism suggests a freeing from the modern nation-state. In the discourses of post-modernists like APPADURAI (1996) or ALBROW (1997a) modernity was confined to the local whereas post-modernity transgresses the local and the nation-state towards cosmopolitanism. But, however fluid and deterritorialised the practices of migrants might appear, LATOUR reminds us that these practices are all grounded. As he puts it in regard to actant-network theory, a network remains local at all points (LATOUR 1994: 117ff). And LEY (2004: 151) complements:

The separation of the global and the local and the ascription of mobility and universalism to the global and stasis and parochialism to the local is an oversimplification, for an optic of transnational global spaces should not conceal the intersecting reality of circumscribed everyday lives.

Empirical studies on transnational migrants have shown that 'the local sites of global processes do matter' (Guarnizo and Smith 1998: 12) in the territorial specificity of the localities. Moreover, the complex interaction between several locations in transnational migration – referred to as translocality (in geographical terms, cf. Goldring and Smith 1993) or as transnational social fields (in sociological terms, cf. Glick Schiller et al. 1992b) – has to be taken into account (cf. e.g. the studies of Landolt 2001 or Walton-Roberts 2003). To grasp translocality, Marcus (1998) suggests using multi-sited research. This kind of research takes place in more than one location and follows its subjects along their practices to other locations, analysing the intertwining of the multi-local practices. These geographical insights on the theoretical as well as methodological level were implemented in this study.

2.6.3   Critique of transnationalism

As much as transnationalism is 'in the air' and still on many research agendas in migration studies, it recently has come under increasing scrutiny. Transnationalism has been criticised in at least three different ways: theoretically, as the concept might not take in all necessary aspects to explain this type of migration; empirically, as it is still questioned whether transnationalism manifests as a quantitative phenomenon; and, more fundamentally, as a theory.

The first criticism comes from advocates of transnationalism as a theoretical approach who claim that the concept of transnationalism is missing certain aspects or variables that should be taken into account. Al-Ali and associates (Al-Ali et al. 2001) discuss their criticism under the heading of 'limitations to transnationalism'. Drawing on a study of different refugee communities, they posit that the concept of transnationalism does not give enough merit to the historical context in which transnational migration emerges. They claim that, especially in the context of refugees, it would be important to understand the specific historical processes by which migrants build up transnational communities. Furthermore, they assert that,

although the role of the state has been recognised in more recent concepts of transnationalism (e.g. GUARNIZO and SMITH 1998; SMITH 1999), even more attention should be given 'to the nuances and variations between and within states of both receiving and sending countries' (AL-ALI et al. 2001: 588), to identify both the potential for, and the limitations, of nation-states. DAHINDEN (2005), in her study on Albanian migrants in Switzerland, posits that research on transnationalism does not yet take into account the social relevance of ties within migration networks. This claim is echoed in my study, in which I stress the importance of examining the functioning of migration networks in detail (cf. chapter 9).

Analysts who question the emergence of the transnationalism phenomenon on a quantitative basis comprise the second set of critics. Although they appreciate the ideas of transnationalism, they doubt that the empirical foundation of the phenomenon is large enough to establish it as a phenomenon in its own right. Drawing on MERTON (1987), PORTES (1999: 218f) argues that to establish a new phenomenon 'the process involves a significant proportion of persons in the relevant universe (in this case, immigrants and their home country counterparts)'. In 2001, (FAVELL 2001) came to the conclusion, based on contemporary transnationalism theory, that the empirical evidence still exceeds theoretical speculation. DAHINDEN (2005: 192) supports this judgement: 'The most important result of current research has been the demonstration that only a minority of migrants are involved in transnational activities.' This is also the conclusion by WIMMER (2004: 26) in a study on immigrants in Switzerland, and by PORTES (2003: 880ff) in a study of transnational entrepreneurship in the US. The latter states '[...] that transnationalism is not the normative or dominant mode of adaptation of these immigrant groups.' (ibid.: 884) In reference to non-European migrants in Western Europe FAVELL (2003: 399) adds that 'transnational social power here seems a transient affair; a brief flowering of diversity, quickly swallowed by the far surer route of integration and assimilation which many immigrants in Europe have followed to success in the post-war period.' For FAVELL, even intra-European migration seems to nurture doubts about the sustainability of transnationalism, which he explores in a further study (cf. ibid.: 422). In order to contribute to this

debate, it will be important in the context of the study presented here to examine how the quantitative 'quality' of transnational migration can be judged for the case studies on Eastern European migration to Western Europe.

The most fundamental critique, however, is raised by a group of social scientists who question whether transnationalism can stand alone as a research paradigm or theoretical field. Portes (2003: 874f) states that transnationalism seems more to represent a novel perspective rather than a novel phenomenon. However, this proposition a reaction to claims regarding the 'newness' of transnationalism, referring again to Merton's ideas about new social phenomena (cf. Merton 1987). Yeoh and associates summarise the state-of-the-art on transnational theorisation in a special issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* thus: 'the field of transnational studies is still a fragmented one, and no one conceptual frame has emerged to define the shape of transnationality, or the quality and nature of the projects, relations and practices that it encompasses.' (Yeoh et al. 2003: 215) What sounds like a tentative conclusion is the point of departure for Goeke (2007). In his comprehensive study of transnational migrations, he credits transnationalism with the power to scrutinise well-entrenched ways of thinking in migration studies (cf. Elrick 2008a). Transnational research, he states (Goeke 2007: 74), has focused on new and unconsidered migration processes. Despite the acknowledged critical appeal of transnationalism, he maintains that it does not (yet) provide any sound theory; instead, the only conceptualisation attempts by transnational researchers draw on the categories *space* and *society* (cf. ibid.: 56f). Pries (e.g. Pries 2001) conceives transnationalism as the establishment of *transnational social spaces* that span origin and destination regions, and in which new social realities open up. Glick Schiller and colleagues (e.g. Glick Schiller et al. 1992b) use the term *social field* to denote space in which new migration populations connect between origin and destination localities. Goeke perceives two problems here (Goeke 2007: 58f): the transnational social space or field is externalised and singularised in the approaches of Pries and Glick Schiller et al. alike. The problem of externalisation refers to claims made by transnational theorists that transnational migrants increasingly operate independently of geographical borders. The problem here can be seen in the non-differentiation of

the semantic and the structural explication of space. Space here is externalised, and there is no explanation as to how it should be important for the structure of society. If it is not important, why then talk about space or field at all? The problem of singularisation refers to the idea that transnational spaces/fields are constructed as new and singular. The conceptualisation of a single space or field as simply an extension of national territory remains embedded in the Cartesian thinking about space and is, therefore, a mere extension of methodological nationalism by other means (cf. also Bommes 2002: 95).

In conclusion, the crucial concepts of space and society remain so far inadequately theorised in the approaches of transnationalism. Therefore, transnationalism should only be used as a search tool, for hermeneutically approaching new migration phenomena or topics that were difficult to grasp within the old terminology. However, the newly found or signified phenomena have to be theorised in a way that they can be connected to existing social theory.

2.6.4   Transnational migration networks

Having shown that transnationalism, if seen as a hermeneutical tool, can be useful for understanding migration, I demonstrate here how migration networks can be analysed in this transnational perspective.

Transnationalism in regard to migration consists of the idea that migrants maintain bonds to their origin countries, move back and forth between the destination and origin (and even further localities) and switch between cultures and social contexts. Social networks are the structure in which the linkages are maintained[19]. Transnational research suggests that migrants' social networks often bridge tremendous distances, as is the case with the friendship relations of New Zealanders

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19 I acknowledge that networks, of course, can also be defined differently, for example in a more
    political way as Featherstone and colleagues (2007: 386) do: 'We define networks as the overlapping
    and contested material, cultural and political flows and circuits that bind different places together
    through differentiated relations of power. We suggest that interrogating the ongoing constitution
    of networks can help open up a set of productive engagements with the contested, multiple and
    generative spatialities of transnational practices.' I want to claim, however, that these 'contested,
    multiple and generative spatialities' can be also explained when recurring to a clearer definition of
    social networks as I have done in the chapters above.

presented in the study of Conradson and Latham (Conradson and Latham 2005) or Albrow's (1997b: 51) migrants in London:

> The networks of individuals in a locality can extend as far as their resources and will to use the communications at their disposal. Time-space compression allows the maintenance of kin relations with India or Jamaica as much as with Birmingham or Brentford.

However, and here I follow Conradson and Latham (2005: 300f), to discover and recognise the mere connections between the actors in the transnational space is not sufficient. Instead, the structure and functioning of migrant networks as social networks has to be the centre of attention.

Thomas Faist (2000) has developed a detailed transnational approach to migration networks in his study on *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces* which takes into account these specific claims on a theory of transnational migration networks. Kivisto (2001: 551) calls Faist's approach 'the most rigorously systematic theoretical articulation of the term [transnationalism]'. His approach is discussed and evaluated in the following.

Faist was looking for an explanation for general migratory[20] flows using social capital and migration networks concepts while refining rational choice and systemic approaches. His modelling was influenced by references made by Portes (1995) to relational aspects in studies of ethnic self-employment in the field of economic sociology: 'The terrain on which migration processes play out lies beyond the agents themselves. A relational analysis neither denies individual agency nor disregards macro-structures.' (Faist 2000: 17) Therefore, he builds his concept on social and symbolic ties, social capital, local assets and transnational social space to explain the simultaneity of relative immobility and mass migration. Social capital can function either as a 'local asset' and hinders migration then or can function as a 'transnational transmission belt' when pioneer migrants and brokers help establishing migrant networks. When migrant networks are established, he posits,

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20 Incomprehensibly, Faist (2000: 18) restricts the definition of migration to a residence period abroad of more than three months . This conceptualisation leaves important 'new forms' of migration unconsidered, like forms of shuttle migration stated by Morokvašić (2004).

social capital becomes transferable between origin and destination in an transnational social space.

Modelling migration processes, he distinguishes between three different levels of consideration: the micro-level (degree of freedom / autonomy of the individual), the meso-level (relations between individuals and groups) and the macro-level (surrounding opportunity structures). According to him, an individual has three different possibilities to react to a change in her opportunity structure: in situ adaptation, voice or exit. These options are always related to the degree of freedom possessed by an individual. *In situ adaptation* refers to staying in the place of origin and adapting to the new change; *voice* means to influence the change made; and *exit* is the option to migrate. The meso-level, in the last case, is the explanatory level for actions taken.

FAIST conceptualises migration decision-making by extending network theory, which he considers as too structural (cf. ibid.: 16 and 54), beyond the mere consideration of ties. To this end, he differentiates between social and symbolic ties (cf. ibid.: 15). Social ties are the linkages between persons, i.e. they exist when persons interact with each other. Symbolic ties are assumed to be shared or common meanings, memories, future expectations and symbols of participants of a group. In my opinion this distinction is dispensable and does not increase the value of the model; rather, it mixes up the usually clear concept of social ties. Social capital is used by FAIST in two different ways: first, as the resources and strategies individual actors can mobilise through ties and second, as properties of co-operation in networks. In conclusion, social capital (and networks through which social capital is transferred) is the driving force behind the decision to stay or move after a significant change in the opportunity structure. Because individuals face varying degrees of difficulty to transfer social capital from one place to another and to utilise it, different forms of migration emerge (non-migration, circular, return, family, seasonal migration) (cf. ibid.: 203).

The functions of social capital, which work through mechanisms of obligations, reciprocity and solidarity, determine the migration process, e.g. in the selection of potential migrants, the diffusion of migration or the adaptation of migrants in the

place of destination and in the place of origin after return (cf. ibid.: 121ff). From an individual's point of view, social capital offers access to other people's resources, improved information as well as control and authority over others (cf. ibid.: 111ff). From the point of view of collectives, it facilitates co-operation and reduces costs (cf. ibid.: 103). Migration decisions are therefore made regarding access to and the content of networks and depend primarily on trust towards significant others; cost-benefit calculations only arise thereafter (cf. ibid.: 38)

> 'The most relevant units constituting meso-levels are households and families, groups of kinship, the reference community, but also friends and acquaintances in the workplace, and groupings such as ethnic, religious and political associations.' (ibid.: 204)

The emergence of a migrant network is explained by employing threshold models of collective action (Granovetter 1978; Macy 1991; Marwell et al. 1988) in which he presents hypotheses for the process of setting up a migrant network. However, the very first (pioneer) migration remains unexplained. Faist (2000: 151) concludes that broker-induced territorial exits are the rule. This is why he posits in regard to agents: 'In most instances, a relatively small cadre of highly interested and resourcefully tied people produces migrant networks.' The selection of migrants thereafter is done by organisational recruitment, personal contacts or brute force[21]. The further development of the migration network and the evolution of chain migration are explained by employing concepts of innovation diffusion (Coleman et al. 1966; Rogers 1995). These concepts explain, similar to the cumulative causation theory, self-feeding mechanisms of migration[22].

Faist builds a coherent transnational approach for explaining migration which shows the importance of social networks at each stage (start and acceleration, climax, deceleration) of the migration process. He even discusses the immobility

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21 The latter aspect refers to politically induced or natural hazard induced migration.

22 While the cumulative mobility concept proposed by Faist (2000: 155f) is conclusive, the cumulative causation of immobility proposed is not: 'The idea is that decisions to remain immobile contribute to subsequent immobility [...]' Faist (2000: 129) This is not conclusive because, without a significant change, people do not decide 'not to migrate'. Hence, there cannot be a self-energising effect because they just do not decide.

question[23] and the concentration of migrants[24] in some places of the world. Although he claims to go beyond previous research on social networks and migration – which tends to explain the directions of migration but not the volume (FAIST 1997b: 188) – his concept does not fully live up to this claim. In this respect, he can only provide general causal hypotheses. A detailed account of the structure and functioning of the migration networks is still missing.

2.7   Migration networks called into question

Although migration networks became so prominent in migration studies that some explanations of migration movements seem to be based only on network effects, the concept recently has been challenged (COLLYER 2005; KRISSMAN 2005) and it has been called into question whether it can properly explain the maintenance of international migration flows.

Michael COLLYER, focusing on asylum seekers, questions the capability of the network approach to explain migration systems when border controls come into play. He argues that '[t]he growth of pre-entry and post-entry controls has created a series of barriers to the smooth operation of social networks.' (COLLYER 2005: 705) The response of encumbered migrants would corrupt the functioning of the network in three ways. First, restrictive migration controls would hinder new migrants to join family members and friends. Second, migrants without a clarified residence status often have to go into hiding and stay in the destination country clandestinely. This would make them more reliant on other social networks without being able to reciprocate. And finally, as control measures make it more difficult for family members and friends (already residing in the destination country) to support the actual migrants, they may have to turn to intermediaries more often. These agents, in the case of asylum seekers often smugglers and traffickers, take over determinative power of support and geographical placing.

COLLYER explains, using a statement of MASSEY and associates (1998: 14) that '[n]othing invalidates traditional approaches to migration as effectively as border control

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23 In FAIST's words FAIST (2000: ch. 5): 'why are there so few migrants out of most places?'

24 Or as FAIST (2000: ch. 6) puts it: 'why so many migrants out of so few places?'

policies', which is why the 'smooth operation of social networks' does not work any longer. However, the approaches mentioned by him refer more to economic approaches than to the migration network concept, as MASSEY and his colleagues (1993: 460f) state in a different text: '[t]he greater the barriers to movement, the more important should network ties become in promoting migration since they reduce the costs and risks of movement.' COLLYER fosters the latter view with his second and third hypothesis. Although pointing in the right directions, throughout his text he represents an almost naïve view on migrant networks by overstating the composition (and the according value) of migrant networks as consisting of only or mostly family members and friends. Although COLLYER acknowledges that not just family and friends' ties can be important to migration, he puts a lot of emphasis on those ties throughout his reasoning. ESPINOSA and MASSEY (1997), however, have stated earlier that other ties might be equally important[25]. It is and has always been a myth to believe that migrant networks act just as a means to re-congregate 'family and friends', as COLLYER (2005: 705) suggests, especially in the very case of asylum seekers. Migrant networks in all different types of migrations, be it forced or voluntary, leisure or labour, consist of relevant persons whom the actual migrant contacts during the long decision-making process to the people he needs to address en route and to all persons in the final destination country, regardless of whether they are family members, friends, formal or informal agents, co-ethnics or complete strangers.

Fred KRISSMAN, another major recent critic, scrutinises, based on labour migration in the Mexico-US migration system, whether the 'continuing role of labor demand in the stimulation of migration has been overlooked' (KRISSMAN 2005: 17). In so-doing he contrasts the view of Massey and associates who emphasise the labour supply side (e.g. MASSEY et al. 1987; MASSEY et al. 1993; MASSEY and SINGER 1998). He questions the validity of the migration network concept laid out by MASSEY and his colleagues. First, he found that the concept does not shed enough light on the structural and historical factors shaping migration, especially when it comes to changes over time. Second, the concept supposedly leaves out important actors like employers and

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25 However, due to their more quantitative paradigm of the study they cannot proof this.

agents (e.g. government officials and traffickers) and concentrates too much on home-town ties (cf. also Dahinden 2005), which are seen to be symmetrical. To overcome the identified shortcomings he suggests a new model built on the foundations of social network analysis, in which the main drivers are social interactions between would-be migrants and different network nodes, i.e. positions in an 'international migration network', spanning different locales and a socio-economic power stratum (Krissman 2005: 26ff).

This new model seems to be a good start for introducing social network theory in migration studies (e.g. Boyd 1989; Conradson and Latham 2005; Gurak and Caces 1992). Regarding Krissman's first objection, he pursues a more agency-based approach, introducing new actors to surmount the structural and historical weaknesses of the Massey model. The second objection endorses the already above mentioned doubts about migrant networks as just 'family and friendship networks' or 'home-town networks'. And even if some networks consist mainly of these seemingly close relationships, migrants cannot take for granted that they always and only benefit from these ties (cf. Mahler 1995; Portes and Landolt 1996; Portes and Zhou 1993). Conversely, the same holds for 'non-home town ties': employers, government officials, informal agents and even smugglers may not always and only harm migrants. What has to be said though is that many relationships in a migrant network are not symmetrical, as Krissman claims – this applies as much to family and friendship ties as to any other social relation. The importance of Krissman's critique here is, apart from offering a new way of approaching migration networks, that it brought other actors into play, among them employers and agents.

I would like to foster these critical views and, at the same time, enhance the insights into the understanding of migrant networks in this study.

3   Migration from Eastern Europe

For the purpose of this study I decided to investigate transnational networks of Eastern European migrants to Western Europe. Labour migration policies of Western European countries were the frame of the wider research project this study is based in[26].

The decision to concentrate on migration flows between Eastern and Western Europe was made for two reasons: first, migration between Western and Eastern Europe, in both directions, has a long history. Certain national or ethnic groups within Eastern European countries can nowadays draw on historically bound networks between different regions or localities. Many potential and actual migrants managed and still manage to activate these networks for facilitating their own migration and adaptation processes in transit and destination countries. Second, with the fifth and sixth expansion of the European Union in 2004 and 2007, the citizens of ten Eastern European countries[27] got the chance to enjoy the advantages of a common political space. Within this space the European Union legislation provides for the free of movement of people, goods, services and money. As the citizens of most Eastern European countries were severely restricted in their international freedom of movement before their countries' accession to the European Union, I expected a stark change in the patterns of migration predominant in these countries and were interested in the consequences for established migration networks.

In the following, I lay out the reasons which led to the selection of Poland and Romania as the countries in which my case studies were based. The historical events are only discussed insofar they are relevant for this study. The selection of the case studies within the chosen countries are explained in detail in the chapters 'The case-studies: Two communities in rural Poland' (p. 53ff), 'The two migrant

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26 This dissertation was part of the Marie Curie Excellence grant project 'Expanding the Knowledgebase of European Labour Migration Policies' (KNOWMIG), MEXT-CT-2003-002668

27 In particular: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia (in 2004, and additionally, the South European countries Cyprus and Malta), Bulgaria and Romania (in 2007)

communities' (p. 77ff) and 'Interviews in rural Poland: the case studies Wilków and Nowy Korczyn ' (p. 114ff).

3.1   Historical perspective

3.1.1   Poland

Poland was selected as one case study country because significant migration networks had already been in place for a long time. Throughout the change-filled history of the Polish nation-state, its territory has often been reordered. The union of the principalities of Greater Poland (*Wielkoploska*) and Little Poland (*Malopolska*) formed the first Kingdom of Poland at the beginning of the 14th century. In this time, Poland was home to the biggest community of Jews in Europe as certain regulations gave refuge to Jews. The dynasty of the Jagiellons established the union of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania as the political and military supremacy in Eastern Europe. The end of the Jagiellonian dynasty (1572) and the constitution of an elective monarchy led to political and economic decline within the union. The outbreak of a civil war in 1768 induced military intervention by Russia, Prussia and Austria and caused the three partitions of Poland-Lithuania between 1772 and 1775, when, in the end, the Polish people were left without a sovereign territory. This situation endured for over 100 years (cf. ESSER 1998; JÄGER-DABEK 2003). The traumatic suppression led to a first emigration wave towards revolutionary France. Further emigrations took place after the abatement of the uprisings in 1830 and 1863 (FASSMANN 1998). The partitioned regions of Poland developed quite differently throughout the 19th century. While in the Russian part (Congress Kingdom of Poland) the people were forced to assimilate into Russian culture and economic development was slow, Austrian-ruled Galicia provided a quite liberal environment in which the Polish culture and language could be maintained, although economic development was also slow. The Prussian parts of Poland developed well, mainly as an agrarian region. While King Friedrich Wilhelm III granted cultural discretion to the people of the Great Duchy of Poznan, Polish people had to suffer under Bismarck, who pursued a Germanising policy, especially

in times of the *Kulturkampf* after the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 (cf. Esser 1998; Jäger-Dabek 2003). Following World War I, a territory was assigned to the Polish people by the victorious powers in the Paris Treaty conference. However, the Eastern border of the re-established Polish nation-state was disputed by Russia. As a consequence, about 1.1 million people emigrated from the Polish settled territory of the newly founded Soviet Union between 1918 and 1924. At the same time, over 1.1 million Germans emigrated from the new Polish territory into the new boundaries of the German empire in the same period (Esser 1998; Fassmann 2000). Until 1939 several hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews fled from the anti-Semitism and pogroms that marked the late 19th century (ibid.: 192). After World War II, the Westward-shifting of the Polish state borders due to in the treaties of Yalta and Potsdam in 1945 resulted in mass emigration (ibid.: 18). Approximately 4 to 6 million Germans and 1.5 to 3.5 million Poles[28] were displaced from former Polish territory and settled in the newly shaped state borders of Germany and Poland respectively. However, several hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans remained in the Polish territory, most of them in Silesia. Additionally, many formerly displaced and deported Polish Jews returned to the re-established Polish state, of which about 250,000 emigrated again after pogroms took place in the years after World War II (Korcelli 1996: 245f). In the first years of the Cold War, international migration was nearly impossible, but political liberalisations from 1956 onwards allowed again the increase of emigration flows. Between 1956 and 1990 about 1.4 million ethnic Germans left Poland as so called *Aussiedler* to Germany, and several hundreds of thousands of Poles left their country as political refugees towards Western Europe and the United States (especially in the 1980s after the imposition of martial law) (Fassmann 1998: 18).

Besides political reasons, much migration from the late 18th century onwards was motivated by slow economic development (especially in agriculture, but also in industry) and a rapidly increasing population, both of which created precarious living conditions for most of the Polish people. This is why about 3.5 million Poles had to emigrated – mainly to the United States, but also to Germany (especially to

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28 The former figures are stated by Korcelli (1996: 245f), the latter figures by Okólski (1999: 4).

the Ruhr area), France, Canada, Brazil and Australia – by 1914 (Korcelli 1996: 245). Another 1.5 million emigrated to the same destinations between 1919 and 1939 (Fassmann 1998: 18).

Through these sizeable migration flows, the Polish diaspora evolved into one of the largest diasporas worldwide. The tumultuous history and the traumatic experience of the partitions are said to have engendered a strong sense of cohesion within Polish communities worldwide. This national identity, though not based on national territory, is based on a common language, shared values and the attachment to the Catholic Church. This imagined community (Anderson 1991) of Polish people at home as well as in the diaspora is called *Polonia* (cf. Lesiuk and Trzcielińska-Polus 2000). *Polonia* is said to form ethnic networks which not only interconnect the Polish people in the diaspora but span the transnational space between foreign locations and Poland. Its support function has been the subject of several scientific studies (e.g. Fassmann 1997; Miera 1996). Moreover, during the time of the Cold War, Polish citizens and ethnic Germans of the Silesian part of Poland alike reactivated their connections to former ethnic Germans who had emigrated to Germany, hoping to gain access to opportunities for circular labour migration (Jończy 2006).

3.1.2 Romania

In contrast to Poland's, Romania's history is less eventful with regard to major migration flows. The territory which today constitutes Romania a long served as a pawn between the Austrian-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires. The foundation of an independent Romanian nation in the mid 19th century rests on the conjunction of the principalities Wallachia and Moldavia. Until that time, Romania was an ethnically homogeneous state (Ohliger 1996: 286)[29].

After World War I, the peace treaties of Versailles and Trianon extended Romanian state borders to include territories belonging to the failed Danube monarchy

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29 Although the majority of Romanian population was ethnic Romanian, there already existed two ethnic minorities, the Jews and the Roma. Evidence for the presence of Roma in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia was found as early as the 14th century. However, the Roma were enslaved until the union of the principalities in 1864 Stevens (2004: 441f). The abolition of slavery in Romania initiated 'an unparalleled Romani exodus from Romania, which was to persist until the early 20th century' Stevens (2004: 442).

(Transylvania, Bukovina and Banat) the former Tsar empire (Bessarabia and the Southern Dobruja). Through this expansion, Romania became a truely multi-ethnic state: about 30 percent of the population in 1920 was not of ethnic Romanian origin. The biggest share of the ethnic minorities consisted of Magyars (30 percent) followed by Jews (16 percent) and ethnic Germans (15 percent). Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians and Turks were also among the ethnicities represented in the population. An official census places the share of Roma at two percent, but this is regarded as an underestimation (ibid.: 287)[30]. While the Magyar elite left Transylvania for Hungary, the majority of ethnic Hungarians stayed in Romania. After World War II, Romania had to cede Bessarabia and the Northern part of Bukovina to the Soviet Union; in 1940 the Southern part of Dobruja was handed over to Bulgaria. Hungary, however, was unsuccessful in retrieving former territory. As a result of these border changes and the Third Reich's 'repatriation policy', ethnic Germans were resettled from Romanian territory to former Polish and Jewish villages within the borders of the Third Reich (ibid.: 288 and 292f).

Between the end of World War II and 1966, over 15,000 ethnic Germans managed to leave Romania for Germany in the context of family reunification. After diplomatic consultation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the communist Romanian state in the following year, the emigration of ethnic Germans increased significantly. On average, 8,000 ethnic Germans left Romania every year until 1992. In return, the Romanian state received financial and material benefits. At the end of 1995, about 50,000 ethnic Germans remained, from approximately 750,000 in 1930 (ibid.: 293f). More recently, many ethnic Romanians have managed to reactivate the connections to the ethnic Germans who moved to Germany after the fall of the communist regime in 1989 to facilitate their migration intentions.

The period after the collapse of the communist regimes in Poland and Romania in 1989 is addressed in the empirical case studies and is covered for Poland in chapter 7 and for Romania in chapter 8.

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30 However, one can assume that this was a deliberate misrepresentation of the Roma as they continued to be the underdogs of the Romanian society STEVENS (2004: 442ff). Even in the 1990s official estimates rise to only 400,000 Roma while the Ethnic federation of Romanian Roma state 2.5 million (OECD 1995 in OHLIGER 1996: 296)

3.2   EU accession

Apart from the historical events of former centuries that shaped migration options and the establishment of transnational migration networks, the accession of both countries to the European Union was a major factor why I decided to study migration networks in Poland and Romania.

Both countries oriented themselves towards Western Europe in their post-communist phase. After the European Union approved clear accession criteria at their summit in Copenhagen in 1993, Poland expressed its will to join the Union in 1994 and Romania in 1995[31]. They became members on 1 May 2004 (Poland) and on 1 January 2007 (Romania). The main advantage of being a member of the European Union is the four freedoms: the freedom of movement of persons, goods, services and money. The freedom of movement of persons comprises the freedom of movement of employees[32] and the freedom of settlement[33]. These freedoms were the most interesting part of the accession of the two countries regarding migration. However, as Germany and Austria were concerned in the run-up to the accessions that the old member states (and these two countries especially) would be flooded by labour migrants in response to substantial wage differentials[34], the European Union agreed on transitional regulations to restrict the movement of employees. The regulation allowed a maximum of seven years' ban on the free movement of foreign employed labourers from the new accession countries. The transitional regulations, however, do not affect other forms of movement, especially travelling, family reunification, student migration and the migration of self-employed persons (cf. Fassmann 2004). The new and, due to the varying application of the above mentioned restriction, changing opportunities for Eastern European citizens to migrate for work to Western European countries will have a decisive impact on the dynamism of migration networks.

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31 Between 1994 and 1996 further eight Eastern European countries requested to join the EU (see also the footnote on page 36).

32 According to articles 39-42 treaty of the European Community

33 According to articles 43-48 treaty of the European Community

34 The claims were backed by studies of the prospective migration outflow after accession conducted between 1997 and 2001 (cf. eg. Bauer and Zimmermann 1999; Boeri and Brücker 2000; Fassmann and Hintermann 1997).

4   Research interests

In the following I present four different research interests that guide this study and which are derived from the knowledge on migration networks laid out in the previous chapters. In these chapters, I have shown that it is now widely acknowledged that migration networks impact on migration decision-making (as a trigger for actual migrations), migration patterns and the subsequent appearance of transnationalism. However, the precise functioning (and dysfunctioning) of migration networks at the meso-level in different contexts has yet to be explained sufficiently.

The first research interest is in how the behaviour of individual migrants can be theorised in migration networks. This interest is driven by the incomplete understanding of the individual in migration networks. In many studies even a basic definition of migration networks is missing and, therefore, the term is often only used in a metaphorical way (Krissman 2005: 5)[35]. However, it is possible to understand migration networks as a special type of social network. That the inherent ties within those networks are more than just positive interconnections of reciprocal social relationships with friends and family members (for the same criticism see Collyer 2005; Krissman 2005) is demonstrated by a vibrant field of studies in social network theory which has evolved since the 1950s. However, social network theory has not yet done much to contribute to the field of migration research. Apart from a few works, like one by Gurak and Caces (1992) or Conradson and Latham (2005), only Faist (2000) has conceived of a means by which to explain the occurrence and perpetuation of migration networks. But even this means is not without flaws. Although Faist offers a detailed analysis of restrained and channelled (or chain) migration to certain destinations on the basis of a combined social capital and social network theory, he does not give a detailed account of the individualistic perspective in migration networks.

My second research interest is in how migration networks interact with migration policies. Political theorists and migration researchers alike have recently observed a

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35 This is an old, but still relevant, critique in the realm of social network theory (cf. Leinhardt 1977: xiii; Mitchell 1969: 1f).

mismatch of intended outcomes of migration policies and the actual flows of migrants between countries (CASTLES 2004a; HOLLIFIELD 2004; JOPPKE 1998). Although CASTLES (2004b: 208ff) points to 'factors arising from the social dynamics of the migratory process', the internal dynamics of migration networks still remain unexplained. Moreover, it could be possible that migration networks go hand in hand with migration policies, resulting in an over-achievement of migration policies objectives.

A third research desideratum is to pursue the issue of how the emergence of migration networks impacts on the social, economic and cultural sphere in the origin context. Interest in this derives from the fact that most studies on circular or chain migration have focused mainly either on the actual move or on the manifestations of the migration process in the destination country. Only recently has interest shifted towards the origin countries, where economic remittances as a means for economic development have been examined[36]. However, most studies concentrate only on the economic realm and do not spell out what the transfer of materials as well as intangibles, like meanings, norms and values, mean for social interaction in the origin country on different geographical scales (cf. also FEATHERSTONE et al. 2007: 384). Transnational networks as transmission belts (FAIST 2000) of not only people but also materials and immaterial assets change the social and cultural configuration of the origin context. FEATHERSTONE (2007: 385) remarks that

> [s]ome research on the geographies of transnationalism points to the considerable impact of spatial separation on social relations (particularly within a family context), affecting the ability of trans-migrants to conduct, successfully, certain activities and maintain intimate relationships at a distance.

However, it seems plausible that not only family and friendship ties are affected by the appearance and prolonged existence of migration networks. Other community activities, from leisure to all kinds of economic enterprises, could also be affected.

A fourth research interest is in determining how migration patterns in the Eastern European migration regime, and subsequently the underlying networks have

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36 Although already a topic in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in development studies, the topic got new impetus in recent years.

altered over the last three decades. Eastern European countries, like Poland and Romania, have been in a phase of transition since the fall of the 'iron curtain' in 1989, shedding socialist regimes and planned economies in favour of democracy and the free market. Although the two countries started at different stages in this process, the changes in the social and economic lives of both countries' citizens have been so severe that many citizens have regarded migration – be it emigration or the establishment of transnational migration patterns – as a chance to relieve or even overcome these socio-economic distortions and adaptations. In contrast to other Eastern European countries, Poland and Romania both had already established social networks before the fall of the 'iron curtain'. In the case of Poland, migrants from the era before World War II settled in different Western European countries and ethnic Germans had established links to Germany; likewise, ethnic Germans in Romania had established links to Germany. These existing networks facilitated new migrations after 1989. The accession of both countries is especially favourable for researching changes in migration networks and patterns. Unfortunately, the comparability of the case studies is only possible in the intra-national context, as the historical and socio-economic contexts of the two countries differ significantly.

5   Methodology and methods

The outlined research desiderata in the previous chapter focused on Polish and Romanian migration networks. How the empirical fieldwork was planned and carried out is explained in the following.

I assume that migration behaviour is influenced not only by rational choices (as in micro-economic approaches) but also by meanings shared among persons. The shared system of meanings consists of norms, values and attitudes towards migration as well as in the context of migration; this is called 'culture of migration' (cf. Horváth 2008). I further assume that a culture of migration is always (consciously or unconsciously) the underlying basis of migration decisions made by individuals, households, families or other kinds of groupings. People in different time-spaces have different practices (Giddens 1984). This is why I suppose that there are different cultures of migration in different times and spaces, practised by different persons. Hence, for my research on migration networks, I first identified and described the different cultures of migration in my fieldwork case studies, before investigating the functioning of the networks. Working on the assumption that there were different cultures of migration, I chose two sites in each country which varied significantly in certain features. How the case studies were selected is explained in detail in the chapters 'The case-studies: Two communities in rural Poland' (p. 53ff), 'The two migrant communities' (p. 77ff) and 'Interviews in rural Poland: the case studies Wilków and Nowy Korczyn ' (p. 114ff).

To answer the research desiderata as described above in the context of cultures of migration, it was necessary to talk to both migrants and non-migrants, especially in the migrants' places of origin. This included researching the social history and practices regarding migration as well as shared norms and attitudes towards migration. Therefore, it was necessary to conduct the fieldwork in the origin countries as well as to follow the migrants to their destination countries using a multi-sited fieldwork approach (cf. Marcus 1998).

The research questions required talking to well-informed people at the fieldwork sites who were in a position to know about migration. Reconnaissance trips to the

fieldwork countries served not only to select the sites but also to make first contacts with key informants. These informants were selected according to theoretical criteria (formal/informal roles in the community, positions, statuses) and personality criteria (having knowledge about my topic, impartiality issues, willingness / ability to communicate; cf. JOHNSON 1991).

I conducted interviews with current and former migrants, as studies on potential migrants have shown a low reliability on the actual knowledge about migration and migration networks (cf. e.g. FASSMANN 2000). To get access to these migrants, it was necessary to use snowball sampling, starting with key informants (cf. JOHNSON 1991). To answer questions on the culture of migration, focus groups in each fieldwork site were set up (BLOOR et al. 2001).

The paradigm in which the fieldwork was conducted was guided by Grounded Theory (cf. GLASER and STRAUSS 1967). This allowed the flexibility and creativity to find out about emerging cultures of migration as well as the evolution of new migration networks and patterns of migration after certain migration triggers took place (like EU accession, regularisations, etc.[37]). The sampling technique applied here was, although snowball sampling, as stated above, a purposive one. This was best achieved by using a theoretical sampling approach laid out by GLASER and STRAUSS (1967). This involved collecting and analysing data concurrently. On the basis of the preliminary analysis, new interview partners were selected to develop an emerging theory until theoretical saturation was reached. By theoretically compiling the sample, interviews were conducted in a narrative manner (NOHL 2006; SCHÜTZE 1977), which meant that they are open for new insights, which in turn led to new ideas about the theory and the sample – a hermeneutical circle (cf. RADTKE 1985). The interviews conducted with individuals and focus groups were transcribed and translated.

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37 Compare chapter 'The interplay of migration networks and migration policies' (p. 70ff)

6   Relatedness of articles

The four research desiderata outlined in the chapter on research interests (p. 42ff) were the focus of the study which resulted in a selection of articles about transnational networks of Polish and Romanian migrants to several Western European countries. They all shed light on different aspects of the use of migration networks in transnational spaces. The first article provides a basis of the linkage between migration networks and migration patterns, whereas the other articles focus on the destination context, the origin context and the 'in-between', i.e. the actual movement of migrants. Three of these articles were published in international peer-reviewed journals (*Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* in 2008, *Europe Asia Studies* in 2009, *Global Networks* in 2009) and one article was published at *Ashgate* (in 2009) in an anthology on Polish migration to the UK after the accession of Poland to the European Union.

The first article[38] under the heading of 'Migration patterns and networks' sets the foundation for all studies by describing the evolution of certain migration patterns through historically and geographically contingent developments and the subsequent evolution of migration networks. In the comparison of different migration patterns before and after the accession of Poland to the European Union the differentiation of visible and hidden migration is laid out (cf. also Chiuri et al. 2006). This differentiation refers to the individual empowerment opportunities of migrants that open up in different political time-spaces (cf. Massey 2005). This aspect is linked to the chapter 'Transnational migrants in the origin context' in which these empowerment opportunities are discussed against the background of the implications for the origin country.

The chapter 'The interplay of migration networks and migration policies'[39], first, suggests a refined definition of migration networks which might contribute to a

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38 Elrick, Tim; Brinkmeier, Emilia (2009): Changing patterns of Polish labour migration after UK's opening of the labour market? Insights from rural case studies in the voidvodship Opolskie and Świętokrzyskie. In: Burrell, Kathy (ed.): Polish Migration to the UK in the 'New' European Union. After 2004. Aldershot: Ashgate (Studies in Migration and Diaspora): 49-66.

39 Elrick, Tim and Oana R. Ciobanu (2009): Migration Networks and Policy Impacts: Insights from Romanian-Spanish Migrations. In: Global Networks 9(1): 100-116.

better understanding of the functioning of these networks. This is linked to the article on 'Transnational migrants in the destination context' (p. 91ff) where the internal structure of migration networks is considered. The functioning and non-functioning of migration networks due to political impediments is the core of this chapter. It takes up two questions using the empirical example of Romanian migrations to Spain: when do migration networks fail (cf. Collyer 2005) and when do migration policies fail (cf. Castles 2004b)? In answering these questions, it spans the transnational space between the origin and destination country.

Looking at one end of this transnational space, the destination country, the article on 'Matching and Making Labour Demand and Supply'[40] takes up the ideas of a refined understanding of migration networks as social networks of migrants. This allows one not only to consider the positive aspects of social networks but also the downside of social capital (Portes and Landolt 1996) embedded in the migration networks. Furthermore, the article broadens the understanding of migration networks beyond family and friendship ties and, therefore, opens the view to the economic side of migration networks, which Salt (2001) termed the 'migration industry'. These ideas are demonstrated by drawing on the example of female Polish migrants in the domestic care service in Italy.

The last article[41] presented in the chapter 'Transnational migrants in the origin context' (p. 111ff) reflects the other end of the transnational space. Transnational migration as the interchange of episodic presence and absence in two or more locations can both place a huge burden on these locations and can have huge advantages for these locations. This article concentrates on the origin context while deciphering the consequences of transnational migration. The different types of migration (visible versus hidden) already observed in the chapter 'Migration patterns and networks' play out in severe consequences for the ones left behind in the origin country.

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40 Elrick, Tim and Emilia Lewandowska (2008): Matching and Making Labour Demand and Supply: Agents in Polish Migrant Networks of Domestic Elderly Care in Germany and Italy. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 34(5): 717-734. See chapter: 'Transnational migrants in the destination context' (p. 91ff)

41 Elrick, Tim (2008): The Influence of Migration on Origin Communities: Insights from Polish Migrations to the West. In: Europe-Asia Studies 60(9): 1503-1517.

Although all these chapters are intrinsically interwoven in the research of transnational migration networks, they also represent stand-alone articles as they were first constructed and published as such. Therefore, some aspects, ideas and themes intersect, overlap or are reiterated in the following.

7　Migration patterns and networks

Migration networks are contingent on the time-space from which they emerge. Looking at two different communities in Poland, I examine how these contingencies result in the establishment of different migration networks and subsequent migration patterns. The powerful influence of political decisions on migration networks and the consequences for the life world of the migrants and their families is stated further, by comparing the migration patterns before and after the EU accession of Poland in the year 2004 from Poland to certain destination countries with a special focus on the destination country UK.

7.1　to 7.8 published as an original article: 'Changing patterns of Polish labour migration after UK's opening of the labour market? Insights from rural case studies in the voidvodship Opolskie and Świętokrzyskie.'

Tim ELRICK and Emilia BRINKMEIER

In: Kathy Burrell (ed.) (2009): *Polish migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union. After 2004 (Studies in Migration and Diaspora).* Aldershot: 49-66.

ISBN 978-0-7546-7387-3

8   The interplay of migration networks and migration policies

Having studied the compelling influence of political decisions on migration networks in the previous chapter, I now consider the reverse effect. Commencing with the observation that often intended migration policy objectives are not sufficiently met, I turn to migration networks as sources of irritation in migration policy making. Taking the example of Romanian migration networks to Spain I demonstrate how these networks hinder or foster migration policies.

8.1   to 8.6 published as an original article: 'Migration Networks and Policy Impacts: Insights from Romanian-Spanish Migrations.'

9   Transnational migrants in the destination context

Having analysed the relationship between migration networks and migration policies in both causal directions, in this chapter I turn to the destination context in transnational migration. Using the example of female Polish migration for work in domestic services to Italy I suggest a refinement of the theory of transnational migration networks taking into account the contested use of social capital in these networks.

9.1   to 9.9 published as an original article: 'Matching and Making Labour Demand and Supply: Agents in Polish Migrant Networks of Domestic Elderly Care in Germany and Italy.'

Tim Elrick and Emilia Lewandowska

10 Transnational migrants in the origin context

Having discussed the functioning and structure of migration networks in and for the destination context in the previous chapter, I now shift to the other end of the stratum the transnational space spans. Here I are concerned with the consequences of the structure and functioning of networks for the ones, left in the origin communities, regardless of whether they are relatives or friends of the migrants involved in these networks or are mere community members.

10.1 to 10.5 published as an original article: 'The Influence of Migration on Origin Communities: Insights from Polish Migrations to the West.'

Tim Elrick

11 Concluding remarks

The preceding chapters 7 to 10 responded to the identified research gaps in the knowledge on transnational migration networks, in a theoretical way as well as on an empirical basis. This grounding of theoretical considerations in empirical findings sets a counterpoint to discourses of 'ungrounded' and 'deterritorialised' transmigrants and is in response to calls by some researchers to reconnect empirical manifestations to certain spaces and places (cf. LEY 2004).

Theoretically, these chapters provided new ideas for theorising transnational migration networks, by considering migrant networks as social networks. Using transnationalism as a research perspective, the study shed light on the mechanisms of migration networks – understood as the aggregation of migrant networks in a certain group or region – in the destination context, the origin context and on the move. For the latter the relationship between these networks and national as well as supranational migration policies were examined. In the origin context, migration networks were found to restructure life in the communities, depending on the type of migration (visible vs. hidden). Finally, in the destination context, the complex structure and functioning of migration networks beyond a mere positive understanding of these social entities were uncovered, suggesting that migration studies should invest more effort in disentangling the 'black box' of migration networks.

As outlined in chapter 4, transnational migration from the two case study countries is difficult to compare. However, taking into account the uneven endowment of economic and human capital in favour of the Polish communities under study, Portes' assumption (1999: 224) can be rejected that '[i]mmigrant communities with greater average economic resources and human capital (education and professional skills) should register higher levels of transnationalism because of their superior access to the infrastructure that makes these activities possible.' Recent transnational migration between Romania and Western European countries does not appear to be less intense than is the case with Polish transnational migration, taking into consideration, of course, that the longer history of migration in Poland

associated with the turbulent history of this nation-state has made migration a more extensive phenomenon.

However, both the theorisation and the empirical findings must remain a small piece in a jigsaw, as migration is a multifaceted process. Therefore, research on transnational migration networks has to continue.

It has to continue empirically, as this study covered just the beginning of new migration patterns after the EU accession of Poland and Romania. Only in a few years will it be possible to determine whether the newly emerging migration networks have resulted in new, sustainable migration systems. A further policy change might affect these new migration networks even more. The increased provision of free movement for Polish and Romanian workers wishing to pursue employment in other member states, which will take effect at the latest by 2011 (for Poland) and 2014 (for Romania), is an example of such a policy change.

Theoretically, research on transnational migration is still too much concerned with the mobility between places and spaces. However, as PRESTON (2006: 1648) lays out in a study on Hong Kong immigrants to Canada, '[i]ronically, the transnational activities that create mobility also foster a sense of place'. BUNNELL's paper on the post-maritime life of Malayan seafarers also highlights that transnationalism is not only defined by mobility, but also by stable geographical configurations. Settlement should, therefore, be in the focus of further studies on transnational migration networks. Drawing on my case studies, the development of the settlement processes of Romanian migrants in Spain, where many migrants enthusiastically bought flats and houses on credit, is highly interesting and needs to be further explored, especially in the context of the collapse of the Spanish real estate market. In general, the study of transnational migration in a time of world-wide economic downturn might shed light on the sustainability of migration networks and give insights into the relative importance of these networks compared to other migration triggers like (regional) economic disparities or risk diversification.

Further investigation in this direction could also help explain the degree to which migration flows are influenced by migration networks and migration policies. The

results of the study presented here suggest a strong dependency on migration networks, which might lead to a decline in migration flows in a period of economic slowdown, as those networks (fed by the economic interests of the migrants) are mediated by the economic opportunities in the destination country. This spans a field of studies on the conflicting needs of politics and the economy in origin and destination countries, which has yet to be fully explored.

My analysis of the structure and functioning of migration networks as networks beyond family and friendship ties points to a need for further investigation of the migration industry. It became clear that even the exceptionally strong *Polonia* (cf. chapter on 'Historical perspective') has certain decisive limits (contrary to the view of e.g. FASSMANN 1998: 22f). Under late modern conditions, the linkages between migration networks and the flexible recruitment and assignment of staff in national and transnational companies by the temporary staffing industry should receive more attention (cf. COE et al. 2007, 2009).

Theoretically, the understanding of the structure and functioning of migration networks as social networks has only begun. Advanced components of social network theory like strong and weak ties (GRANOVETTER 1973), homophily (MCPHERSON et al. 2001), structural holes and *tertius gaudens* actors (BURT 1992) or *tertius iungens* actors (OBSTFELD 2005) could enhance migration studies. However, it is difficult to apply this kind of analysis to migration networks, as this theory is most powerful when applied to total networks with well-defined boundaries. As migration is not limited to an organisation or a social group with well-defined borders, insights derived from analyses using these theoretical components would be difficult to put into use; conversely, focusing on social network theory in terms of ego-networks limits the prospect of comprehending an entire network's structure and functioning.

Finally, the study of non-economic remittances of migrants to origin countries (as set out in my study in Poland) should be expanded on. The exploration of social and cultural remittances in origin countries could result in a better understanding of social and cultural processes in both the origin *and* destination contexts. All the

more, as social, economic and cultural interactions and consequences are increasingly intertwined in a globalising world.

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13 Appendices

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13.2 Abstract

The volume of internationally recognised migration is now at its historical peak. More than 191 million people are on the move, of whom the vast majority are labour migrants. At the same time, migration scholars have been observing a reduction in 'traditional' immigration in favour of transnational forms of migration, i.e. processes by which migrants maintain close social relations in both their origin and destination contexts (cf. Glick Schiller et al. 1997).

One of the basic preconditions for the appearance of transnationalism is, besides technological advancement in travel and communication, the establishment and persistence of migration networks that span nation-states (cf. Portes et al. 1999).

This dissertation focuses on enhancing insights into the structure and functioning of these transnational migration networks. Although the concept of migration networks is often used in studies of transnational migration, the theorising of these networks remains underdeveloped. Thus, in this work I scrutinise the construct of migration networks based on the various approaches applied thus far in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, economics and geography.

The theoretical advancement of migration network theory in this dissertation is based on the changes in migration processes between Eastern and Western Europe that have been taking place since the fall of the 'iron curtain' in 1989. The transition from mainly closed, socialist regimes to open, democratic ones in Eastern Europe has allowed for the analysis of emerging and changing migration networks. Furthermore, the examples of Poland and Romania enable me to study the possible alteration of these networks in the context of their accession to the European Union (EU), which enhanced opportunities for the free movement of their workers within the EU.

In this dissertation I offer the following insights on the structure and functioning of transnational migration networks:

(I) migration networks can be theorised as aggregated social networks, which sheds light on individual agency in these networks; (II) employing a definition of migration networks that goes beyond mere positive relations to take into account the 'migration industry' (cf. Salt 2001), here understood as professional brokers and agents, creates a better understanding of the way in which they function; (III) migration networks and migration policies influence each other mutually, with both negative and also positive outcomes; and (IV) migration networks have social and cultural influences on the origin communities, beyond the economic remittances' impact that mainly has been the focus of studies to date.

13.3 Zusammenfassung

Der Umfang internationaler Migration hat mit mehr 191 Millionen wandernden Menschen, von denen die meisten Arbeitsmigranten sind, derzeit seinen historischen Höhepunkt. Gleichzeitig beobachten Migrationsforscher ein Schrumpfen „traditioneller" Immigration zugunsten transnationaler Migrationsformen, d.h. von Prozessen, in denen Migranten enge soziale Beziehungen zwischen und in Herkunfts- und Zielkontexten halten (cf. Glick Schiller et al. 1997).

Eine der grundlegenden Voraussetzungen für das Auftreten von Transnationalismus ist, neben dem technologischem Fortschritt im Reiseverkehr und in der Informations- und Kommunikationstechnik, das Etablierung und Dauerhaftigkeit von Nationalstaaten überspannenden Migrationsnetzwerken (cf. Portes et al. 1999).

Die vorliegende Arbeit legt den Schwerpunkt auf die Erweiterung des Wissens zu Struktur und Funktionsweisen eben dieser transnationalen Migrationsnetzwerke. Obwohl das Konzept „Migrationsnetzwerk" in Arbeiten zu transnationaler Migration häufig Eingang gefunden hat, blieb die tatsächliche Theoriebildung zu diesen Netzwerken unterentwickelt. In dieser Arbeit wird daher das Konstrukt „Migrationsnetzwerk" hinterfragt, wobei die bestehenden Ansätze der Fachbereiche Ethnologie, Soziologie, Ökonomie und Geographie Ausgangspunkt für die Weiterentwicklung bilden.

Die theoretische Fortentwicklung der Theorie zu Migrationsnetzwerken gründet in dieser Arbeit auf den empirischen Veränderungen im Migrationsgeschehen zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa nach dem Fall des „Eisernen Vorhangs" im Jahr 1989. Der Übergang von überwiegend geschlossenen, sozialistischen Regimes zu offenen, demokratischen Staaten in Osteuropa eignet sich besonders für die Analyse entstehender und sich verändernder Migrationsnetzwerke. Darüber hinaus erlauben die Beispielländer Polen und Rumänien eine Veränderung dieser Netzwerke im Zusammenhang mit dem Beitritt dieser Länder zur Europäischen Union (EU) zu beobachten, da sich die Möglichkeiten von Arbeitsmigranten dieser Länder im Zusammenhang mit der von der EU garantierten Freizügigkeit potenziell erweiterte.

Diese Arbeit bietet darauf aufbauend die folgende Erkenntnisse zu Struktur und Funktionsweisen von transnationalen Migrationsnetzwerken:

(I) Migrationsnetzwerke können theoretisch als eine Art „soziale Netzwerke" verstanden werden, was erlaubt die Akteursperspektive besser ausleuchten zu können; (II) sofern Migrationsnetzwerke und deren inhärente Beziehungen nicht nur als positiv konnotiert angesehen werden, können die Prozesse der „Migrationsindustrie" (cf. Salt 2001), hier im Sinne von berufsmäßigen Vermittlerrollen verstanden, besser analysiert und nachvollzogen werden; (III) Migrationsnetzwerke und Migrationspolitiken beeinflussen sich gegenseitig mit negativen, aber auch positiven Folgen; (IV) Migrationsnetzwerke beeinflussen auch das soziale und kulturelle Gefüge in den Herkunftsregionen jenseits ökonomischer Rücküberweisungen, die bisher im Fokus vieler Studien standen.

13.4 Erklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig gemäß den folgenden Ausführungen verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel verwendet habe.

Die Dissertation entstand zum Großteil im Rahmen des EU Marie Curie Excellence Grant Projektes 'Expanding the Knowledgebase of European Labour Migration Policies' (MEXT-CT-2003-002668) von Oktober 2004 bis August 2008, der aus einem quantitativen (Ausführungsverantwortung: Dragos Radu) und einem qualitativen (Ausführungsverantwortung: der Autor) sozialwissenschaftlichen Teil sowie einem politik-philosophischen Teil (Ausführungsverantwortung: Dr. Christina Boswell) bestand. Der Autor hatte in diesem Projekt die leitende Position des qualitativen Forschungsteils inne, was sowohl die theoretische und methodische Konzeption, die wissenschaftliche und organisatorische Durchführungsverantwortung sowie die Analyse der erhobenen Daten beinhaltete. Für diesen Forschungsteil gab es bereits eine inhaltliche Skizze (siehe www.migration-networks.org), der von der Forschungsprojektleiterin, Dr. Christina Boswell, vorgeschlagen wurde, bevor der Autor zum Forschungsteam hinzustieß. Dem Autor oblag es jedoch, die Skizze theoretisch und methodisch zu einem eigenständigen Teilforschungsprojekt auszuarbeiten. Die theoretischen Vorarbeiten sind nicht explizit Teil der hier vorgelegten Dissertation, finden aber Ausschlag in den mit einbezogenen Veröffentlichungen. In Absprache mit der Gesamtprojektleiterin sowie dem für den quantitativen Forschungsteil Verantwortlichen wurden die Ausgangsuntersuchungsländer, Rumänien und Polen, festgelegt. Der Autor hat dann selbständig die Methodologie sowie die adäquaten Methoden ausgewählt. Der Autor entschied sich für eine multilokale Feldforschung in jeweils zwei Fallstudien in beiden Ländern unter ähnlichen Ausgangsbedingungen mit narrativen Interviews sowie Expertengesprächen mit Migranten in deren Muttersprache. Zur Durchführung und vorläufigen Auswertung der Interviews wurden zwei muttersprachliche wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterinnen, Frau Oana Ciobanu und Frau Emilia Brinkmeier (geb. Lewandowska) für zwei Jahre eingestellt. Der Autor hat durch die Organisation von methodischen Weiterbildungsveranstaltungen dafür Sorge getragen, dass die wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiterinnen die notwendigen Kenntnisse zur Umsetzung der Methodik hatten. Unter Anleitung des Autors haben Frau Ciobanu und Frau Brinkmeier an den ausgewählten Feldforschungsorten narrative Interviews mit Migranten sowie lokalen Schlüsselinformanten jeweils auf Polnisch bzw. Rumänisch geführt. Die Interviews wurden aushäusig transkribiert und zum Großteil übersetzt, damit sie dem Autor zur Analyse zur Verfügung standen. Die Auswahl der zu übersetzenden Interviews erfolgte von den beiden wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiterinnen in Absprache mit dem Autor. In einer ersten Begutachtungsphase erfolgte die vorläufige Auswertung der Interviews, insbesondere der nicht-übersetzten Interviews, in Teamsitzungen der wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiterinnen mit dem Autor. Der Autor legte danach die konkreten Forschungsthemen und damit die Themen für die Veröffentlichungen

fest. Die in dieser Dissertation aufgeführten Veröffentlichungen wurden durchgängig mit der Ausnahme Elrick/Ciobanu 2009 vom Autor allein verfasst und basieren auf dessen theoretischen Überlegungen; die Veröffentlichungen Elrick/Brinkmeier 2009 und Elrick/Lewandowska 2008 führen die Co-Autorin mit auf, um ihre Beteiligung bei der Erhebung und Auswertung der Interviews zu dokumentieren. Die empirischen Inhalte basieren, soweit aus der Feldforschung abgeleitet, auf den von den wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiterinnen geführten Interviews, deren Hauptanalyse auch vom Autor ausgeführt wurde. Bei der Veröffentlichung Elrick/Ciobanu 2009 stammen die theoretischen und analytischen Teile vom Autor, die empirischen Teile, die sich aus der Feldforschung ableiten, von Frau Ciobanu. Die textliche Endredaktion oblag wieder dem Autor.

Hamburg, 26. Mai 2009   Tim Elrick

13.5 Enthaltene Zeitschriftenaufsätze

Folgende Zeitschriftenaufsätze sind Bestandteil dieser Dissertation:

ELRICK, Tim (2008): The influence of migration on origin communities: Insights from Polish migrations to the West. In: *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(9): 1503–1517.

ELRICK, Tim and Emilia BRINKMEIER (2009): Changing patterns of Polish labour migration after UK's opening of the labour market? Insights from rural case studies in the voidvodship Opolskie and Świętokrzyskie. In: Kathy BURRELL (ed.): *Polish migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union.* After 2004 (Studies in Migration and Diaspora). Aldershot: 49-66.

ELRICK, Tim and Oana R. CIOBANU (2009): Migration networks and policy impacts: Insights from Romanian-Spanish migrations. In: *Global Networks* 9(1): 100–116.

ELRICK, Tim and Emilia LEWANDOWSKA (2008): Matching and making labour demand and supply: Agents in Polish migrant networks of domestic elderly care in Germany and Italy. In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(5): 717–734.