

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION NETWORKS. INTERACTION BETWEEN TWO SOCIAL AND CULTURAL WORLDS: ADAPTATION IN THE HOST SOCIETY AND MAINTENANCE OF PREVIOUS TIES

Pshegorskaia N.A. (Russian Federation) Email: Pshegorskaia54@scientifictext.ru

*Pshegorskaia Natalia Aleksandrovna – Bachelor in Sociology, Master Student,
DEPARTMENT OF EUROPEAN STUDIES, SAINT-PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY,
SAINT-PETERSBURG*

Abstract: *this article analyzes distinctive features of transnational migration and its participants using background and main arguments of social network theory. The author considers ways of preserving the identity of migrants, differences of this category of migrants from other and the ways of adaptation in the country of arrival. On the example of Germany, the article deals with the state policy concerning the integration of transnational migrants into a new society and discusses the issue of full integration of such migrants.*

Keywords: *transnational migration, social network theory, identification, integration, diaspora.*

ТРАНСНАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ МИГРАЦИОННЫЕ СЕТИ. ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЕ МЕЖДУ ДВУМЯ СОЦИАЛЬНЫМИ И КУЛЬТУРНЫМИ МИРАМИ: АДАПТАЦИЯ В ПРИНИМАЮЩЕМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ И ПОДДЕРЖАНИЕ ПРЕДЫДУЩИХ СВЯЗЕЙ

Пшегорская Н.А. (Российская Федерация)

*Пшегорская Наталья Александровна - бакалавр социологии, магистрант,
программа: европейские исследования,
Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет, г. Санкт-Петербург*

Аннотация: *в этой статье анализируются отличительные черты транснациональной миграции и ее участников, использующие предысторию и основные аргументы теории социальной сети. Автор рассматривает пути сохранения идентичности мигрантов, различия этой категории мигрантов от других и способы адаптации в стране прибытия. На примере Германии в статье рассматривается государственная политика, касающаяся интеграции транснациональных мигрантов в новое общество, и обсуждается вопрос о полной интеграции таких мигрантов.*

Ключевые слова: *транснациональная миграция, теория социальных сетей, идентификация, интеграция, диаспора.*

Introduction

Since E. G. Ravenshtein formulated his "migration laws" (1885) the structure and essence of a migration process has changed incredibly. Network interactions between migrants, their families, friends, members of the host society etc. are increasingly moving beyond the particular boundaries of states and cultures, they are becoming more dynamic. These interactions are going on beyond specific spaces and time limits. Maintenance close ties between people who left to another country and those who stayed at home forms special communities (transnational organism).

To begin with, modern migrants are defined as "transmigrants" because they develop and support family, social, economic, political, organizational and religious relations that extend beyond state borders. Their economic interests exist both in the country of their current residence and at home. According to more widespread theories of transnationalism, modern territorial national states are considered as social "home" and "host" spaces. Transnationalism refers to the diffusion and extension of social, political, economic processes in between and beyond the sovereign jurisdictional boundaries of nation-states.

The earliest backgrounds of this theory originated in Europe in 1990 than Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Szanton Blanc organized a conference on transnationalism. Glick Schiller is prepared to view that the earlier era's immigrants (late nineteenth - early twentieth century's) as having broken off all homeland social relations and cultural ties, and thereby locating themselves solely within the socio-cultural, economic, and political orbit of the receiving society. She identified transmigrants as people, whose life depends on contacts in host and home country as well. [1, p.48-63]

Moreover, the refinement of the term was made by Alejandro Portes, who summarized the factors, which shape the choices individuals make. These factors consist of forces contributing to a migration process, the extent to which "homeland" challenges remain important for immigrants and the role of hostility of a new society. These factors are not new to today's immigrants; rather they can be and indeed have been employed to explain the differing models of adaptation and acculturation among earlier immigrant groups. What is new is the

role some homeland governments are playing in attempting to encourage ongoing connections with their expatriate communities. [2, p.649-577]

What is the core concepts which could explain impossibility of full integration of migrants into society and in what extend is still possible to solve the problem of social disintegration?

The main argument of my paper as follows: transnational migrants can't be fully integrated to the host society as far as they consider themselves as parts of the country of origin. Different measures which could be implemented towards integration are able to reduce the level of frustration among them and increase at some points their social adaptation and social interaction with institutions, organizations and people in the host country, But these measures can not eliminate status, cultural, social differences between migrants and local citizens and diminish the prevalence of established cultural norms and patterns of behavior.

2. Migrants: social contacts and ways of interaction.

2.1 Social network theory

According to comparative sociological survey, which was carrying out from 2010 to 2013 among transnational labor migrants in Athens, there are 2 types of migrants. First type is consists of migrants, who had been living abroad for a long time and had a desire to come back to their homeland (repatriates). Another type of migrants is temporal ones from the Near East and Africa. In general, they are working as chambermaids, waiters, sellers, builders etc. A huge part of these people are trying to keeping touch with the local population and spending free time actively and not isolated. [3] This phenomena could be explain by using theory of social networks.

It is clear from these observations that the theory of social networks treats networks as sets of links connecting migrants, long-time migrants and non-migrants in the country of origin and receiving countries through family ties, friendships, etc. Networks form a kind of social capital by which people reduce costs and risks of migration, and the expected profits from migration are increasing. The networks create useful resources for migrants, they help migrants to find a new job, place for living, make new contacts etc. This theory interprets international migration as an individual or family process of making decisions. It proves that, at first, migration is extending for some times till the moment, when all people, who want to immigrate to another country, are involved in this process.

Social networks are characterized by some features. These features are: 1) blurring frames of social network; 2) personificated connections within the networks; 3) conduction of structure and social connections between the elements of the network throughout economical features; 4) a significant role of confidence for a network functioning; 5) a capability to interexchange different resources between network members; 6) material and intangible benefit are the focus points of network members; 7) conditionality of social capital conversion by involvement in the social network.[4]

M. Paldam emphasized another significant aspect of social capital and its network dimension, he called social capital glue, which allows people to mobilize additional resources basing on the people's trust. A. Portes noticed that: "Social capital is the ability of individuals to dispose of limited resources on the basis of their membership in a particular social network or a broader social structure". Social network as a source of social capital, which occurred through the strong and weak social links. Social capital consists of interactions inside the network and it doesn't describe individual features.

One of the examples of transnational migrants flows is the seasonal migration of Polish workers to Germany. The prevalence of Polish - German migration might be explained by the fact that such migration has been regulated since 1990, when the German and Polish governments signed a bilateral agreement allowing Polish citizens to engage in legal seasonal employment for 3 months in specific sectors of the German economy, mostly in agriculture. Polish-German migration is the most prominent intra-European migration flow in absolute scale.[5]

Transnational migrants are trying to keep in touch with their families, relatives, friends etc. For example, many elderly people in England who kept their identity and links with India, Pakistan and Bangladesh didn't want to come back to homelands. In contrary, people from Caribbean Islands, who hadn't so close relationships with friends and families and were suffering from the lack of maintenance wanted to return back as soon as they can. [6, p. 761-774] According to broad understanding of transnationalism (H. Itzigson) permanent movement is not a mandatory component of migration process. More over these migrants could never go to their homelands or do it rarely. Here we could observe a barrier between transnational migrants and once-in-and-for-a-lifetime migrants.

2.2 Diaspora as an institution for the maintenance and development of identity

In addition, to clarify this difference we should mention such institute as a diaspora. This is the best example of preserving identity and cultural ties in the migrants' environment. Diaspora consists of people, who are living abroad for a long time, even next generations of migrants. But some of them have strong ties with relatives and friends in homeland, they transfer money and provide them with emotional support. "A diaspora can be identified as a social collectivity that exists across state borders and has succeeded over time to: (i) sustain a collective national, cultural or religious identity through a sense of internal cohesion and sustained ties with a

real or imagined homeland, and (ii) display an ability to the collective interests of members of the social collective through a developed internal organizational framework and transnational links". [7, p. 333-356] The massive scale of contemporary international migration leads some commentators to proclaim an Age of Diaspora. If the 217 million people currently classified as international migrants moved to an unoccupied country, they would make up the fifth largest country on earth.

Almost every diaspora involves the idea of return. Sometimes return is literal and physical, as in the case of the Zionist movement or the relocation of African-origin people from the Americas. More often, the desire to return is heightened by the knowledge of its impossibility; in these cases it can assume potent political, cultural, and spiritual dimensions. The great majority of African-descended people in the Americas, for example, could never hope to move literally to Africa — but this very fact helps explain the efflorescence of Back-to-Africa movements. One should note here that diaspora, in general, is an institute of supporting cultural identity of people, who belong not only to a first generation of migrants. Diaspora includes few generations of ones and has an impact (political, economic, cultural etc) on the life of the country. For example, political influence of the Islamic Diaspora in Germany is so strong that it could make decisions about construction of a new mosque in the historical center of Cologne. It is clear that migrants, who have been living abroad for so long need a country-wide mechanism of an influence and self-expression.

3. Transnational migrants and host society

3.1 The ways of migrants' adaptation: assimilation, ethnic pluralism, transnational field

Therefore, we should define what mechanisms and processes determined the concept of immigration in the classical literature. What kind of social reality had migrants in the past.

First and foremost, the idea of immigrants assimilation dominated in the sociological thought of previous century. The word assimilation defies a simple and generally accepted definition. In classical sociology it is intended to mean a progressive change from a more diverse to a less diverse behaviour. A more recent definition defines assimilation as the "attenuation of distinctions based on ethnic origin". [8] A most recent development in the analysis is the "segmented assimilation" paradigm developed by Portes and Zou (1993). In this view, migrants assimilate in different strata of the host society. Accordingly, upward mobility can either be the outcome of individual social promotion or alternatively result from the action of self-supporting communities and networks which boost the influence of the disadvantaged groups. [9, p. 74-96]

Secondly, another form of adaptation, according to classical literature, is ethnic pluralism. Pluralism theory is a well-known as a theoretical tradition used to analyze political actions in modern democratic states. This theory is mainly based upon a perspective that citizens are involved in political arenas through different interest groups and that political power should be dispersed to secure its own legitimate interests and none of these groups will dominate the system. [10, p.734-747] This theory addresses and acknowledges the reality of diversity between different groups in the political contexts. Thus it gives some space for group participation, based on their interests.

Concepts of assimilation and ethnic adaptation explain not all ways of migrants' adaptation so far. They don't take into account an influence of transnational activity. The term "transnational field" lets us understand and describe current world tendencies and identify the most essential distinction between transnational migrants and "lifetime" migrants. Technical innovations, new types of vehicles have made communication faster, easier and cheaper.

From one hand, host societies are not ready for the large-scale multicultural migration flows. From other hand transnational migrants uphold the right to remain unique and not to assimilate with local citizens. For example, some migrants are voting for the right to get education on their native language.

3.2 Transnational identification

Today there are several models of transnational identification, which lead to overcoming interethnic conflicts. American expert R.B. Holl suggests a concept, implemented at the collective level, where inclusion predominant over exclusion (wholly inclusive). This concept establishes that some common

S.V. Akopov proposes a model of transnational identification at the micro level through the internalization of individuals by loyalty to different macro-political communities. On the micro level different individuals have different identification with macro-political communities, so together they form one common shared loyalty to external states and communities. In a such society one person links his loyalties with USA and Russia, another one with France and USA etc. If society has a lot of these subjects and the link of cultural and political identifications is so strong, it would be very difficult to spread hatred of "stranger" and xenophobia there. [11, p. 166-167]

In contrary, S. Huntington and some other scientists doubt that person, who maintain relationships with family and friends in his homeland, can become a member of a new society and brings some benefits. Despite of this fact that many transnational migrants want to return home after some time or still keep in touch with their relatives, government implements some integrative measures to them.

4. Political measures of migrants' integration in Germany

From the 70-s Germany has been implemented measures for migrants' integration. Integration of migrants is not an automatic action and claims of governmental support. When a migrant just has arrived the distance between him and a host society is really small, but it could become wider in terms of unsuccessful adaptation. If migrants try to preserve their identities, it means that structural distance between them and the host society was not eliminated.

According to the OECD data, Germany is the second country in the ranking which is preferred by migrants from all over the world, that's why this case is rather relevant for the migrant researches and observations.[12] In Germany the "core" of the population doesn't link with the emotional and ideological concept of the nation any more. In the understanding of the nation-forming group the main feature is competitiveness and success of people. This is one of the reasons why Germany is so popular among foreign citizens. Migrants are choosing Germany because of other reasons as well: the economic growth, possibility of employment, social security, migrant policy etc.

In what extent would we implement the concept of transnational migrants networks? As it was said earlier, these kind of networks help migrants to survive in the new environment and not feel frustration in alien living conditions. The so-called "comfort zone" keeps their previous style of life, cultural patterns and preserve identity, they don't see the reasons for rejecting the old way of life and their culture. It explains why so many of integrative measures are not working as they supposed to work. But it can't be said that all measures applied are invalid, otherwise Germany would be in a huge social crisis regarding to the number of migrants right now.

To provide people with an access to different recourses and to give them an opportunity for self-development and adaptation, government establishes methods and approaches for the migrants' integration.

1. Integration courses (information about culture, federal government, some basic rules and laws, language courses etc.)

2. Integration projects implemented by BAMF (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) and government itself. Recently, integration projects at the local level aimed to include migrants into social and political life of the country. Organizations dealing with migrant issues receive financial support from the EU budget, national budget and other funds and organizations. [13] Back in 2002, the German government established the "European-Islamic Dialogue", the aim of which was to establish mutual understanding between Europe and the Islamic world. Among the events carried out there are media seminars and courses for professional development, a student exchange program for "Cross Culture Praktika". [14, p. 108-109]

3. The network of institutions dealing with migration issues. At the local level, Germany has a wide network of institutions and organizations dealing with integration issues: councils for foreigners, integration councils, and municipal and land commissioners for integration. The development of councils of decisions is carried out through consultations with local organizations of migrants. The councils, elected by the migrants themselves, participate in the discussion of all the key aspects of the local integration policy.

4. Legal basis for cultural, social, economic and political integration (Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet. 30.07.2004., Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet. 30.10.2017, Asylgesetz, 11.03.2016 etc.)

I would like to emphasize that we should define refugees and transnational migrants, according to their goals of arriving to another country, law status, possibility to return back, preservation of previous contacts. Measures which are implemented for refugees are more institutional and have mandatory nature. But in general these two groups of migrants overlap in the context of adaptation and integration into a new society.

5. Conclusion

To draw the conclusion one can say that in 2015 the number of international migrants worldwide—people residing in a country other than their country of birth—reached 244 million. That year, migrants sent more than \$582 billion home to support their families. ¹These people, be they low-skilled labor migrants or highly skilled professionals, often belong to transnational families. Attitude to these people is different from country to country, but the process of transnational migration couldn't be stopped. In the circumstances of nowadays reality migrants and also governments of host countries are facing with a lot of new challenges, but they are trying to exist without contradicting each other.

Sometimes migrants do not feel necessary to be integrated, but this is only the first impression. Some of them keep in touch with families and friends in homelands and perceive Germany, for example, as a place of temporary residence. Nevertheless, one should accept that in terms of proper adaptation policy borders between local citizens and migrants could become almost invisible (or acceptable). I would say that this country tries to implement the policy as much integrative measures as possible, as far as migrations flows have been increasing.

¹ The World Bank. Migrant remittances to developing countries edge up in 2015, despite weak global conditions. Available at <<http://blogs.worldbank.org/peoplemove/migrant-remittances-developing-countries-edge-2015-despite-weak-global-conditions>> [25.06.2018]

The data for the year 2015 show that, within the framework of intercultural communication, a number of problems had raised between migrants and the host community. Moreover, their spectrum is quite extensive: from indignation about religious or other intolerance (often unreasonable) to criminal actions and power collisions involving various spheres of life. Currently, the main problem of intercultural communication in Germany is the escalation of crime in the migrant environment and public outcry in this regard. Anyway the rate of crime is on the lowest among other countries, which explains effectiveness of measures applied.²

Germany is the most interesting case in the focus of current migration situation. But transnational migrants have existed even before refugee crisis had started, because they differ from refugees, people who were forced to move according wars, cataclysms and political crisis. German shows high level of economic growth, which is accelerated by a new workforce, which helps country to reinforce its position on the world arena. And in other aspects, this country is rather attractive for migrants too(вставить ссылку на таблицу, где Германия лидирует по благополучию) . These external indicators allow us to consider situation in Germany is more or less stable and controlled, even if the total social balance is impossible.

To sum up, Germany is implementing a lot of measures and some of them have helped. But the most important thing is these migrants are still keeping idea of returning, that's why they can't be totally integrated to the host society. It differs them from other migrants and refugees.

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