

Transnationalism and Migration: New Challenges for the Social Sciences and Education

Published in: Luchtenberg, Sigrid, 2004: Migration, Education and Change. London/New York: Routledge

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When the results of the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) survey were published in 2000, German politicians and the general public were deeply shocked. Among the 43 OECD countries surveyed, Germany, the ‘land of poets and thinkers’, had placed in the bottom third with regard to reading, mathematics and other skills.¹ Besides other structural factors – some of which will be mentioned later – migrants’ language capabilities became the focus of a public debate that attempted to justify the low average results attained by 15-year-old German pupils. But it would be an over simplification not to recognize that migrants’ language skills, and those of their children, are related to their pattern of incorporation in their ‘host society.’ Many scholars have argued that socio-cultural integration, in terms of language skills and educational attainment, is a prerequisite for successful economic or ‘structural’ integration. However, one could also argue that economic integration facilitates language learning and the acquisition or upgrading of other skills. Educational attainment, for instance, correlates strongly with marriage and reproduction patterns, as well as with labour market positioning. After introducing a typology of migrant incorporation patterns and suggesting how they could influence educational attainment, closer attention will be given to transnationalism as an increasingly significant addition to other well-established incorporation patterns and forms of internationalisation.

Obviously there is a complex interplay between migrants’ educational attainment, their overall assimilation, integration or incorporation dynamics and the ‘politics of belonging’ in the host and sending countries. Given these complex and dynamic interrelations, some debates seem to be caught up in a ‘chicken-or-the-egg’ mode of argumentation. On one level, for instance, the economic and educational incorporation dynamics of migrants are interrelated. But on another level, the overall incorporation dynamics of migrants also vary according to their status and position in and ‘between’ their corresponding countries of origin and destination. For instance, if Turkish migrants in Germany or Mexican migrants in the United States perceive themselves (and are perceived by others) as temporary or transitory workers who will return to their countries of origin within a few years, the integration strategies of the migrants themselves and those of the

¹ The results are documented under <http://www.pisa.oecd.org/>, 31. May 2003, where the results of the 2003 study are presented also. I wish to thank Jennifer Elrick for critical reading and suggestions.

corresponding societies will be limited. In comparison, those who designate themselves or are designated as immigrants will normally develop long-term strategies of assimilation and/or integration.

In general, it is possible to distinguish amongst four ideal types of migrants according to their specific relationships to their regions of origin and of destination and the timeline along which migration takes place (see Table 1 and Pries 2001). The emigrant/immigrant ideal type is exemplified by the millions of Europeans who left their countries for the United States at the turn of the 20th century. In search of better economic and socio-cultural conditions, they integrated themselves into life there, adopting the United States as their new homeland. They maintained manifold ties to their regions of origin, the social and geographic space in which their ancestors were rooted, but were aware that these ties were increasingly of a nostalgic nature and relatively removed from their new everyday lives. In contrast to this, the ideal-typical return migrant is exemplified by the European guest-workers of the 1960s and 1970s and a large number of Mexican migrants in the United States. Their duration of stay is short, limited to a period of a few years in which they try to earn a sufficient amount of money to invest in personal undertakings (like establishing a business) in their region of origin. Thus, for return migrants, the region of destination is just a ‘host country’ in which they have no problems with maintaining social differences.

Table 1: Four ideal types of international migrants

	Relationship to region of origin	Relationship to region of destination	Main impulse for moving	Timeline for migration
Emigrant/ Immigrant	roots/ ancestry/ permanent departure	integration / new homeland	economic / socio-cultural	long-term / unlimited
Return migrant	continuous point of reference	maintenance of difference/ „host country“	economic / political	short-term / limited
Diaspora migrant	(at least symbolic) reference to the “homeland”	maintenance of difference / space of suffering or of mission	religious / political / organizational	medium-term / limited
Trans-migrant	ambiguous mixture	ambiguous mixture	economic / organizational	indeterminate / sequential

The ideal-typical Diaspora migrant is exemplified by the Jewish people and communities distributed throughout the world. Often driven to migrate for religious or political reasons, or by virtue of attachment to a particular organization (such as a diplomatic corps or a business organization), Diaspora migrants maintain strong symbolic ties to their region of origin, which is sometimes referred to as the ‘homeland’ or ‘promised land’. The region of

destination is experienced as a space in which the suffering caused by departure or expulsion must be endured, or in which a particular mission is to be carried out. Finally, ideal-typical transmigrants do not tend to distinguish in this way between region of origin and of arrival, but develop instead an ambiguous strategy of simultaneously striving for inclusion while maintaining differences. With the aid of modern communication and transportation technologies, transmigrants often move – physically and mentally – between countries and cultures. Decisions related to migration are taken in the medium term and in a sequential manner.

One important assumption underlying the following is that problems related to migrants' educational attainment and behaviour, and to their general incorporation patterns, have to be situated within a more general typology of internationalisation processes. It is important to recognize that, in the era of globalisation, social spaces of belonging and of inclusion and exclusion are becoming increasingly 'de-territorialized': multi-dimensional and pluri-local belonging to various groups that are bound to particular places or territories is an increasingly decisive feature of contemporary socialization. The link between migration and education will vary according to how one perceives the specific dynamics of internationalisation in which migration processes are embedded. The (often too global) globalization discourse has to be more closely differentiated, and transnationalism has to be taken into account as an important ideal type within a general typology of internationalisation patterns.

Migrants' educational attainment and incorporation: the need for a transnational perspective

Findings like those of the aforementioned PISA study invite discussion of migrants' educational attainment in the broader context of general patterns of assimilation, integration and incorporation.² Any discussion of the German situation must take into account at least three particular aspects of the German education system. First, in Germany children enter kindergarten relatively late, normally at the age of four or five years. Moreover, the integration of migrant children into the education system is incomplete: only about one-

² Due to the *ius sanguinis* principle, until 2000 migrants' children, even those born in Germany (perhaps already in the second generation!), normally were registered and counted as foreigners. The other way round, Spätaussiedler were registered as Germans, even if they (and their parents) were born e.g. in Russia. The methodological problems of treating and counting 'foreigners' and migrants in Germany can not be extended here.

quarter of all migrants' children attend kindergarten (Esser 2000, p. 50), while almost all children of German natives do. While in other countries, like France, a secular public pre-school system begins compensating for language and basic value differences at the age of three or four years, in Germany many children from migrant households have their first intensive encounter with the majority population at the age of six or seven, when they enter primary school (Hettlage 1999). The lack of language acquisition (both the native and German languages) and subsequent difficulties in coming to terms with German as the language of public discourse are the major results of these pre- and primary-school deficits (Weidacher 2000; EC-Report 2001).

A second particularity of the German education system is the segmentation of secondary schooling into three different streams (Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium), and the practice of assigning pupils to a particular stream at the very early age of ten years. Movement between the various streams after the initial placement is made difficult by various institutional barriers. The deficits in language and other relevant skills that the children of migrants acquire in the primary phase of schooling are cemented and accentuated at the secondary level, as most are relegated to the lowest stream (Hauptschule), where often the majority of pupils comes from migrant households. Riphahn (2001) and Hunger&Tränhardt (2001) have shown that the average education level of second-generation migrants is significantly below that of Germans of the same age. Whether or not the relative educational disadvantages of migrants' children have declined in recent decades is still the subject of debate. In 1970 only 3.7% of all Germans had a higher level of secondary education; in 1996 the share rose to 14.9%, nearly four times as many as in 1970. During the same period the group of migrants increased its level of secondary education attainment only threefold, from 1.8% to 5.5% (Kalter&Granato 2001, p.19). Based on GSOEP data and controlling the overall migrant population for immigration cohorts, Frick&Wagner (2001, p.309) found that after parents had lived for a period of 20 years in Germany their children had the same chances of being assigned to the higher secondary stream as their native counterparts.

A third characteristic of the German education system, and one that factors significantly into any discussion of the relationship between education and employment opportunities – is its strong vocational training system. As good training opportunities in this apprenticeship system depend on the trainee having a qualified school degree, the disadvantages acquired by children of migrant households during the pre- and primary school years become even more tangible. Bender & Seifert (1996) found that only half of all 'foreigners' aged 20 to 30 acquire a diploma (vocational or academic), as compared to more

than three-quarters of their German counterparts. Seifert (2000) showed that 29% of all migrants leave the education system without any valid diploma whatsoever. Concerning the attendance of Gymnasium (the completion of which is the prerequisite for admission to university), Frick & Wagner (2001) noted that only one out of five children born to migrants, compared to one-third of native Germans and one-quarter of children born to migrants with German citizenship, are allotted to this stream.

Comparative studies have reflected on the above-mentioned hindrances to migrants' educational incorporation in Germany as they relate to more general theories and concepts of migrant incorporation patterns. In one such study carried out by the European Commission (EC-Report 2001) the integration dynamics and patterns of CIM (children of international migrants) in France, Great Britain and Germany were analysed. The term 'integration' was subdivided into structural, cultural, social and 'identificational' integration, and the research sought to identify individual and institutional factors that could explain the outcome of migrants' integration dynamics. The report stated that the "national context systematically explains much more variance than individual variables" in all three countries (EC-Report 2001, p. 16). France was characterized as employing a universalistic and republican 'assimilation approach' of incorporation, which resulted in relatively strong cultural integration, to the detriment of structural integration, for example in the areas of training and employment. The United Kingdom was said to have an approach that recognizes and promotes the building of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural communities, and which encourages migrants to identify with Great Britain, but which failed to prevent the segmentation of training and employment along ethnic lines. As to Germany, the report offered the following judgement: "Germany has comparative strengths in training and employment of CIM, but weaknesses in legal and identificational integration. An ambiguous policy seems to have produced ambiguous results" (EC-Report 2001, p. 16f).

Based on ethnographical case studies in Berlin, London, Paris and Rotterdam, Schiffauer et al. (2002) studied the process of political incorporation of migrants as mediated by the school system. They underlined the specific function of school in the different societies, as well as the ideas and concepts that schooling conveys to students about their society. According to the authors, the French and British cases represent two ideal types of incorporation approaches, with France representing the idea of a homogenous Republican nation and Great Britain representing the liberal concept of a multi-ethnic, community-based society. Germany and the Netherlands were described as embodying mixtures of these concepts of incorporation. One significant conclusion to be drawn from these comparative

European studies on incorporation is that migrants' educational attainment and behaviour is profoundly linked to the overall integration strategies of the migrants themselves and of the host society. A second conclusion to be drawn is that there is neither a single best approach nor convergence towards a unique European model of incorporation.

Though decreasing in number, the variety of incorporation strategies and patterns seems to be becoming highly differentiated, – and transnationalism is one driving force behind this. The subjective and declared desire or intention to either return to the country of origin or stay indefinitely in the host country could be considered an important indicator of transnational life orientations and biographical projects, and thus useful for differentiating between immigrants, return migrants and transnational migrants. Generally speaking, the return to the (family's) country of origin constitutes a dominant theme in everyday migrant discourses, especially amongst Turkish migrants (Çağlar 1989). Wolbert (1997) analysed the symbolic character of the trope of return: according to him, it functions as *wild card* that is played, at least mentally, when migrants are confronted with experiences of exclusion. Hettlage (1999) found out that 60% of migrants surveyed were satisfied living in Germany, but that only 25% felt rooted in German society. Sackmann et. al. (2000) found that 47% of all migrants wished to stay in Germany, 20% were undecided, 17% wanted to return and 17% preferred commuting. Seifert (1998) analysed migrants' subjective self-positioning and noted that half of them wished to stay in Germany but lacked a sense of 'being German'. These results are interesting, as they convey the limits of possible incorporation and reflect the restrictive integration and naturalization policy in place in Germany. They also indicate that there is a considerable socio-cultural space in which transnational strategies of belonging can be developed. In sum, migrants in Germany are more-or-less satisfied with their way of life, but they do not feel that they are a part of an integrating and inclusive national project (as, for instance, in the case of France), nor do they perceive themselves as being integrated in an ethnic community that is recognized as being part of a project to build a multi-cultural society (as, for instance, in the case of Great Britain).

Perhaps the space for developing transnational strategies of identification and incorporation is opened up by these ambivalent experiences and feelings. Whereas identities normally are believed to rely on a binary classification scheme ('the self' and 'the other'), transnationalism entails a multi-faceted contradictory belonging. As two of the first scholars studying new transnational phenomena, Kearney & Nagengast (1989) pointed to new identity formations in pluri-local, as opposed to uni-directional, transnational migration. Kearney (1995) defined transnational belonging as more than just the combination of socio-cultural

elements of the countries of origin and of destination. According to him, transnational belonging refers to a condition “in which the subject shares partial, overlapping identities, with other similarly constituted decentred subjects that inhibit reticular social forms”(Kearney 1995, p.558).

Having touched on the significance of transnationalism for educational attainment and the incorporation strategies of migrants in general, the focus of this paper will now turn to illustrating the characteristics of transnationalism that set it apart from other forms of migration. Transnational migration clearly differs from immigration and return –migration, which are characterized by one-time moves between countries. It also differs from the Diaspora migration of political refugees, members of diplomatic corps or managerial expatriates, for whom the home country or ‘promised land’ remains the dominant point of reference during their limited stays ‘abroad’. Instead, transnational migration consists of frequent shifting across borders that is unconnected to seasonal job opportunities, but rather serves to span individual and household lives between places in different countries. The transmigrants’ corresponding sense of identity and socio-cultural positioning are characterized by ambiguity and multiple frames of reference, and their life strategies are based on pluri-local landscapes of transnational social spaces.³

Varieties of internationalisation: a typology for the 21st century

The container approach to viewing national societies as a coincidence of social and geographical space represents an important historical trend in the way social reality is perceived and conceptualised. The concept of ‘national container societies’ [%] as the most important units of reference and analysis, and the corresponding notion of inter-national migration as being a singular shift between such national container societies, are part of that tradition. At the beginning of the 21st century, the relationship between Space and the Social is being reconceived. The conditions, forms and outcomes of these new conceptions, as they relate to the geo-spatial reach and span of the Social, represent an important aspect of social change itself. Some scholars argue that the old (one-dimensional) frame of reference tied to national container societies should be replaced by another (one-dimensional) frame of reference that supposedly signifies the end of the nation-state paradigm and denies the significance of physical space in society: globalisation (see Urry 2001; Castells 1996 and

³ In such societies, the population and its processes of socialization are closely tied, in reciprocal exclusiveness, to a more- or-less clearly definable and known physical/geographic sphere. In other words, a defined space encompassing a geographic area (a ‘territory’ or ‘locale’) corresponds to one and only one socially compressed space (for example, a community or a national society). Conversely, every social space ‘occupied’ precisely one geographically specific space: physical and social space were embedded exclusively in each other. Because of the coincidence of social and geographic space, the well-known *container-concept* of space and of nation-state bound national societies was satisfactory and sufficient for treating the Social and the Space (Pries 2001).

1998). But it seems that the current experience of internationalization could better be understood by *combining* the various geographic frames of reference - the local, the regional, the national, the supra-national and the global – with basic units of social analysis like families/households, organisations and governance structures.

The term internationalization stands for two different forms of rearrangements of geographic-social spaces beyond, alongside and above the formerly dominant national society paradigm. On the one hand, the double exclusiveness of social and geographic space could be maintained, assuring the continuity of an absolutist combination of geography and social space. This could be accomplished as follows: (1) interconnections between the containers could be intensified (*inter-nationalisation*); (2) the containers themselves could be widened to include various (former) nation-states (*supra-nationalisation*); (3) one container could be reduced or divided into various new ones (*re-nationalisation*); or, (4) the national containers could be extended in their spatial/social scope to encompass the world as a whole (*globalisation*). On the other hand, the double exclusiveness of social and geographic space could be uncoupled, leading to a pluri-local combination of Space and the Social. This could lead to: (5) the global could be conceived as a combination of one place and local social spaces (*glocalisation*); (6) a combination of motherland as imagined nation and Diasporas as satellites (*Diaspora building*); or, (7) a framework of transnational local places building coherent social spaces (*trans-nationalisation*). In the following, these seven ideal types of ongoing processes of border shifting and border spanning will be sketched out (see Table 2).

Table 2: Seven figures of internationalisation

	Description	Geographic configuration	Example
Inter-nationalisation (bi- or multi-nationalisation)	Relations and interactions <i>between</i> nations / (perceived) predominance of the inter-national relations as based on nation-states and national container societies		Franco-German War 1870-71 / European Community for Coal and Steel 1951
Supra-nationalisation	Evolution of nation-state and national container society towards supra-national (but not totally global) units		EU-parliament Strasbourg / Individual-based international organisations
Re-nationalisation	Strengthening of existing territorial boundaries or division of formerly 'homogeneous' socio-geographical container spaces into various new social entities or spaces		Disintegration of the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia / Old and new protectionism in the USA or the EU
Globalisation	(Perceived) worldwide spanning and extension of international transactions, communications, social practices, symbols, events, risks and rights		Global risks related to nuclear energy and global warming / McDonald's franchising all over the world
Glocalisation	Interrelation between globalised, relatively de-localised phenomena and processes and the very localised concentration of causes and/or effects of the former		Local causes and effects of global warming / Bangalore, India
Diaspora Internationalisation	Shared social space spanning different geographical spaces and boundaries of civilizations, or nations integrated or constituted mainly by reference to a common 'motherland'		Jewish and other religious Diasporas / diplomatic corps / global companies
Transnationalisation	Pluri-local and trans-national social relations, networks and practices spanning above and 'between' the traditional container spaces of national societies		Transnational companies / Haitian transnational social spaces / Chinese Huanxi's

Comment: rectangles with N₁ etc. mean 'nation state 1' etc. ; triangles indicate (local) places.

The first ideal type of internationalisation is *inter-nationalisation*, in the form of bi- and multi-nationalisation. It refers to relations and interactions *between* nations, i.e. nation-states and national societies. Examples of such inter-nationalisation include: the Franco-German war (1870-71); the labour migration treaties and resulting movements between, for example, Italy and Germany (1955) or Turkey and Germany (1961); the Friendship Treaty of 1927 between Italy and Hungary; the founding of the European Community for Coal and Steel by France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries in 1951; and the work of the European Council of Ministers. The main characteristic of this type of inter-nationalisation is the predominance of nation-state activities and the perception of inter-national relations as being based on national container societies. The example of the Franco-German war indicates that this ideal type of inter-nationalisation is not limited to the activities of political leaders. On the contrary, it is always based on, reproduces or leads to mass activities, or at least it is perceived as doing so. Economic exchanges between important national trading companies, ideological national movements and mobilizations, as well as cross-border relations between national associations of artists or scientists could all be the basis or outcome of this type of inter-nationalisation. In any case, the point of reference is the interchange between spatially coherent, nationally bounded units of action. This type of increasingly significant inter-national contact and societal exchange developed historically in conjunction with the nation-building process itself. But its weighting in current internationalisation dynamics is obviously not diminishing. The ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan is a contemporary example of risky and highly dangerous inter-national relations.

The second type of internationalisation could be coined *supra-nationalisation*. It stands for the tendency to 'upgrade' nation-states or national container societies to supra-national – but not totally global – units. Some aspects of the European Community, such as the European Parliament in Strasbourg, could be considered an outcome of supra-nationalisation. In this case, the legitimate sovereignty for regulating and representing certain (but until now relatively unimportant) issues lies not with the nation-state but with a kind of 'supra-national state'. Supra-nationalisation creates supra-national units, which are more than the sum of national units. Supra-national units and actors have their own legal, financial and material basis and develop a new supra-national logic of their own, which goes beyond inter-national relations *between* national units. For example, international organisations (like trade unions or professional associations like the International Sociological Association) are organised on the basis of national delegations. They are inter-national organisations, but if they are organised (financially and in terms of voting systems, etc.) on the basis of individual membership and international structures, then they could also be considered supra-national organisations. The European Union could – but must not – become more and more of a supra-national unit. The process of passing a European directive for the compulsory national

development of laws regarding the construction of European workers' councils is an example of the complex mix of supra-nationalisation, maintenance of national sovereignty and transnationalisation occurring at the level of the European Union.

The third type of internationalisation could be coined *re-nationalisation* and refers to a certain kind of counter tendency to the aforementioned supra-nationalisation and globalisation processes. Re-nationalisation thus refers to: (1) a strengthening of existing national container boundaries; or, (2) to the process of dividing formerly more-or-less homogeneous socio-geographic container spaces into various new social entities or spaces claiming for their own geographic space and territories (regionalisation). In striving for autonomy, the Basques and Bretons are calling for new regional 'frontiers'; the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the former state of Yugoslavia led to a multiplicity of nationalisms and regional movements and, ultimately, to the formation of new political entities (or at least competences) at an intra-national level. The European Community's common agricultural policy and the USA's (newly and unilaterally declared) protective steel tariffs are examples of strong nation-states' emerging or ongoing process of 'social closure' (Max Weber) *against* globalisation and 'neo-liberalisation'. Nation-states have certainly not relinquished control over flows of goods and services: in many cases these have merely changed form (e.g. the conversion of tariff barriers into non-tariff barriers).

The fourth and oft-cited type of internationalisation is the *globalisation process* and its outcome, *globality*. The term refers, on the one hand, to the worldwide spanning and extension of international transactions, communications, social practices, symbols and impacts of some processes and events; on the other hand, it also refers to the worldwide perception and awareness of problems, risks, rights, tendencies and incidents. As Giddens (1990) stated: "Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1990, p. 64). Obviously there are a lot of real tendencies, like nuclear risks and global warming, which have some specific local, national or inter-national origins, but which carry consequences from which no country or individual on the planet can escape completely. People and countries with a lot of economic power, knowledge and other resources will be better able to respond to such global challenges, but they will also definitely be affected by them. Therefore, globalisation refers to (at least partially and in the long run) worldwide and omnipresent phenomena. With respect to the relation between geographic and social space, globalisation is often conceptualised either as the geographic *widening* of social relations and spaces (as indicated in the above-cited

words of Anthony Giddens) or as the annihilation of space and the “*compression* of our spatial and temporal worlds” (David Harvey).⁴

The aforementioned ideal types of internationalisation have in common that the double exclusiveness of geographic and social space is not questioned or uncoupled substantially but rather reinforced and spatially reduced or widened. Even in the globalisation approach geographic space is thought of as a coherent mono-place.⁵ In this context, some scholars argue that as the spatial broadening of the Social reaches the frontiers of the globe as a whole the spatial dimension of the Social is losing its general significance. For them, in ‘cyberspace’ geographical space as physical place loses its significance and everything dissolves in a borderless ‘space of flows’ (Urry 2001). In contrast to approaches based on one coherent *geographic* space, the following three ideal types are based on the concept of one *social* space that spans transnationally several places. Whereas in the aforementioned concepts internationalisation is thought of as an intensifying of relations between geographic container spaces and a widening or reducing of these, in the following, internationalisation consists of coherent social spaces covering multi-layered geographic spaces.⁶

The fifth type of internationalisation is a product of critics of the globalisation concept. Whereas the globalisation discourse has emphasised the disappearance or annihilation of geographical space, the ‘de-territorialisation’ of the Social or the ‘recession of the constraints of geography’ (Waters 1995), the term *glocalisation* (Robertson 1994) focuses on the dialectics between globalisation and localisation. Global tendencies and processes are related to and interconnected with local concentrations of power, technology, knowledge, money and other resources and occurrences. Also, the tendency to sweep away borders goes hand in hand with the drawing of new borders. To perceive globalisation as a process aimed solely at increasingly *reducing* the significance of geographic space and boundaries is to ignore the mounting efforts to establish new mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion at various territorial levels or to deny the very locally tangible effects of globalisation processes. For instance,

⁴ Malcolm Waters, referring to the work of Roland Robertson, stresses the latter aspect: “We can therefore define globalization as: A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (Waters 1995, p. 3).

⁵ This is also the general spatial connotation of the term civilization as stated, for example, by Braudel: “Civilizations, vast or otherwise, can always be located on a map. An essential part of their character depends on the constraints or advantages of their geographical situation” (Braudel 1993, p.10).

⁶ Referring to cultural practices spanning the geographic terrains of ‘civilisations’ Lewis & Wigen distinguish between four space-spanning cultural practices which are useful for our consideration of ideal-typical internationalisation patterns: (1) the ‘middle ground’ as a type of ‘contested terrain’ where no cultural hegemony has been established, “a temporary, fragile, and essentially abstract cultural space. (...) where cultures continue to negotiate on unevenly shared terrain” (p. 151) where Diasporas serve as important ties which facilitate economic and cultural exchange; (2) the Diaspora constituted by “maintaining a common identity over daunting distances, such transnational communities served as important conduits for cross-cultural trade” (p. 152; see also Cohen 1997); (3) archipelagos as “enclaves’ of a given culture group [like] the millions of Arabic-speaking Christians scattered through the Middle East or Mandarin-speaking Muslims in the heart of China” (p. 153); and (4) the cultural matrix type of boundary-crossing, akin to cultural syncretism, hybridity or a patchwork identity. Thus, “in a matrix model, identity is a matter of one’s position in a multidimensional lattice” (p. 152).

global warming has at once dramatic local effects as well as quite specific local and territorially bounded origins (such as the energy consumption patterns of some OECD countries). The same is true for the global diffusion of fashions and nutrition habits and the corresponding dissolution of local economies and increase in so-called diseases of civilisation. On the other hand, the expansion of local software economies like Bangalore in India has to do with the emergence of a relatively globalised market for special software services. In sum, glocalisation as a special type of internationalisation consists of the interrelation between globalised, more-or-less de-localised phenomena and processes, on the one hand, and the very localised concentration of preconditions and/or effects of the former, on the other. The focus of glocalisation is on the twofold geographic spaces of 'the global' and 'the local' that provide the territorial scenery for relevant social spaces and mechanisms.

The sixth model describing spatial borders spanning coherent social frameworks is the *Diaspora*. Even if the term is used in many different ways, the common factor to be stressed here is the existence of a shared social space that encompasses different geographic spaces and boundaries of civilizations or nations. The common social space is integrated or constituted mainly with reference to a common 'homeland'. The most important historical example of a Diasporic social space is the Jewish experience of dispersion and persecution in many places and nations, whereby the reference to and imagination of a common homeland is the nexus. In a more general sense, the social spaces created by diplomatic corps or international business organizations could also be considered Diasporas insofar as people in the 'peripheries' (embassies, settlements etc.), driven by religious, political or economic reasons, maintain strong loyalty to the sending centre (homeland, headquarters etc.). Steven Vertovec distinguishes between three different meanings of the term Diaspora (as a social form, as a type of consciousness and as a mode of cultural production), and he defines Diasporas as "practically any population which is considered 'de-territorialized' or 'transnational' – that is, whose cultural origins are said to have arisen in a land other than that in which they currently reside, and whose social, economic and political networks cross borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe" (2000, p. 141). This is a very broad concept of Diaspora. As mentioned above, the concept of the 'de-territorialisation' of the Social is very questionable. Of course it is very interesting and important to distinguish among different notions of Diasporas according to the quality of the corresponding social spaces themselves. However, the intention here is to differentiate between ideal types of internationalisation according to their specific combinations of social spaces and geographic places. It is thus useful to differentiate between globalisation, glocalisation, Diasporic internationalisation and transnationalisation.

Finally, the seventh type of internationalisation to be addressed here is *transnationalisation*. This term refers to the growing quantitative and qualitative importance of pluri-local and trans-national social relations, networks and practices. Transnationalisation

denotes the emergence of new trans- and pluri-local configurations which encompass and span traditional container spaces, and which are comprised of concentric circles of local, regional, national, supra-national and global phenomena. Transnationalisation is based on a relational socio-geographic space and not on a container space with its double and exclusive embeddedness of social space and geographic space. *Transnational social spaces* can be understood as pluri-local frames of reference which structure everyday practices, social positions, biographical employment projects and human identities, and which simultaneously exist above and beyond the social contexts of national societies. Transnationalisation as a *process* could lead to more-or-less explicit transnational *orders*, such as: (1) habitual and accountable *patterns* of action and behaviour; (2) new transnational values, norms and *rules*; and (3) complex frameworks of regulation and institutions.

The emerging significance of transnational migration

This careful delineation of specific types of internationalisation is intended to help provide a better understanding of forms international migration as well. In the context of the old 'national container society' paradigm, international migration was mainly perceived, not as a relatively normal and enduring way of life, but as an exceptional crossing from one place or 'nation container' to another at a specific and limited moment in time. As industrial capitalism developed and nation-states emerged, migration mainly took place within nation-states and took the form of uni-directional movement from the countryside into the growing cities. Cities were seen as the culmination of civilization and progress (Durkheim, 1988; Cohen, 1996). Many scholars have maintained that internal and international migration, defined as the movement of people between geographic (and, thus, automatically social) spaces, would - if it did not stop entirely - cease to be a force behind change and challenge in modern, 'established' societies and in a global order based on nation-states. In any case, it was assumed that the nomadic way of life, in which movement between places itself represented a *form of social being*, and not only a geographical shift between two *places of social being*, would disappear (Simmel, 1903).

At the beginning of the 21st century, less than one percent of the world's population lives under nomadic conditions, i.e. without a fixed place of residence. Less than ten percent of the world's population does not live in their countries of birth or citizenship. This could lead to the conclusion that international migration is a transitory phenomenon that accompanies the development of modern, territorially fixed states and societies. However, the economic, cultural, political and social aspects of globalisation, and the related spread of new communication technologies (the unrestricted availability of telephone services, music and

video cassettes, fax and Internet), awareness of marked international differences in risks and opportunities in life, and strong political, ethnic, economic conflicts between and within nation states seem to have changed this view fundamentally. A new "age of migration" (Castles & Miller, 1993) and "world in motion" (Massey et al., 1998) are said to have emerged, whereby not only the quantity, but also the quality of international migration is changing. The social sciences are faced with the challenge of developing a conceptual framework with which to analyse and understand new forms of international migration that cannot be adequately understood using the established concepts of immigration, return migration and Diaspora migration.

Recent innovative approaches in international migration theory, like the concepts of migration networks, cumulative causation and migration systems (Portes, 1995; Massey et al., 1998; Zolberg & Smith, 1996) can aid in understanding and explaining the quantity and 'perpetuation' of traditional forms of international migration, as well as the quality of new forms of migration like recurrent or repeat migration. But as far as the underlying notion of the social and the spatial is concerned, migration is often perceived in the traditional way as a demarcated and exceptional shift of residence from one socio-geographic container space to another. One could label this international migration *container hopping* to denote a *shifting between places* in different 'national society containers' in search of a new way of life. The predominant question in this line of study is: Why do people migrate and how do they adapt?

In contrast to this, transmigration can be conceptualised as a way of living in a transnational and pluri-local social space, characterized by movement between different geographic spaces. Transmigration is a transitory way of life lived between places in different national society containers. This commuting must not always take the form of frequent and continuous physical shifting, but could to a considerable extent consist of commuting, multiple identities and pluri-local concepts of life and biographies. According to William I. Thomas, the perception, interpretation and communication of social reality forms an inseparable part of the Social itself: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their social consequences."⁷ A guest-worker who perceives himself as a return migrant will probably act like a return migrant (i.e. not focus on social, political and cultural integration in the 'host country,' but save money and build a nice house in his 'homeland') even if he does not actually physically return except for holidays and family events.

In sum, mental and physical crossings of national society boundaries are two mutually reinforcing elements in a transmigrant's life. The main question to be addressed is: Why do people not stop migrating and how do they create new social worlds of living that span

⁷ Thomas & Thomas, 1928; cited in Thomas, William I, 1965: Person und Sozialverhalten (hg. von Edmund H. Volkart). Berlin: Luchterhand (American Original 1951), p. 114.

different places and nation states? Transmigration is a new ideal type of international migration that integrates different theoretical approaches (Pries, 2001). Compared to immigration, return migration and Diaspora migration, the crossing of nation state boundaries changes its character: it is neither the one- or two-time movement between different places (that characterizes immigrants, long-term return migrants or Diaspora migrants), nor the frequent boundary crossing of daily or weekly commuters or recurrent seasonal or short-term migrants (that characterizes short-term return migrants). Transmigration as a new **ideal type** of migration that describes a modern variant of the nomadic way of life, where the crossing of boundaries and shifting between different places is not the exception in an otherwise settled life in one place, but becomes a basic way of life, of organizing life trajectories and constructing biographies (see Table 1 above).

Transmigration is structured by and at the same time structures *transnational social spaces* as compacted, condensed and institutionalized frameworks of social practices, artefacts and symbolic representations. It spans pluri-locally over different places in more than one nation-state and is stable over time (Pries, 1999). Insofar as these new social spaces span different geographic spaces, the traditional assumption of a coincidence and mutual embeddedness of the Social and the Spatial is no longer valid. The vast majority of social life is structured in uni-local places where the scope of the Social coincides with the spread of the Spatial. Therefore, the classic ideal types of migration (immigration, return migration and Diaspora migration) are not disappearing; rather, the new ideal type of transmigration is replenishing them. This lends some importance to the study of transmigration, even if its significance in quantitative terms is low and hard to measure: like yeast or baking powder, even small quantities of transmigrants could alter the overall dynamics of migration in general.

The transnationalism and transnational migration concepts have already been applied to research in different international contexts. Concerning the notion of transnationalism and transnational migration, Basch et al. (1997) presented conceptual considerations and empirical findings for the Caribbean and Haitian situation and the corresponding social relations with the USA. Ong and Nonini (1997) have focused on Chinese transnationalism in its different aspects. Kearney and Nagengast (1989), Smith (1995 and 1997), Goldring (1996, 1997 and 2001) and Portes (1996) have analysed aspects of transnational migration between Mexico and the United States from an essentially anthropological perspective. Based on the data set of nineteen Mexican communities in the *Mexican Migration Project*, Massey et al. (1994) stressed the time and community factors that stabilize transnational migration flows. These findings explain the dynamics, self perpetuation and cumulative causation circles of transnational migration streams at a community and country level.

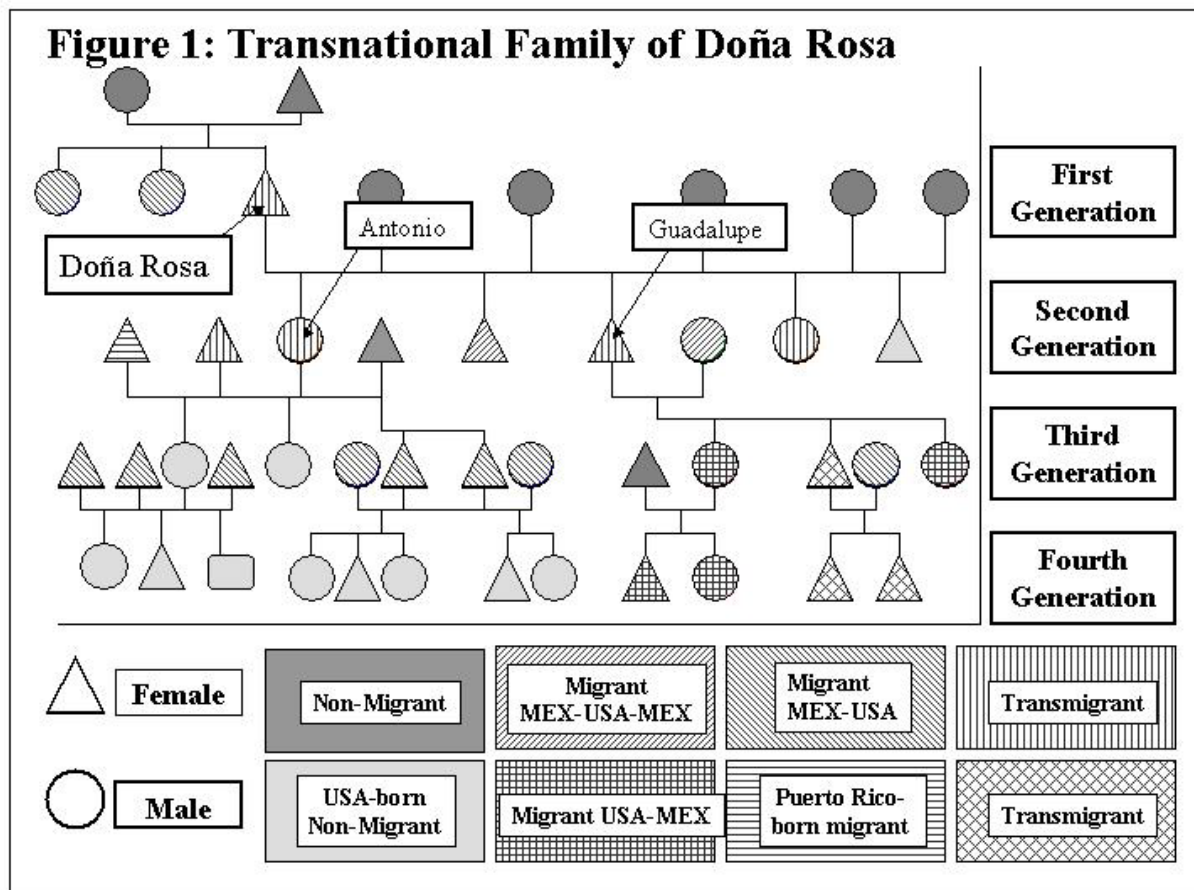
The results of interviews made during a life-history oriented survey of about 800 Mexican migrants, who had been to the Metropolitan area of New York City at least once, allow a classification into the four categories of migrants mentioned earlier (Pries et al. 1998). One group of Mexicans surveyed had already stayed for a longer period in the USA and had settled permanently in the Metropolitan Area of New York City: they can be labelled immigrants. Another group of those interviewed had stayed in Mexico for a longer period and said that they did not wish to cross the border to the USA again for work: they come close to the ideal type of return migrants. A third group of persons (about one-quarter to one-sixth of the those interviewed) had undertaken a higher number of trips between the two countries. But these movements were neither the typical seasonal migration nor the typical short-distance border commuting: this form of migration spans thousands of miles between the sending areas and the New York region and comes close to the ideal type of transmigration.

These typical transmigrants had undertaken five or more trips during their work and migration trajectory. Each of their jobs normally lasted several years and was therefore not seasonal work. The reasons for changing from one job to another (and often thereby moving from one country to the other) were characterized as 'voluntary.' It is remarkable that problems with legal status, dismissals or bankruptcy represented only about one-tenth of all reasons for changing jobs. This is surprising because the vast majority of employment activities (86%) occurred without formal permission to work and reside in the USA, i.e. those interviewed had worked as *indocumentados*.

Other data analyses (Pries, 1996, 1998 and 2000) suggested that those persons surveyed who moved frequently back and forth between Mexico and the USA cannot be considered 'failed immigrants'. They are also neither traditional commuters nor recurrent migrants like those living in the US-Mexican border region. So the question remained: Why do they move for so long and so often at high risk and expense back and forth between Mexico and the USA? One possible answer takes into account the migration trajectories of the spouses, parents and children of the persons surveyed, as well as the qualitative material derived from biographical interviews and field work observations: a significant number of labour migrants between the Puebla region and the Metropolitan area of New York City should be considered transmigrants who are moving in pluri-local *transnational social spaces* spanning different places in Mexico and the USA. The individual and collective biographical life projects, everyday life as well as the life trajectory as a sequence of places of residence span different geographic spaces.

A good example of the existence of transnational social spaces and life structures is the family of Doña Rosa, who is over seventy years old household and the head of a complicated and transnational clan structure, from which five persons belonging to different

generations were interviewed (see Herrera 2002 and Figure 1, which was elaborated on by Fernando Herrera and adapted by the author). One part of the family network lives in the USA (mainly in the NYC region), another part lives in Mexico (mainly in the Mixteca Poblana region), and many family members move back and forth between the two sides during the course of their lives. For instance, one woman, Maria Luisa, crossed the border from Mexico once because she was *soltera con hija* – an unmarried mother. She left her daughter with her parents and went to NYC to earn money, but then returned to live and work in Mexico for a while. When asked which region or place she considered her homeland she will reply, ‘My homeland is where my family is’ and she will refuse to predict precisely where she will and would like to grow old. Being outside a formal social welfare and security system, the wider family clan is the functional equivalent of a social security system – and it spans from Puebla,



Mexico, up to NYC

Knowing both sides of the border, Maria Luisa – as well as the majority of her family network – will admit to experiencing advantages and conveniences as well as shortcomings and negative aspects of life in Mexico *and* the United States. Some of her brothers or sisters will probably become good US-citizens and integrate themselves into NYC as immigrants. Others will feel more like Mexicans and return (or try to return) to their region of origin in

Puebla. But Maria Luisa will not be able to decide. If her relatives argue that she has to decide and develop a clear strategy, that she 'should know where she belongs', Maria Luisa will answer: 'none of us is forced to choose between his or her father and mother – why should I be forced to decide between Mexico and the United States?' This standpoint could be interpreted as the outcome of a cautious life strategy just not to force things - perhaps because Maria Luisa tried to become a good US-citizen and felt that her internalised Mexican history and culture were stronger, or because she failed to integrate herself for several reasons. In sum, frequent border crossing could be an indicator of intended but failed *immigration*, but it also could be an indicator of transnational life strategies and the organization of life within pluri-local transnational social spaces.

To speak of transmigrants is not to idealize the often precarious situation of international migrants. Transmigrants are not the new sovereign cosmopolitans who move freely and voluntarily between different locales, places and opportunities without problems. Transmigrants adapt themselves to uncertain and unpredictable situations, learn to manage risks and to live with them, accumulate cultural and social capital (Espinoza & Massey, 1997; Palloni et al., 2001) and pay high transaction costs in and between two or more countries. As far as residency and work are concerned, their life planning is not fixed and long-term, but sequential and focused on 'exploiting opportunities'. The transmigrants are not free to define the conditions in which they act. The horizon of realizable actions and expectations is limited neither to the region of origin nor the region of destination, but *spans between and over* them.

Conclusions: Transnational Migration and a New Europe?

That transnational migration or transmigration was becoming an increasingly important frame of reference for studying migration phenomena became clear in the context of Caribbean and Mexican migration to the United States (Kearney & Nagengast 1989; Grasmuck & Pessar 1991). These concepts were then applied to some aspects of Chinese migration in Asia and to the USA (Ong & Nonini 1997), analyses of Muslim transnational networks and politics, as well as to the European context (Morokvasic 1994; Pries 1996 and 1997; Faist 1999, 2000a and 2000b). Its usefulness derives from the fact that transmigration as a concept allows for a more differentiated understanding of the patterns of migrants' simultaneous integration into several places and societies, like their 'host' and 'home' societies. Immigrants (like most of the 'Spätaussiedler' in Germany) typically incorporate themselves (gradually) into the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of life in the newly adopted host society, even if the process takes place over several generations. Ideal-typical return migrants (like Germany's guest-workers) go back to their home country after a period of working and living abroad and re-incorporate themselves into all dimensions of life there. Diaspora migrants (like diplomats or managers in international companies) incorporate themselves into some dimensions of life in the host country, mainly at a local

level (like the economic or political activities they were sent for), but they continue to centre their lives and biographies in their home countries. This is especially true in the case of their cultural and social networks, though it can also apply to economic ties like employment contracts relation and real estate. Finally, ideal-typical transmigrants maintain ties and network relations in all four dimensions of incorporation, as well as at the local and national levels of the host and home countries. They not only move physically trans-nationally between places but also span their biographical orientations and projects between different places and countries.

Distinguishing between the seven ideal types of internationalisation patterns and the four ideal types of migrants and their corresponding integration patterns leads to a more appropriate understanding of the dynamics of *incorporation*, which is a *complex, open-ended and dialectical social process* of self perception and perception by others among different groups. It requires a successful interaction of those to be incorporated with the rest of the society. If the interaction is blocked by one of the interacting sides, then incorporation is minimal, or does not take place at all (a case in point are the Turkish migrants in Germany who perceived themselves and were perceived as guest-workers). Incorporation is also a *multi-dimensional process* involving the economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of a given society. There exists a variety of patterns and outcomes concerning the intensity and sequences of incorporation within these distinctive dimensions. Just as immigrants may belong to a variety of different reference groups, their incorporation also takes place on *different spatial scales* simultaneously. Therefore, it is necessary to differentiate between local, national and trans-national scales of incorporation, and to focus on their points of intersection, as processes taking place on one level can induce or inhibit incorporation on another level.

As indicated in this chapter, the specific treatment of migrants by the receiving state and society has significant impacts on their incorporation patterns and dynamics. The very fact that German politicians and the society in general were perceiving and labelling migrants as ‘Gastarbeiter’ (guestworkers) influenced the willingness and the strategies of many migrants to learn the German language, to send their children to a kindergarten (and not only to the compulsory school) and to integrate themselves at least to a certain extend socially and culturally. Educational attainment of migrants’ children differs significantly, and migrants’ children are disadvantaged when looking for the vocational training system of dual apprenticeship as the most important gateway into the labour market. Besides other deficiencies, the German PISA results reflect all the historical charge and ‘harvest’ of decades ignoring the fact that Germany was and is an immigration country. Education, migrants’ incorporation and transnationalism have to be analysed and treated as deeply interlinked issues.

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