

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration

Symposium and PhD Training

Lived transnationalism in times of violent conflict –
Cross-border connections and mobilities of people, goods and capital

27-28 March 2023, Gustav-Stresemann-Institute Bonn, Germany

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2. The very nature of the transnational dimension
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Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration: 1. The very nature of forced migration

Forced migration is:

- not just container hopping from one place/country to another, but longer-lasting social practice in multi-local spaces,
- goals, biographical projects, social networks, preferences are especially iterative and dynamic in forced migration,
- despite extreme restrictions, there is always a margin of agency,
- always multi-dimensional (economic, political, sociocultural, legal etc.).

Our definition: FM as change(s) of residence of individuals or groups based on a *perceived considerable* degree of life threatening coercion caused to a *great extent* by (1) persecution due to race, religion, ethnicity, political opinion, nationality or gender or (2) based on sudden- and slow-onset disasters.

**“Forced migration needs to be analysed as
a social process in which human agency and social networks play a major part.”**

Castles, Stephen (2003): Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation. In: Sociology 37 (1), S. 13–34.

We study forced migration in a life-course and transnational perspective.

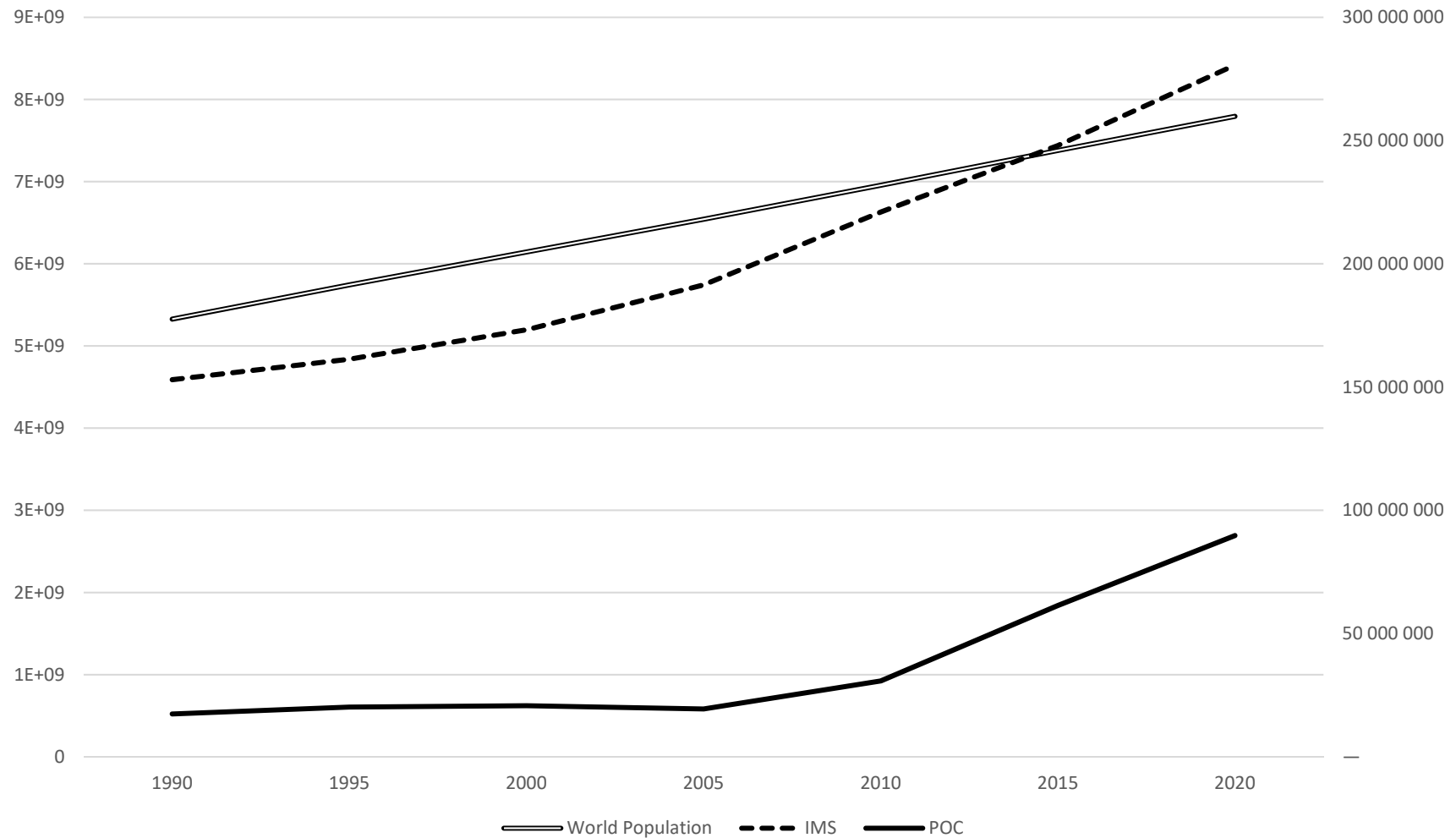
Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
1. The very nature of forced migration

Forced migration in numbers/estimates

	Forcibly displaced people	Of concern to UNHCR	Alternative estimates
Palestine refugees, UNRWA's mandate	5.8	Not included	
Refugees under UNHCR's mandate	21.3	21.3	
Asylum seekers	4.6	4.6	
Venezuelans displaced abroad	4.4	4.4	
IDPs	53.2	51.3	51.9 stock, 38 flow IDMC; 50 DTM
Stateless people	Not included	4.3	
Refugee returns	Not included	0.43	
IDP returns	Not included	5.3	
Others of concern to UNHCR	Not included	4.2	
Host community	Not included	Not included	6.7 not included in either category
Sum	89.3	94.7	

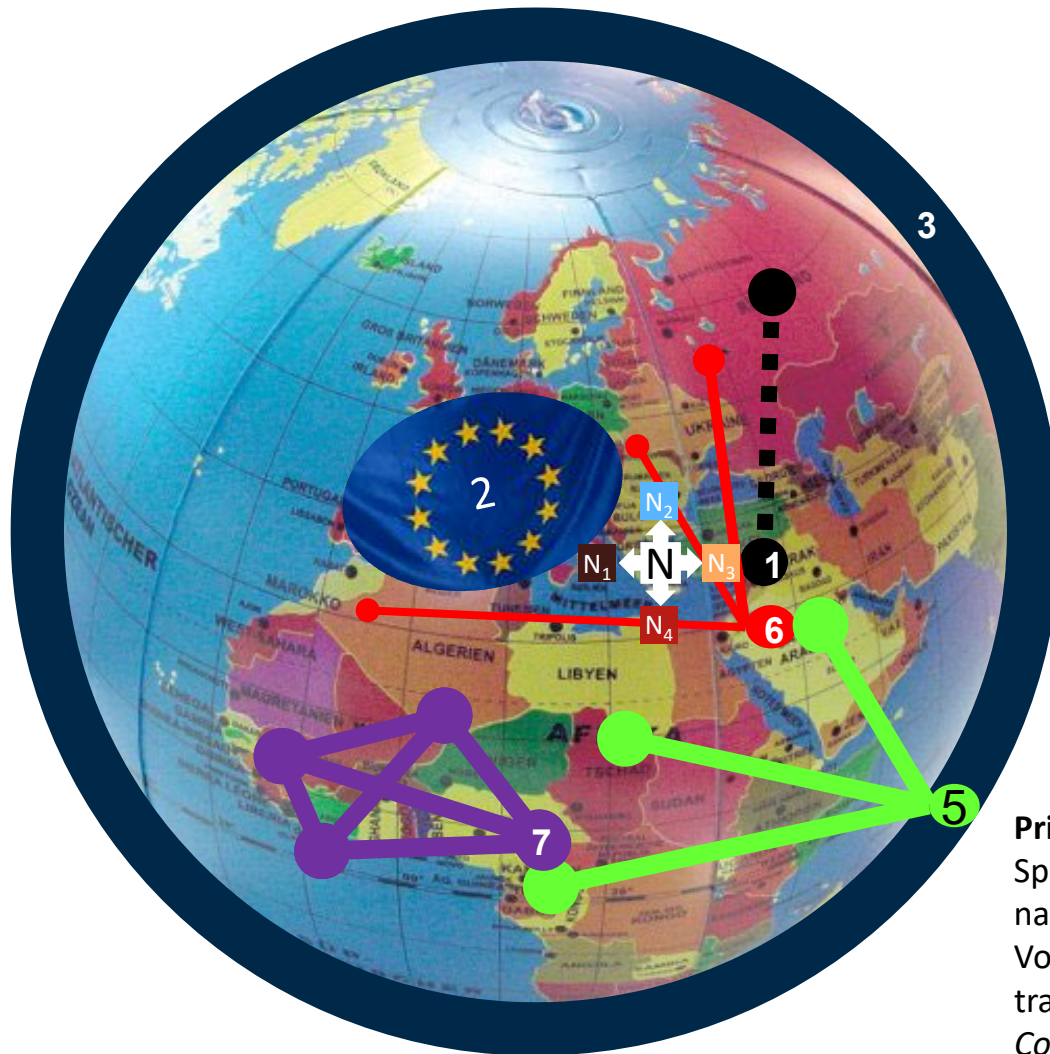
Source: UNHCR-2022-Global Trends; Annex 11 and <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/methodology/>

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration: 1. The very nature of forced migration



Source: own elaboration based on data of UNFPA (for world population, <https://www.unfpa.org/world-population-trends>),
Left scale: world population; right scale: international migration stock and people of concern to UNHCR

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
 2. The very nature of the transnational dimension



1. Inter-Nationalisation
2. Supra-Nationalisation
3. Globalisation
4. Re-Nationalisation
substantial concepts of space
5. Glocalisation
6. Diaspora-Building
7. Transnationalisation
relational concepts of space

The transnational as: decentralized border-crossing durable and dense social (+economic, cultural and political) relations and spaces beyond inter-state relations

Pries, L. 2005: Configurations of Geographic and Societal Spaces: A sociological proposal between 'methodological nationalism' and the 'spaces of flows'. *Global Networks*, Vol. 5(2): 167-190; **Pries, L., 2019:** The momentum of transnational social spaces in Mexico-US-migration. *Comparative Migration Studies*, Vol. 7: 7-34

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
2. The very nature of the transnational dimension

The transnational character of forced migration is grounded in:

- the broader societal context and history of reasons for migration (armed conflicts, persecution because of gender, political engagement, ethno-racial..)
- the mind set of potential forced migrants,
- the journey of forced migrants itself,
- their social networks of information and communication,
- the infrastructure of support from friends to smugglers,
- the international and transnational organizations of support,
- the international and transnational organizations of control and exclusion,
- the (de jure) legal and (de facto) legitimate framing of migrants and routes,
- the social embedding of forced migrants after arrival & (tentative) integration.

Pries, L., 2018: Refugees, Civil Society and the State. European Experiences and Global Challenges. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar;

Pries, L./Yankelevitch, P. (eds.), 2019: European and Latin American Social Scientists as Refugees, Emigrés and Return-migrants.

Transnational lives and travelling theories at El Colegio de México and the New School for Social Research. New York/London: Palgrave

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
 2. The very nature of the transnational dimension

Syrian refugees' migration journey to Germany – many routes and places

Main route	Total number	Cum. percent
Syria – Germany	1828	58.5
Syria – Turkey – Germany	552	17.7
Syria – Iraq or Lebanon – Germany	217	6.9
Syria – MENA Countries – Germany	191	6.1
Syria – Turkey – EU and Balkan – Germany	46	1.5
Syria – EU Countries – Germany	47	1.5
Syria – Balkan Countries – Germany	40	1.3
Syria – MENA – EU and Turkey – Germany	38	1.2
Double or triple complex routes	86	2.8
Complex circular routes	80	2.6
Total	3125	100.0

Source: own elaboration based on IAB-BAMF-SOEP Refugee Survey v.34

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
2. The very nature of the transnational dimension

Syrian refugees' migration journey to Germany – time and resources

Corridor	Average time (months)*** n=1,751	Transportation cost n=582	Accommodation cost* n=255	Escape/smuggling n=461	Total costs n=759
SR-GR	35.6	3,921	1,312	4,367	6,214
SR-TR-GR	35.2	3,758	1,701	4,141	5,802
SR-MENA-GR	66.2	3,185	1,620	2,963	4,643
SR-Leb./Iraq-GR	67.8	4,017	3,110	4,602	6,668
Others	53.9	4,072	2,684	4,843	6,865
Total	42.5	3,864	1,646	4,324	6,142

Source: own elaboration based on IAB-BAMF-SOEP Refugee Survey v.34;

* statistically significant variance at 90% level,

***: statistically significant variance at 99% level

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
 2. The very nature of the transnational dimension

The Infrastructure of forced migrants' protection is transnational: EU-Turkey Deal
Type of local, national, supranational and international organizations involved

	Average budget	N	% all projects	% budget
Others	104,234,725	8	7.0	14.0
EU-Orgs	32,584,108	27	23.5	14.8
Turkey	180,833,333	6	5.2	18.2
Non-EU-INGOs	20,154,499	31	27	10.5
IGOs	59,033,248	43	37.3	42.6
Total	51,842,330	115	100	100

Source: own elaboration based on the website of FRIT:

https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/enlargement-policy/turkey-0/eu-facility-refugees-turkey_en

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
2. The very nature of the transnational dimension

**The Infrastructure of forced migrants' protection is transnational: EU-Turkey Deal:
Number of projects according to locales in Turkey (total=1,891)**

Adana	56	3.0	Çanakkale	19	1.0	Kütahya	182	9.6
Adıyaman	36	1.9	Çankırı	15	0.8	Muş	15	0.8
Afyon	14	0.7	Çorum	64	3.4	Nevşehir	15	0.8
Ağrı	14	0.7	Düzce	47	2.5	Niğde	14	0.7
Aksaray	14	0.7	Erzincan	15	0.8	Ordu	48	2.5
Amasya	14	0.7	Erzurum	104	5.5	Rize	35	1.9
Ankara	53	2.8	Giresun	15	0.8	Samsun	120	6.3
Antalya	19	1.0	Gümüşha	15	0.8	Sivas	14	0.7
Ardahan	15	0.8	Hakkari	82	4.3	Şırnak	14	0.7
Artvin	15	0.8	Iğdır	15	0.8	Tekirdağ	15	0.8
Aydın	18	1.0	Isparta	186	9.8	Tokat	14	0.7
Balıkesir	19	1.0	Karabük	16	0.8	Trabzon	15	0.8
Bartın	44	2.3	Karaman	14	0.7	Tunceli	14	0.7
Bayburt	45	2.4	Kars	15	0.8	Uşak	15	0.8
Bitlis	15	0.8	Kastamonu	103	5.4	Van	15	0.8
Bolu	14	0.7	Kırıkkal	15	0.8	Yalova	18	1.0
Burdur	57	3.0	Kırklarel	96	5.1	Yozgat	15	0.8
Zonguldak	15	0.8						

Source: own elaboration based on the website of FRIT:

https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/enlargement-policy/turkey-0/eu-facility-refugees-turkey_en

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:

3. Example 1: The Maras in the Americas

El Salvador's gang truce

A substantial proportion of criminal violence in the Northern Triangle is attributed to two bitterly-opposed transnational criminal gangs, both of which originated in Los Angeles:

Mara Salvatrucha (often abbreviated as MS-13) whose members are primarily Salvadorans.³¹

Barrio 18 whose activities expanded greatly in the Northern Triangle following US deportation of gang members to countries of origin.

Both are involved in narcotics, arms-dealing, human trafficking, prostitution and extortion rackets. Taking advantage of El Salvador's weak institutions and high levels of corruption, they have helped transform El Salvador into an important staging post for illegal drugs heading north to the US.

Transnational character of organised violence and forced migration

- Military coups, US-intervention in Central America (El Salvador 1977-92)
- Maras as result of forced migration from Central America to USA and forced return migration from there
- Transnational networks of hierarchically structured criminal multi-purpose business (trafficking drugs, people, weapons etc.; extortion; tax collection)
- Certain legitimacy in civil society and (corrupt) state agencies
- Forced migration as *root cause* and as *consequence* of Maras' existence

Source: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2015: New humanitarian frontiers. Addressing criminal violence in Mexico and Central America. Geneva: IDMC, p. 10 (<http://www.internal-displacement.org/>)

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
3. Example 1: The Maras in the Americas
Gang controlled neighborhoods in San Pedro Sula/Honduras



By Derek Watkins | Sources: Times reporting and the Asociación para una Sociedad más Justa, a local nonprofit organization. Some of the boundaries shown here are imprecise, and uncolored parts of the map show areas where gang control is unclear. Published by Azam Ahmed in: New York Times 13.05.2019 (<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/05/04/world/americas/honduras-gang-violence.html>)

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:

4. Example 2: Formove-I

Life course
as
trajectory
(sequence of positions and events in time)
and
biography
(subjectively experienced and remembered flow of social practice and incidents)

Life course of forced migrants

Longer term, iterative and collective process of social practice, explicit decisions & everyday actions

- During migration: changes in time horizon, target countries/locales, reasons, goals, networks etc.
- Types: prolonged displacement and Diaspora, short transit migration, transnational networking, home making
- Relevant actors: OV groups, state agencies, NGOs, social networks, civil society

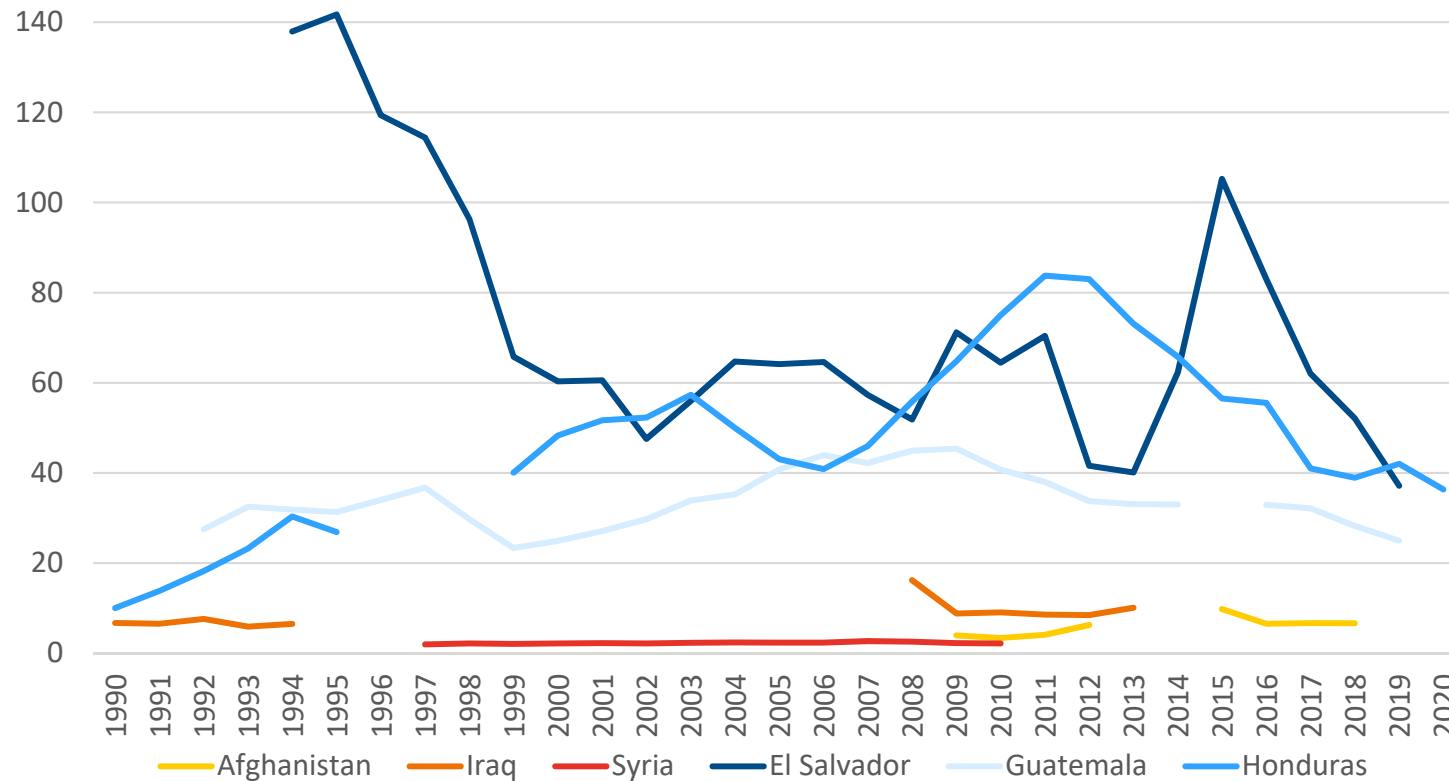
Organized violence:

organized violence as putting into practice or convincingly threatening with social action that harms persons or groups physically and/or injures mentally in a collective way in order to achieve collective and/or corporate goals (actors, legitimation, forms, addressees etc.)

Pries, Ludger, 2022: Organized Violence as a never ending story? Reflections in light of the Russian aggression of Ukraine. *Frontiers in Sociology, Section Sociological Theory*, doi: 10.3389/fsoc.2022.952209.

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
4. Example 2: Formove-I

Rate of homicides per 100,000 inhabitants per year



Source: own elaboration based on <https://dataunodc.un.org/dp-intentional-homicide-victims>

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration: 4. Example 2: Formove-I

Life course as biography and trajectory

Aspects of interest

Residence status

Registered refugee

Asylum applicant

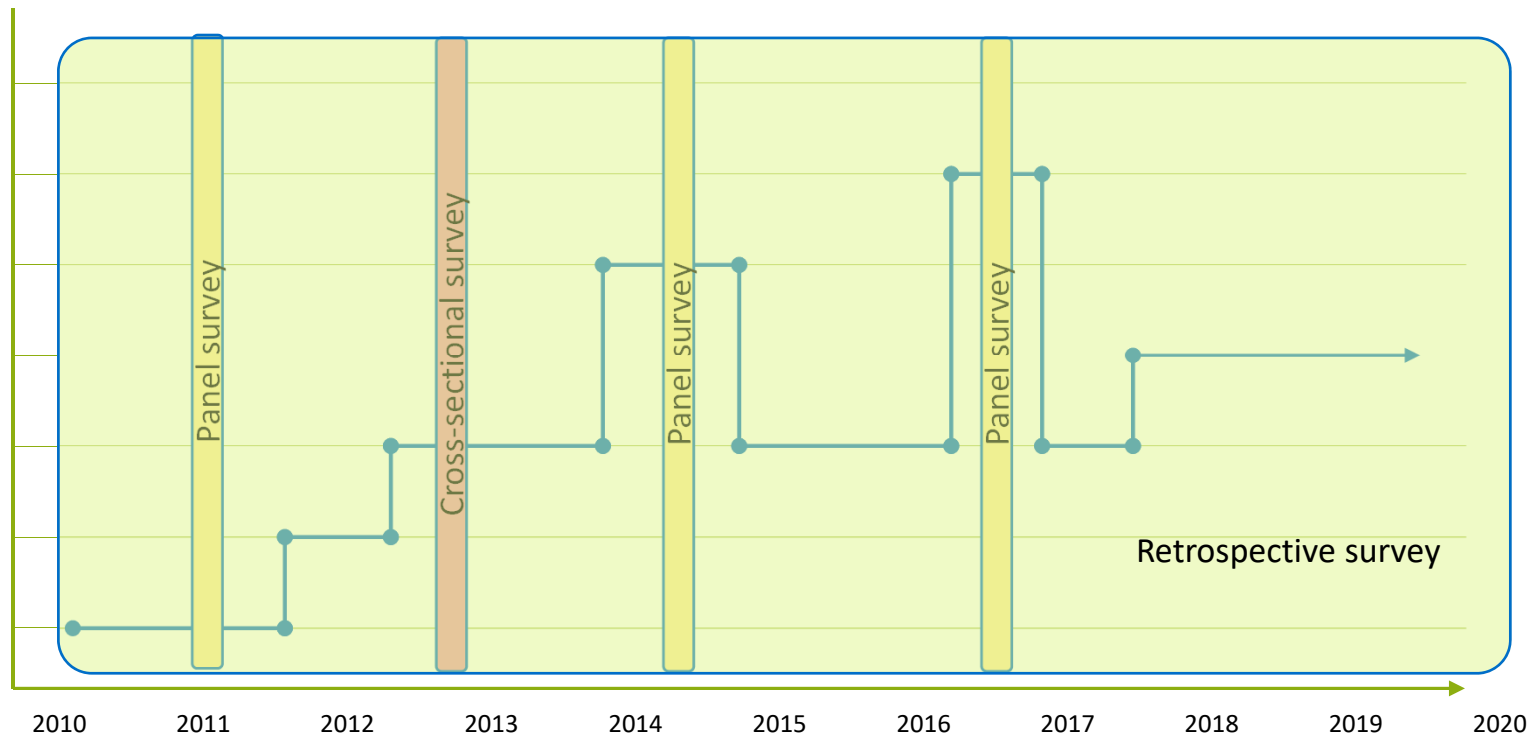
In camp

Unregistered resident

Stay on the move

Internally displaced

Registered citizen

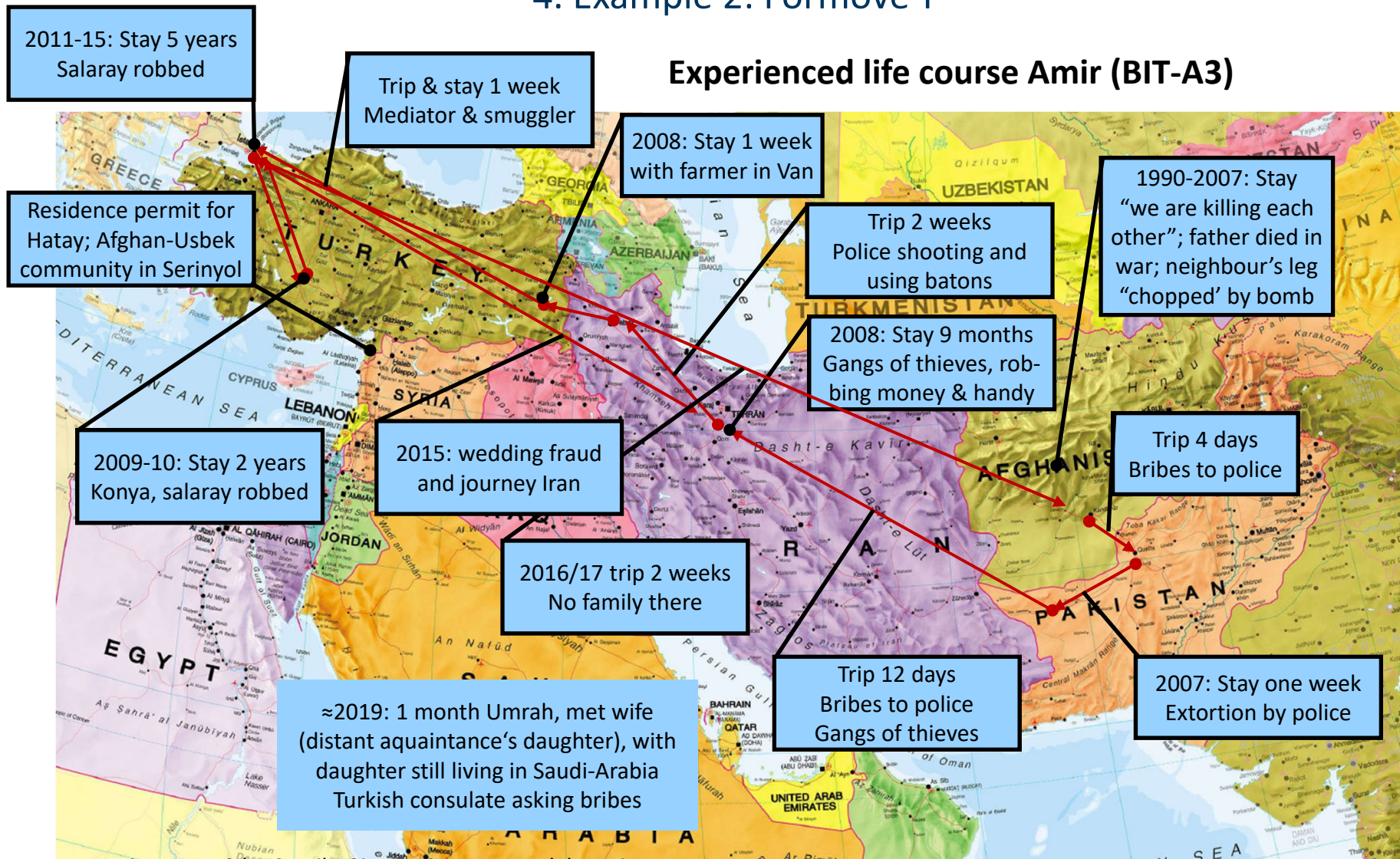


Thomas, W. & Znaniecki, F. 1974. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (repr.). New York: Octagon Books; Elder, G. H., Jr. 1974. *Children of the great depression*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press; Heinz, W.R. 2016. Conceptual foundations of qualitative life course research. *Sociologia, Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, Número Temático - Famílias e Curso de Vida. Potencialidades, limites e desafios metodológicos, pp. 20 – 37.

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:

4. Example 2: Formove-I

Experienced life course Amir (BIT-A3)

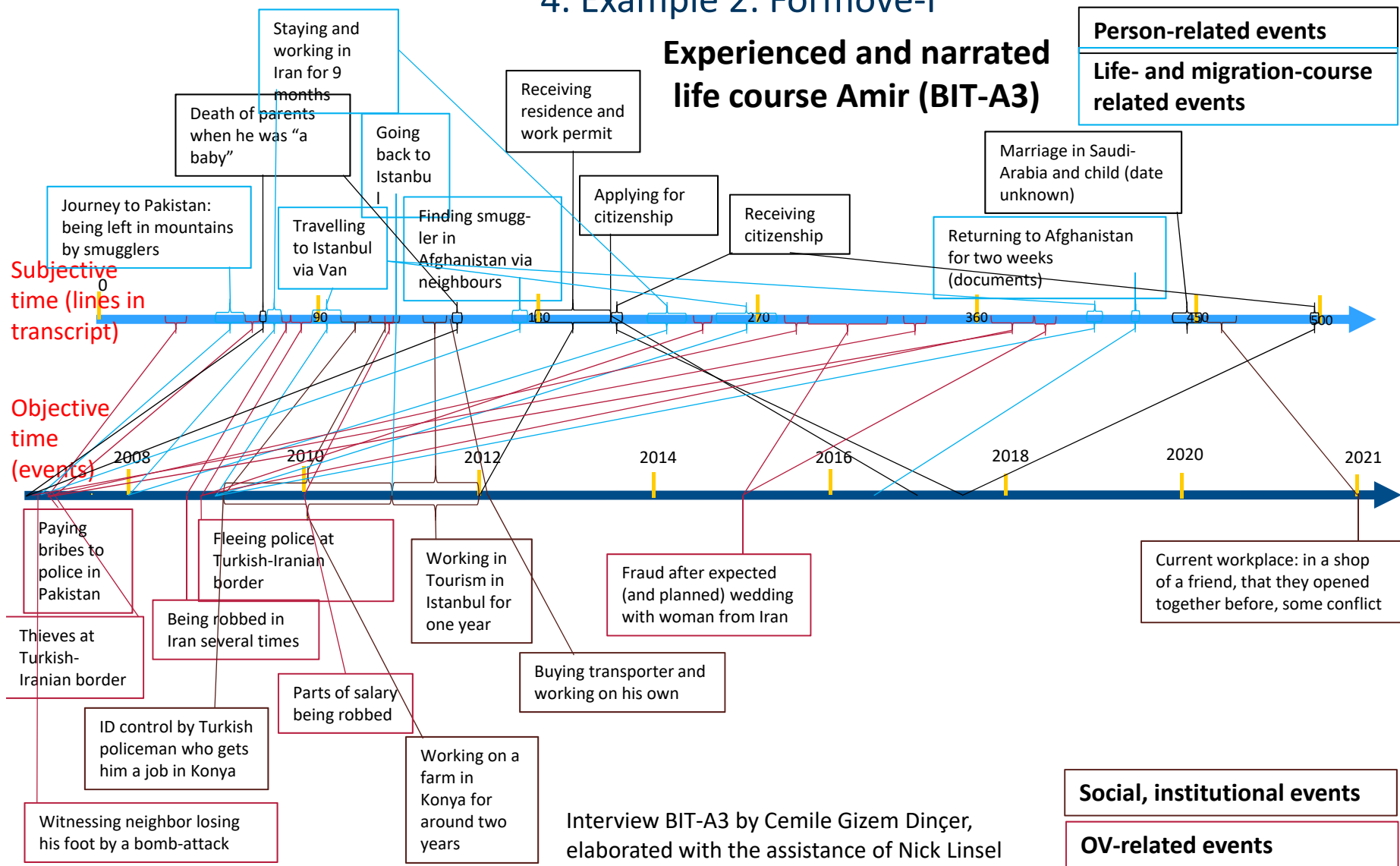


Interview BIT-A3 by Cemile Gizem Dinçer, own elaboration

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:

4. Example 2: Formove-I

Experienced and narrated life course Amir (BIT-A3)



Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:

4. Example 2: Formove-I

(Type of) Violence before, during migration, at arrival (n=15 BIT)

Stage of flight Type	Before	Start	During	At arrival
War, states, armed groups	A1 , A3 A4, S1 S2 , S3 S4 , S5 S7, S8	S2 <i>S4</i> S7 S8 S10	<i>S8</i>	S10 <i>A1</i>
Other organized violence		A1	<i>A5</i>	A5 <i>A2</i>
General/unspec ific insecurity		A3 <i>S1</i> S3 S5	<i>A1</i> , A3 <i>S1</i> , S3 <i>S4</i> , S5	A3, A4 S1, S3 S4, S5 S6,
Domestic, per- sonal violence	A2 S8	A1 A2		S7, S8 S11

Color=level of violence:
Grey: low
Regular: middle
Bold: high

Letter type=gender:
Standard: men
Italics: women

Source: own elaboration based on data Formove-I; BIT: biographical interviews in Turkey

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
4. Example 2: Formove-I

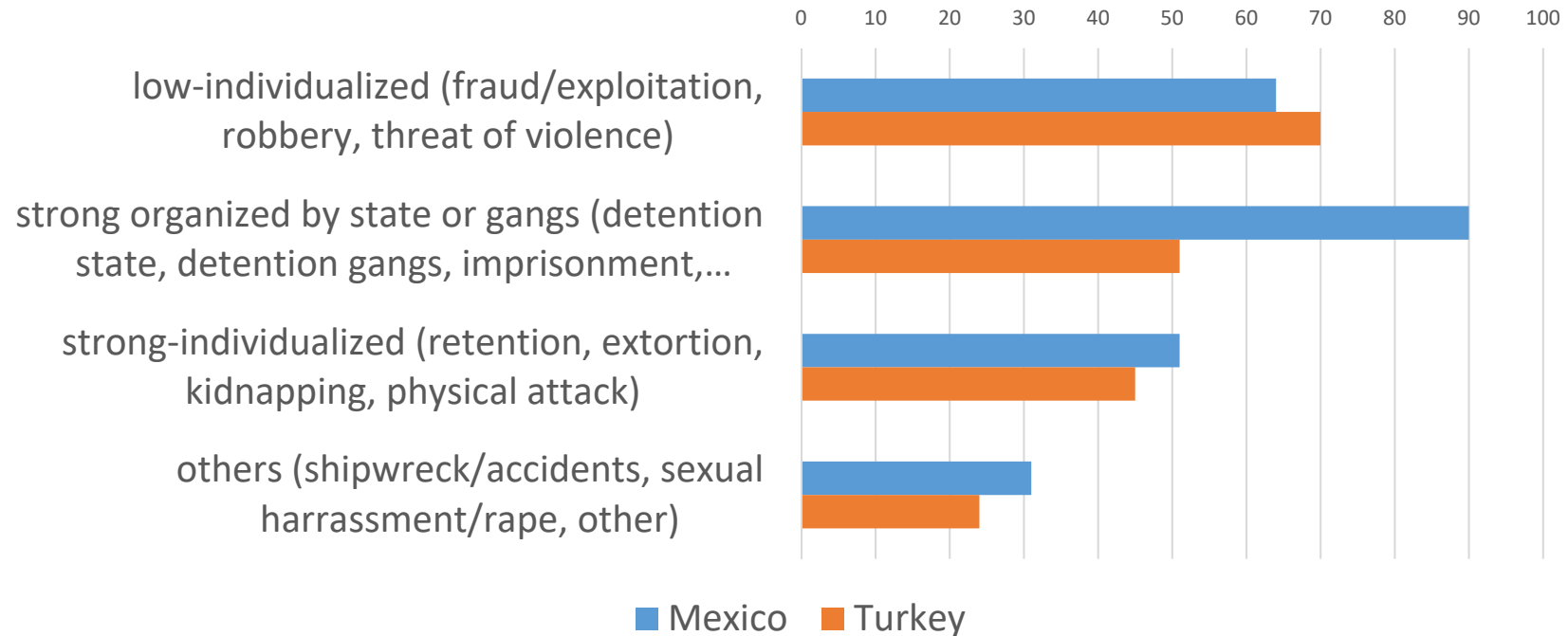
Violence experienced before and during migration (n=709; v301)

		Mexico	Turkey	Total
Yes	Number	229	112	341
	Standard. Residual	4,3	-4,3	
No	Number	130	238	368
	Standard. Residual	-4,1	4,2	
Total		359	350	709

Source: own elaboration based on data Formove-I; statistically significant association at 99% level of probability

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
4. Example 2: Formove-I

**Types of violence experienced before and during migration
(multiple response: sometimes+often; n=341; v303*.*)**



Source: own elaboration based on data Formove-I; statistically significant association at 94% level of probability

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
4. Example 2: Formove-I

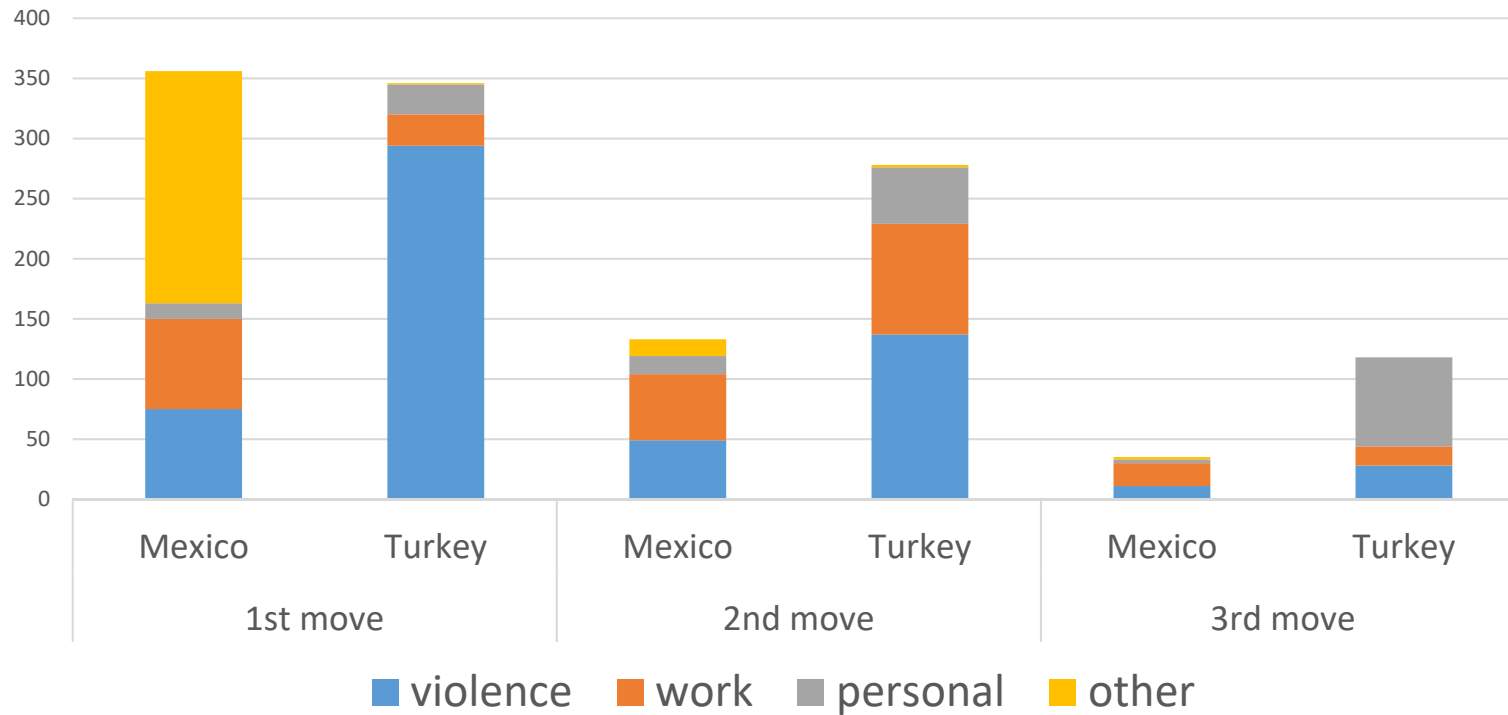
Average duration of stays: Central American migrants in Mexico (n=356)

Stay	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Months	Share of all (percent)
1	.4723	346	1.66680	6	96.4
2	.3706	332	1.66369	5	93,3
3	.5012	292	1.79519	7	92.5
4	.5043	212	2.16030	7	59.1
5	.5185	129	2.53486	7	35.9
6	.3309	81	1.40417	5	22.6
7	.6242	41	1.81318	9	11.4
8	.0912	22	.23126	1	6.1
9	1.1489	9	2.40185	15	2.5

Source: own elaboration based on ForMOVE data

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
4. Example 2: Formove-I

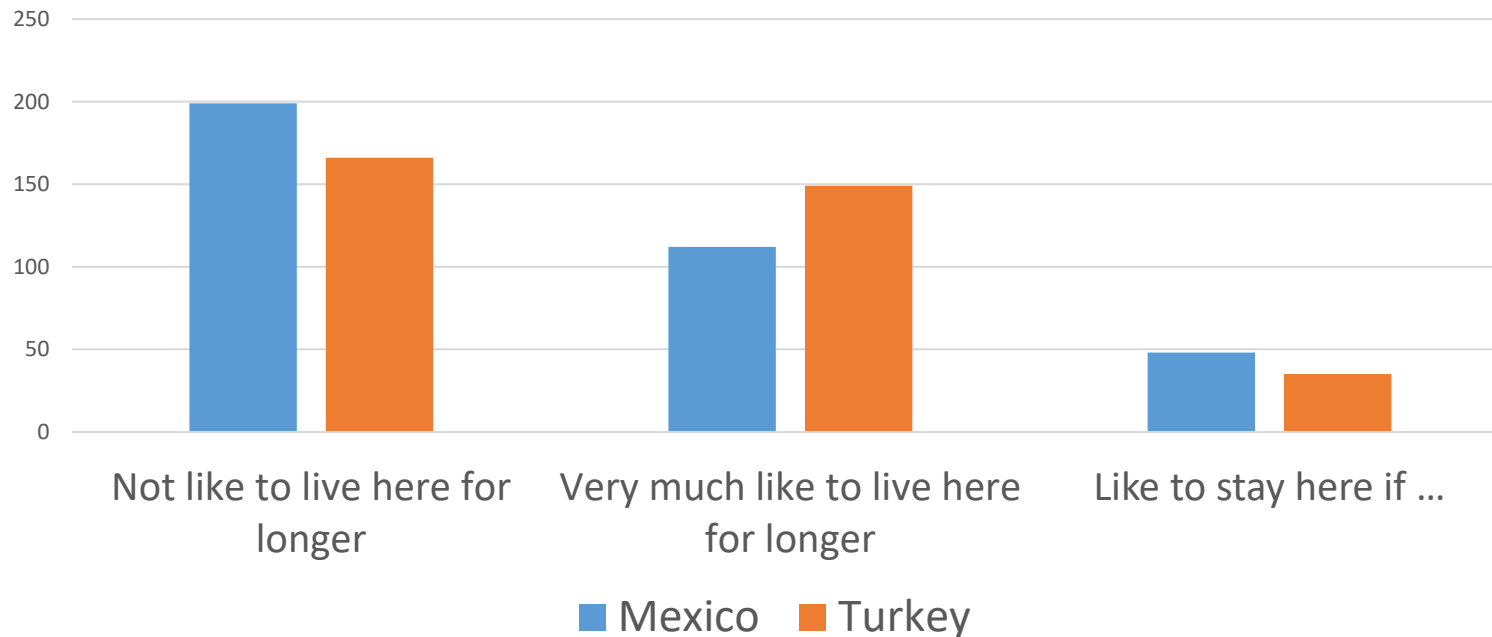
**Reasons for 1st, 2nd and 3rd move
(multiple response, 1st+2nd reason, n=702, 411, 153)**



Source: own elaboration based on data Formove-I; statistically significant associations for all 3 moves at 99% level of probability

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:
4. Example 2: Formove-I

When thinking about the future, would you like to leave the transit country, stay there or stay there if something changed there? (n=709, v701)



Source: own elaboration based on data Formove-I; statistically significant associations at 99% level of probability

Transnational Dimensions in Forced Migration:

4. Example 2: Formove-I

Binary logistic regression model: expectations of Syrian refugees (n=347)

Predictors	Signif. category	Significance	Expectation (B)
How old are you exactly?		.028***	-.963
Country of citizenship (Afghanistan)	Iraq	.176	.476
Country of citizenship (Afghanistan)	Syria	.861	.934
Ascription to any ethnic group (Yes)	No	.093*	.571
Actual employment status (Having secure working conditions)	Insecure conditions	.106	2.178
Actual employment status	Students	.798	1.129
Actual employment status	Unemployed	.081*	2.178
Type of crossing border (Official border)	Unofficial	< .001***	3.382
Violence index		.035**	8.845
Expectation concerning level of violence in current residence area? (Increase)	Decrease	< .001***	.061
	Stay same	.065*	.418
	Don't know	< .001***	.269
Selection of Turkey as a destination: Transnational social spaces (No)	Yes	.002***	.367
Selection of Turkey as a destination: Turkey-specific reasons (No)	Yes	.246	.693
No. of observations	347	Nagelkerke (sign.)	0.475
Hosmer–Lemeshow test (sign.)	0.533		

Source: own elaboration based on ForMOVE data, data processing: Berna Zülfikar

4. Example 2: Formove-I

Some findings of Formove-I:

- Societal context and history of (organized) violence vary between Mexico and Turkey as well as between Syria, Afghanistan and Central America.
- Correspondingly, reasons for migration vary, e.g. more “mixed migration” in Mexico than in Turkey.
- Types of violence experienced before and during migration differ between Mexico and Turkey.
- The share of options “staying”, “returning” and “moving on” varies between Mexico and Turkey.
- Life course analysis (biographical narrations and journey trajectories) is an exciting approach for studying forced migration.

Thanks for your attention!