

RCIMI

Research Centre on Identity and Migration Issues
University of Oradea



Journal of Identity and Migration Studies

University of Oradea Publishing House
Volume 17, number 1, May 2023



JOURNAL OF IDENTITY AND MIGRATION STUDIES

The *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* (JIMS) is an online open-access review published semi-annually under the auspices of the Research Centre on Identity and Migration Issues – RCIMI, from the Department of Political Science and Communication Sciences, University of Oradea, Romania.

Director

Lia Pop, University of Oradea, Romania

Editor-In-Chief

Cristina Matiuta, University of Oradea, Romania

Deputy Editor-In-Chief

Marius I. Tatar, University of Oradea, Romania

Editorial Board

Artur Adamczyk, University of Warsaw, Poland

Gabriel Badescu, Babes-Bolyai University, Romania

Bernardo Cardinale, University of Teramo, Italy

Radu Cinpoes, Kingston University, London, UK

Vasile Cucerescu, Institute of International Relations, Chisinau

Ioan Horga, University of Oradea, Romania

Alexandru Ilies, University of Oradea, Romania

Zaiga Krisjane, University of Latvia, Latvia

Jan Wendt, University of Gdansk, Poland

Luca Zarrilli, University of Chieti-Pescara, Italy

Assistant Editors

Ioana Albu, University of Oradea, Romania

Dan Apateanu, University of Oradea, Romania

Alina Brihan, University of Oradea, Romania

Gabriela Gaudenhooft, University of Oradea, Romania

Ioan Laza, University of Oradea, Romania

Irina Pop, University of Oradea, Romania

The responsibility for the content of the contributions published in JIMS belongs exclusively to the authors. The views expressed in the articles and other contributions are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editors of JIMS.

JIMS - JOURNAL OF IDENTITY AND MIGRATION STUDIES

Research Centre on Identity and Migration Issues - RCIMI
Department of Political Science and Communication Science
University of Oradea

Address:

Str. Universităţii nr. 1

Oradea, 410087

Romania

Tel./Fax: +40 259 408 167

E-mail: jims@e-migration.ro; contact@e-migration.ro

Website: www.jims.e-migration.ro

Copyright © JIMS, 2023. No parts of this publication can be reproduced without the written permission of the editors.

ISSN 1843 – 5610

TABLE OF CONTENTS

RESEARCH ARTICLES	2
Professional Hispano-American Immigrants in South Korea: A Case Study of the Influence of Korean Mass Media on Generation Y Immigration Motivation, <i>Marcelo Alejandro PIFFAUT GÁLVEZ</i>	2
The Transnational Migration between Venezuela and Colombia: A Long and Unknow History, <i>Giuseppe De CORSO</i>	21
Determinants of Return Migration Decision among Ethiopian International Returnees of Addis Ababa: Implications for Sustainable Livelihoods of Returnees, <i>Abinet Fulasa CHINKILO, Teferee Makonnen KASSA, Temesgen Tilahun TESHOME</i>	45
The 11 Years Bibliometric Analysis of Syrian Migration, <i>Kandemir ATÇEKEN and Esra DIK</i>	67
‘Real-Time Autoethnography’ in Migration Research: Towards Capturing Past Lived Experience as It Is Lived, <i>Amanuel Isak TEWOLDE</i>	88
FOCUS: THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON MIGRATION	102
‘Where is my Home?’ Czech Migrants’ Return during the COVID-19 Pandemic, <i>Lucie MACKOVÁ, Ondřej FILIPEC, Barbora FRLIČKOVÁ</i>	102
BOOK REVIEWS.....	118
Marius I. Tătar (2022): <i>Democracy without Engagement? Understanding Political Participation in Post-Communist Romania</i> , Lexington Book, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, ISBN 978-1-4985-3524-3, 237 p., review by <i>Irina POP</i>	118
Diego Bastianutti, <i>Finding my shadow: A Journey of Self-Discovery</i> & Rosanna Turcinovich Giuricin <i>In the Maelstrom of History. A Conversation with Miriam</i> , Club Giuliano Dalmato di Toronto, 2022, Arpa D’Or Series Edited by Konrad Eisenbichler, review by <i>Dan APĂTEANU</i>	123
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	127

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Professional Hispano-American Immigrants in South Korea: A Case Study of the Influence of Korean Mass Media on Generation Y Immigration Motivation

Marcelo Alejandro PIFFAUT GÁLVEZ

Abstract. Contemporary Hispano-American immigrants on professional visas in South Korea who are not descendants of any Korean diaspora or emigrants, with no family historical, cultural, or ethnic ties to Korea, have chosen Korea over other countries that may be closer in location or easier to adapt to. This paper discusses how destination selection transcends mere economic factors, going beyond typical economic migration, specifically focusing on Generation Y and their construction of a meso-link between macro and micro conditions, where the origin point of interaction between foreigners and host society may be influenced by the consumption of South Korean mass media products. The role and influence of Korean mass media as an intercultural medium in contemporary Hispanic America, particularly among Gen-Y individuals, are evident. Moreover, by comparing this younger group with previous generations, it is clear that the influence of South Korean mass media cultural products is characteristic for Gen-Y in particular. The spread of interest in South Korean culture despite cultural, geographic, and linguistic barriers should be explained as a product of the Korean Wave and the rise of Web 2.0 in Hispanic America since the mid-2000s.

Keywords: *International immigrants, Korean Wave, Hispano-Americans, Migration motivation, Professional immigrants, South Korea*

1. Introduction

The number of people migrating internationally is increasing rapidly worldwide. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs defines international migrants as people who move to a country other than their original place of residence and reside there for at least 12 months, regardless of the reason

for migration or legal status.¹ In 2019, there were about 272 million migrants in the world (DESA 2019). Even countries that historically have had low rates of international immigration, such as South Korea (henceforth Korea) have seen an increment of foreign residents, generally coming since the early 1990s as migrant workers. As Choi (2017) noted, the number of immigrants in Korea more than tripled over the 20 years between 1997 and 2017. In 2019, 2,524,656 foreign residents were living in Korea.²

In the past decade, as the rate of immigration to Korea continues to increase as does the number of number of studies on immigrants performed by Korean researchers. Among Korean immigration researchers (Kim 2009; Choi 2017), an increased focus has been seen on socio-cultural conflicts and immigrants' experiences as they adapt to Korean society. In relation to Hispanic American immigration in particular Choi (2017) explored the cultural adjustment related experiences of Latin American professionals in Korea. Joo (2012) compared the adaptation of Latin American immigrants in Korea with those in Japan. However, previous research is currently lacking in two main fronts.

First, the research subject is often treated with an oversimplified definition of terms leading to inaccuracy. Hispanic America, as the term is used here, refers to the largest cultural area in the American Continent, including 18 countries³ where Spanish is the most commonly spoken language⁴. Hispano-Americans as defined here are people belonging to these countries. The concept of Hispanic America has been used in classical historical and anthropological writings such as Urbanski (1978), and the reason for its adoption here is simply scientific accuracy. As Torres Martínez (2016) indicated, the commonly used concept "Latino(a)/Latin" or "Latin American" is a political construction that lacks scientific accuracy, as it relates to the linguistic concept that identifies languages that descend from Latin and their speakers, so it includes Italians, French, Portuguese, Spaniards, and even Romanians in Europe; further, in the Americas, it would also include Brazil although Brazil's main language

¹ Although there is not yet an internationally agreed definition of 'migrant', the above definition is the most useful as implemented by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA 1998). According to this definition, long-term international students and long-term workers assigned for work are also immigrants. Refugees are termed involuntary migration and are a subgroup of immigrants.

² See the Korea Immigration Service 2019 report here (Korean Language):

http://viewer.moj.go.kr/skin/doc.html?rs=/result/bbs/227&fn=temp_1581918117248100

³ Namely, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

⁴ There are also indigenous minority languages in this area. These languages are often not rare—in Bolivia, Quechua and Guaraní are official state languages, in Ecuador, Quicha is commonly spoken, and Guatemala recognizes 21 Mayan languages.

is different from that of the other countries in the region. In addition, immigrants' self-identification and self-distinction should be borne in mind, as there is evidence that, for example, Hispano-Americans in Japan are driven in part by a desire to distinguish themselves from other foreigners (Piffaut Gálvez 2020). The evidence strongly suggests that is necessary to accurately describe this group, just as no one would refer to Koreans and Japanese together as simply Asians when speaking about them.

Second, the migration motivations of Hispano-Americans, specifically professional immigrants, remain unexplored. As the number of people from different backgrounds living in Korea increases, the motivations that led them to Korea are likely to continue to diversify. Here, migrant motivation is considered to be a psychological process that induces migration behavior and directs it toward certain goals. A motivation is established through the interaction of internal and external factors. The largest precedents in migration to East Asia from the Americas are that of Japanese-Brazilians and Japanese-Peruvians, who have been migrating to Japan since the 1980s. There is a rich corpus of previous research covering 30 years (Yamanaka 1996; Tsuda 2003; Sekiguchi 2005; Takenaka 2005; Maeda 2006; Tsuda 2022 among many others) that deals with the reasons that this group have had for moving to Japan, their expectations, and their experiences. It has been reported that many of them chose Japan as a destination not only for economic reasons but also to seek out their own identity and roots as Nikkei; descendant of the Japanese diaspora. However, few studies have focused on the immigration of non-descendants to East Asian countries. Non-Korean Hispano-Americans, that is, those who have no ethnic ties to Korea, a country that is geographically and culturally distant, might be expected to find immigration destinations that are socially and culturally closer to them. It is necessary to consider what motivations they may have for choosing Korea as a migration destination nevertheless.

Since the 2010s, migration studies have become increasingly interdisciplinary, drawing on other fields, such as media studies, and they have focused on immigrants' use of social media in their immigration process (Mcgregor & Siegel 2013), the media-based construction of migration situations (Viola & Musolff 2019), and, the relationship between the media, its products, and immigrants, demonstrating the impact of media on immigration acceptance and motivation (King & Wood 2013). Moreover, the study of professional immigrants deepens our understanding of diverse migration processes in the first part of the 21st century, which is an era of global networks and transnationalism (Colic-Peisker

2010; Cranston 2016). Therefore, this article will examine the motivations of Hispano-Americans to choose Korea as their migration destination. Specifically, this study explores professional non-Korean Hispano-Americans (henceforth Hispano-Americans) residing in Korea to clarify the influence of Korean mass media on immigration motivation.

2. Research Method⁵

Data collection was performed using qualitative and in-depth interviews (Taylor et al. 2015) combined with a questionnaire survey (Mellenbergh 2008). First, exploratory interviews were performed to identify the experiences of the subjects regarding their immigration. From this, in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted on the specific topic of their personal motivations. From these research data, a questionnaire survey was constructed to cover all themes that arose in the interviews. The first exploratory interviews were conducted from June to October 2021, and the follow-up, in-depth qualitative interviews, questionnaire surveys and final analyses were conducted between March and October 2022. At the moment of research, subjects were living in the five most populated provinces of Korea, namely Gyeonggi-do, Seoul, Busan, Gyeongsangnam-do, and Incheon. The questionnaire survey and interviews were in Spanish, and selected quotations were translated by the author to present the argument here. Interviews were conducted online as a result of COVID-19 restrictions.

As illustrated in Table I, a total of 28 subjects participated in this study, of whom 21 were Generation Y, also known as Millennials (henceforth Gen-Y), 57.1% were male and 42.9% female. The subjects were all around 30 (27–34) years old. They were joined by a separate, smaller group of seven middle-aged individuals (aged 45–54 years old), of whom 57.1% were male and 42.9% female. All the participants were first-generation professional immigrants and non-Korean Hispano-Americans living for at least 3 years in Korea who had a residence status that allowed them to work. According to their occupational and educational background, all of

⁵ This study is part of a project of wider scope regarding Hispano-Americans immigrants in East Asia, and simultaneous research on immigrants living in Japan and China is currently being implemented. Furthermore, the questionnaire survey was created by transcribing the results obtained in qualitative interviews with the informants, coding the distinctive words and classifying the codes into operationalizable categories that relate to previous works in this area. For example, in Table IV, "the divisions of mass media" and "others" were created using post interview coding. The battery of questions presented in this paper match those of the Japanese and Chinese cases for ease of comparability.

them were professional immigrants. Most (92.9%) had graduated from the university, but some (7.1%) were graduates of vocational schools.

Table I
Overview of Participants

Generation Y Group						
	Nationality	Age	Sex	Educational Level	Occupation	Years of Residence
#1	Chile	28	Female	University graduate	Spanish teacher	4
#2	Mexico	29	Male	University graduate	IT engineer	5
#3	Peru	28	Female	University graduate	Office worker	3
#4	Peru	34	Male	University graduate	Translator	6
#5	Chile	34	Female	University graduate	IT engineer	7
#6	Mexico	32	Female	University graduate	Spanish teacher	6
#7	Argentina	31	Male	University graduate	IT engineer	5
#8	Ecuador	31	Male	University graduate	Musician	5
#9	Mexico	27	Male	University graduate	Mechanical engineering	3
#10	Colombia	31	Male	University graduate	Physical trainer	4
#11	Guatemala	31	Female	University graduate	Translator	5
#12	Paraguay	29	Male	University graduate	Mechanical engineering	5
#13	Honduras	27	Female	University graduate	Office worker	3
#14	Honduras	29	Female	University graduate	Office worker	4
#15	Mexico	29	Male	Vocational school	Automotive technician	4
#16	Costa Rica	28	Male	Vocational school	Cook	4
#17	Mexico	30	Female	University graduate	Spanish teacher	4
#18	Peru	31	Male	University graduate	Mechanical engineer	5
#19	Venezuela	28	Female	University graduate	Dance instructor	3
#20	Paraguay	33	Male	University graduate	IT engineer	5
#21	Mexico	32	Male	University graduate	IT engineer	5
Middle-Aged Group						
	Nationality	Age	Sex	Educational Level	Occupation	Years of Residence
#22	Mexico	45	Female	University graduate	Marketing	13
#23	Argentina	47	Male	University graduate	Engineer	12
#24	Argentina	45	Female	University graduate	Pharmacist	12
#25	Chile	46	Male	University graduate	Consultant in export company	14
#26	Mexico	50	Female	University graduate	Consultant in export company	16
#27	Peru	54	Male	University graduate	Business owner	17
#28	Peru	47	Male	University graduate	Cook	12

Finally, as this research is being conducted from Kyoto University in Japan, it follows the Code of Ethics of the Japanese Sociological Society (JSS)⁶. The objective and scope of the research were explained to all subjects, as well as how their privacy would be protected before their consent was obtained.

⁶ The purpose and content of this code can be found (in Japanese) at: <https://jss-sociology.org/about/ethicalcodes/>.

3. Results

First, this section will illustrate the survey results on the respondents' motivation to leave their home country and their choice of Korea as a destination. Then, the influence of Korean mass media within Hispano-America will be discussed. Here, the relationship of Gen-Y individuals with Korean mass media is understood through the participants' subjective understanding as shared it via interviews. Then, a comparison with immigrants from the previous generation is presented to highlight their differences. Finally, this section will explore the characteristics of the process by which a relationship between Hispano-Americans and Korea is built.

3.1 From emigration motivation to choosing South Korea as a destination

Immigration can be described by push-and-pull factors. For these types of models, the push factors are regional factors that push people from a starting point, and pull factors are the ones that attract people to a destination (Ishikawa 2013). Through our questionnaire, Hispano-American participants were asked to report the push factors that prompted them to leave their home country and move to Korea. Double answers were allowed to create a hierarchy of primary and secondary reasons. This allowed for nuance in the participants' responses and subsequent analysis, results were classified into categories and summarized in Table II.

The primary emigration reasons were mainly in the economical category (71.4%). These were "Employment dissatisfaction," describing working in jobs unrelated to their education, and "Economic instability," including having poor prospects for promotion and a poor balance between wages and work requirements. Thus, the main reasons for leaving their homelands were unsatisfactory job prospects in their home countries, wage instability, and anxiety over employment sustainability. This was followed by reasons within the socio-cultural category (21.4%), concentrated on seeking to improve their quality of life and leaving behind "Crime and violence,"⁷ building a family (marriage), and social networking (job relocations in their case). Another less common group of reasons involved political issues (7.1%).

⁷ Crime and violence were separated from political violence according to the subjects' definitions. Crime and violence are defined simply as illegal acts committed by citizens. Political violence was defined as violence or coercion by governments and their law enforcement agencies.

Table II
Personal Reasons for Leaving Home Country

Reasons for Leaving	Primary		Secondary		
	#	%	#	%	
Economic	Employment dissatisfaction	10	35.7%	5	17.9%
	Economic instability	9	32.1%	5	17.9%
	Unemployment	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Poverty	1	3.6%	0	0.0%
Socio-Cultural	Crime and violence	1	3.6%	1	3.6%
	Job relocations	2	7.1%	0	0.0%
	Marriage	1	3.6%	0	0.0%
	Interest in living abroad	2	7.1%	16	57.1%
Political	Political instability	1	3.6%	1	3.6%
	Political violence	1	3.6%	0	0.0%
	War	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

The most common secondary personal reason was “Interest in living abroad” (57.1%). Many of those who chose “Interest in living abroad” as their main secondary reason chose “Employment dissatisfaction” and “Economic instability” as their primary one. The logic seems to be reversed between primary and secondary reasons, such that “Employment dissatisfaction” and “Economic instability” appeared to be associated with an underlying desire to live in a different culture and having international experiences. Conversely, most of those who chose the more serious reasons, including poverty, crime, political instability, and political violence, as their primary reasons (14.3%), took “Employment dissatisfaction” and “Economic instability” as their secondary reasons, meaning that these immigrants experienced more serious issues than economic ones, expressing more serious reasons to leave.

The analysis of these data prompt the question why our subjects did not choose to migrate to the countries in the Northern Hemisphere that are culturally closer and could be easier to adapt to, such as Europe or the United States in particular. In Table III, the personal reasons for choosing Korea present an overwhelming change in motivation, to an extent that may seem irrational at first glance. While personal reasons for leaving the country were mostly associated with the economic category, the dominant reason for choosing Korea was “Interest in Korean culture.” Furthermore, most of those who had more serious problems and reasons to emigrate also chose “Interest in Korean culture” as their secondary reason. This suggests a deeper logic underpinning the decision to go across much of the globe to reach faraway Korea instead of finding a way to a nearby country that

is culturally closer and easier to immigrate to and that would provide equally attractive benefits. The only question remains as to why and how interest in Korea arose in these individuals.

Table III
Personal reasons for choosing Korea

Reasons	Primary		Secondary	
	#	%	#	%
Career advancement	0	0.0%	4	14.3%
Economic stability	2	7.1%	8	28.6%
Higher standard of living	0	0.0%	7	25.0%
Interest in Korean culture	21	75.0%	5	17.9%
Safe and secure society	1	3.6%	4	14.3%
Marriage	1	3.6%	0	0.0%
Job relocation	2	7.1%	0	0.0%
Political stability	1	3.6%	0	0.0%

To clarify these questions, it is necessary to know what process led to these immigrants' interest in Korea as a country, society, and culture, especially as they were not descendants of the Korean diaspora and had no familiar ties with the country. Table IV presents the medium of contact with Korean culture divided into primary (the first encountered) and secondary products. The dominant primary medium of contact with Korean culture was Korea mass media as a category (75%), with the clear leader in this category being the subcategory of Korean pop music, commonly known as *K-pop* (71.4%). The remainder (25%) fall under the category of "others," including literature, education, and Korean martial arts. The most frequent secondary mediums of contact were Korean television series, known as *doramas* (50%). The category of Korean mass media received an even higher percentage, an overwhelming 92.9%. Undoubtedly, Korean mass media had a great influence on the respondents' approach to Korea and subsequently on their decision to select Korea as a destination.

Table V presents the respondents' age of first exposure to Korean culture through its mass media products. First contact during teenage years was overwhelmingly prominent (78.6%). Experiences during essential character formation stages, such as adolescence, often influence life choices, possibly even such large decisions as the choice of a migration destination many years later. This teenage contact was only true for late Gen-Y individuals, and those who had their first contact over 30 years old were members of the older previous generation. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Table IV
Contact medium with Korean culture

Mediums	Primary		Secondary		
	#	%	#	%	
Korea mass media	K-pop	20	71.4%	1	3.6%
	Dorama	1	3.6%	14	50.0%
	Movies	0	0.0%	2	7.1%
	Animation	0	0.0%	2	7.1%
	TV Shows	0	0.0%	2	7.1%
	Games	0	0.0%	1	3.6%
	Manhua (comics)	0	0.0%	1	3.6%
	Documentaries	0	0.0%	3	10.7%
Others	Literature	3	10.7%	2	7.1%
	Education	3	10.7%	0	0.0%
	Household	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Korean Martial Arts	1	3.6%	0	0.0%

Table V
First exposure to Korean culture

Age	#	%
Under 10 years old	0	0.0%
10–20 years old	22	78.6%
21–30 years old	0	0.0%
Over 30 years old	6	21.4%

There were no significative differences between male and female or between nationalities.

3.2 Korean mass media influence in Hispanic America

This section will explain macro-level conditions in the Hispanic American region regarding Korean mass media and how they are related to the relationship the subjects of this study built with this country on the micro-level of decision-making. For comparison's sake, information on a subgroup of middle-age immigrants was collected as well.

3.2.1 Generation Y encounters Korean mass media

Although no single classification standard exists, in Hispano-America, Gen-Y is used to refer to those born between 1984 and 1996, the generation that experienced the early stages of digitization in the IT revolution (Novella et al. 2018). This generation tends to prefer digital devices while still showing an understanding of analog instruments in daily life (Serres 2014). This is also a generation that has

experienced the diversification of media that grew from the IT revolution. The primary subjects in this study, around 30 years old, belong to late generation Y.

As Min (2017, 2019) notes, Korean popular culture reached Latin America in the early 1990s, mostly through television programs, such as dramas, animations, and documentaries. The Korean Wave (Hallyu), which brought Korean media to much of the world, only began around 2010 and mostly attracted adolescents. This period is sometimes called Hallyu 2.0, a concept coined to describe the development of the Korean Wave in parallel with Web 2.0 (Jin 2012), indicating the emphasis on user-generated content and usability of Web 2.0, which played in favor of the spread of the Korean Wave as fans were freed to seek out and obtain these products even if they did not form part of the hegemonic mass media in their own home countries. Thus, social networking sites (SNS) and user-generated content (UGC) were at the center of this new wave. At this point, the focus shifted from television programs to Korean pop music and, to a lesser extent, video games and animation products (Jin 2015). The specifics of the absorption of the Korean Wave in Hispanic America are interesting because, despite the similarities with the Korean Wave in other regions, Hispano-American K-pop fandom used SNS and UGC appropriate Korean popular culture as a subculture within their respective home countries in a way that stands out from the reactions of other countries (Han 2017). It should be noted that in adverse economic and geographic conditions, Hispano-American fans were motivated to use SNS and UGC to access their products of interest, such that the cultural products spread widely through illegal downloads, as the monetary value of the products outstripped many people's ability to pay (Choi 2014).

Furthermore, previous research on fans of Korean mass media in the region has revealed a significant point regarding the spread of Korean mass media for the generations influenced by them. The appeal of Korean mass media products in Hispanic America was that they played the role of a symbolic referent representing values of respect and resilience now considered to be in decadence in the hegemonic Hispanic American culture (Flores Yapuchura 2013); simultaneously, Korean media allowed Hispanic American consumers to build a renewed image and meanings around Korea, making it an idealistic realm, as most would not have the opportunity to go there (del Pilar Álvarez 2013). In this way, for Gen-Y Hispano-Americans in Korea, Korean mass media acquired a sense of familiarity in the last 15 years, before they arrived in the country. The way that Korea came up as a candidate destination for emigration when thinking concretely about international emigration is reflected in the following testimonies.

“From adolescence, I was addicted to *doramas*. I started to take an interest in their country and started watching more series (drama and animation) about everyday life. I think I’ve been listening to K-pop and watching *doramas* for a long time. I think during the late 2000s it was easy to get music and such, of course illegal downloads (laughs). I really didn’t need a job change, I had a good one but I had this impulse to actually get here, to live in Korea. It’s funny how you get attached to a country you don’t actually know.” (#1) (Female, 28, Chile)

“I was fourteen or so when a friend of mine came to school with this new musical group called “Girls’ Generation” (SNSD), I got hooked. We started listen more and more, but it was all in secret because at that time K-pop was seen as girly, or gay if you were male. After that, we started watching more Korean movies too. Now that I think about it, I am here probably thanks to that friend. That’s why I became interested in South Korea, because of my love for Korean music and style. I studied IT related field, so going to the US would be easier. That’s what I was told by family and friends when I told them about my plans, my crazy adventure as they said. I was really not interested is the US and studying English was something I did to help in my job and to help me get here, it was kind of difficult because I was studying something I didn’t really care about. [...] I think for many of us (Hispano-Americans in Korea), it’s more about our attraction to South Korea than the actual necessity to leave our countries, or even our hemisphere.” (#2) (Male, 29, Mexico)

For Gen-Y Hispano-Americans, Korean mass media products became the foundation of their interest in this different culture. The international rise of the Korean Wave in the context of Web 2.0 functioned as a socio-cultural background for these immigrants during their adolescent years. In the Hispanic American region, the internet not only opened the way for Gen-Y to reach out to Korea’s pop culture but, as previous research has revealed, it further spread the idea of fandom despite linguistic, cultural, and geographic remoteness.

3.2.2 *An older generation*

Because this research focuses on Gen-Y immigrants in Korea, it is natural to ask how this generation of Hispano-Americans differs from previous generations of immigrants in the country, in terms of their relationship with Korean mass media. To clarify the differences in experience between generations, the narratives of middle-aged Hispano-Americans living in Korea were examined. Using the abovementioned categorization, they would be late Generation X, as born between 1965 and 1980.

“I don’t know much about K-pop, they all look the same to me. I like some tv shows but only that.” (#22) (Female, 45, Mexico)

“I’m not interested in K-pop, when I’ve seen TV shows I don’t even know half of the people in there. I like the movies in any case.” (#23) (Male, 47, Argentina)



“My image of younger immigrants is that they are big fans of all that (Korean mass media), they seem a bit weird to me (laughs).” (#24) (Female, 45, Argentina)

“I learned about Korea because I liked martial arts, I practiced judo for many years, but one day I encountered Hapkido and began to be interested in Korea. Then, for work I had the chance to be sent here... it was all circumstantial.” (#25) (Male, 46, Chile)

“In my company I got the opportunity to come to Korea, and finally I liked what I saw here, I even married a Korean man.” (#26) (Female, 50, Mexico)

“I met a Korean woman who was working in a company in Peru, we finally got married and I came here. Since I didn't know anything before, she taught me the first things about Korea.” (#27) (Male, 54, Peru)

“When I was about 30 years old, I saw some documentaries about Korean food and that's where I started to get closer.” (#28) (Male, 47, Peru)

Differences with Gen-Y's experience arise in reference to socio-cultural and structural conditions. For most of the older generation, Korean media became familiar only after they arrived in the country, and the variety of products they knew or cared about seems to have been reduced, and the influence of mass media on immigration motivation was inconsequential. In Table III, the primary personal reasons listed for choosing Korea they selected were mostly for any other category than “Interest in Korean Culture,” with two for job relocations, one for marriage, two for economic stability, and one for a safer society, meaning that six of out seven were not much invested in the country and its culture and society until their 30s. Interest in Korean mass media seems to have been viewed as an odd hobby from their perspective. When members of this older group were children or adolescents, the range of options for media consumption was much narrower, as reflected in Table V, in which all members of this age group responded “over 30 years old” as their age of first encounter with Korean culture. It should also be noted that respondents in this age group came into contact with Korean culture through means outside of mass media (Table IV).

3.3 Building the Hispano-Americans-South Korea relationship

In international migration studies, it is attractive to immediately link macrostructural factors to individual decision-making, but it is necessary to discover and understand meso-level links between these conditions (Higuchi 2002). As noted, in East Asia, the most prominent example of immigration from Hispanic America or

the Latin American region in general is the case of Nikkei moving to Japan. Higuchi (2002) explains that, when Nikkei immigrated to Japan, a system of mediation organizations-agencies (幹旋組織/*assen-soshiki*) was established both in South American countries and in Japan, and this system played the role of a meso-level link, promoting the immigration of Nikkei to Japan, or, in other words, influencing individual decision-making in favor of macrostructural economic factors. According to Higuchi (2002, 565), “thinking that isolated individuals will migrate is unrealistic, and it is difficult to actually migrate unless there is some sort of social network connecting the place of origin and the destination of the migration.” This historical background is still reflected today in the current geographical and workplace distribution of Nikkei in Japan. However, Korea lacks this historical background in relation to the Hispano-American region, and an increasing number of people are migrating to Korea on their own and without the help of mediation organizations-agencies, including these Hispano-Americans. This case study describes the existence of a new medium that takes the place of a meso-level organizational connection. The fact that Gen-Y Hispano-Americans who have no family, ethnic, or historical ties decide to migrate to Korea indicates the existence of a relationship with Korea that has developed over the course of years for each individual before they left their countries for the first time. Gen-Y research subjects were found to be receptors and consumers of Korean mass media. They, as consumers, willingly and positively received new cultural products.

This somewhat one-sided relationship evokes the concept of “soft power,” referring to the capacity to gain support, understanding, and empathy through a country’s culture, political values, and the attractiveness of its policies without the application of coercive force (Nye 2004). Korean mass media has succeeded in capturing the hearts and minds of a group of people in the Hispano-American region, literally on the other side of the world and with no common cultural background. The immigrants built emotional connections with Korea by themselves through their consumption of, and approach toward, this foreign culture that seemed to give meaning to their decision-making and courses of action. This emotional aspect of the decision-making is also reflected in the subjects’ narrations below.

“For many of us *K-pop* have been an integral part of our lives since teenage years. I was part of a fan group in Argentina, then here (in Korea), I have even had good conversations with other Hispanic people about *K-pop* and how they also have been hooked since 2007 or so. You could even say that for us, *K-pop* and then doramas were a refuge from everyday life. Most of us had a very positive image of Korea



before coming here, more interesting, more of a nicer, safer country than the U.S.” (#7) (Male, 31, Argentina)

“Each person leaving their home country expects to end up in a better place. If you ask any of us, you can tell that each of us had a vision about what kind of life we would have in Korea. Mostly a better one. We have been thinking positively about Korea for a long time before we came, even before we even knew if we could make it here. In Mexico some people make fun of us, for liking Korean music and stuff, but look who made it, who lives better now? (giggles)” (#9) (Male, 27, Mexico)

These Hispano-Americans saw the country as an attractive destination and then forged ties to it through an idealized image despite the geographical and cultural distance between them. This is reflected in their affection for Korea and their positive bias toward this country. This may indicate a positive impact both on immigrants and on Korea. It could be argued that a positively minded immigrant with affection for the host society is in a better position for integration than an immigrant driven by straightforward considerations of mere economy. Nevertheless, on the other hand, there are also negative aspects. It could be that the greater the expectations and hopes born from emotional attachment, the greater the possibility of disappointment and subsequent depression.

Immigrants internalize their feelings and attitudes toward Korea and then decide to immigrate; that is, the individual begins by unilaterally building a relationship with the country and then actively constructing its meaning and directionality of actions, all before migrating. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) have depicted this kind of individualization as the individual freedom of choice regarding each person's own life, a characteristic of contemporary human beings. Therefore, it is only natural that there is also a process of individualization within international migration, meaning that the freedom of choice expands to motivations and migration destination, irrespective of the cultural background of the home country. The motivation of immigrants and the actions that they take are reflected in their individual narratives, and likewise, this individual-personal narrative is an essential part of their drive to action. The subjects of this study received a certain message through the Korean mass media. They took it from outside themselves and made it their own, and they later constructed a significant narrative that gave meaning to their choice of destination. Other needs and concerns in this context become secondary, and the reason for leaving the home country may not be inherently connected to the destination selected. However, these concerns and needs are intertwined with the migration narrative, reinforcing that narrative and its personalization, thus justifying the process.

Furthermore, the subjects of this study are consumers of Korean media products. Then, as contemporary consumers consume products of popular culture, they may have come to recognize themselves through these narratives and the images constructed around specific products (Canclini 2012). In addition, this immigrant group also shared the meanings and symbols of a certain popular culture and its products, as well as common consumption habits. Then, the components of idealized media products were consumed, and a narrative about South Korea as a desirable migration destination developed. In this case, these immigrants can be distinguished by their specific interests within the Korean media, although the superiority of *K-pop* and *doramas* as a primary medium of cultural contact is very clear.

Other significant internal distinctions appeared between generations; these differences may have arisen from consumer market conditions and its development across generations. To understand Korea's visibility in the Western Hemisphere in general and in Hispanic America in particular, it is essential to consider the enormous influence of Korean mass media. In the Hispano-American cultural sphere, Korea had a sense of being a distant, largely unknown country, although since the mid-2000s and 2010s, the arrival of the Korean Wave has aroused interest in cultural exchange with South Korea and the Korean language, as learners and applicants to the Korean Language proficiency test (TOPIK) has been increasing since that period (Min et al. 2019). It is possible to compare Korean media with the products of its regional neighbors China and Japan. China's self-made image has not yet made a strong positive connection with the local public, and it does not seem to be circulating as successfully as their Korean counterparts. This may be one of the reasons that a sense of distance and a critical eye toward China is common to this day.

For its part, Japan has been successfully promoting an attractive image through media for years (Piffaut Gálvez 2020). Without their breakthrough in mass media and at least a decade of cultural outflow, Korea might be considered as irrelevant, strange, and unknown as China may still appear to be. Moreover, the results of this study show how individual media consumption that is promoted by the current internet-digital age permeates newer generations irrespective of nationally and what was being broadcast on television there. Ultimately, through the consumption of a wide variety of mass media products related to popular culture, the subjects of this study came into contact with a culture that was different from the dominant culture in their own countries, and from that experience, they constructed and strengthened their own meaningful narratives.

Understanding migration from the perspective of immigrants themselves and analyzing it at various levels beyond the typical migration push-pull factors, it is essential to understand contemporary and emergent individualized migration processes. In the cases discussed in this piece, the lines between consumer and immigrant analysis are seen to become thinner; The evidence would suggest that individualized consumption individualizes motivation, and simultaneously, through daily acts of consumption and exposure over many years, the constitutive elements for shared decision-making with strangers arise naturally.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, based on empirical survey data on personal reasons and motivations for immigration, the background of the structural conditions between the Hispano-American cultural region and Korea in terms of mass media and its products was analyzed, and subsequently evidence suggested the necessity of a connection between the structural conditions of this migration and immigration motivation on a personal level. The survey results and analyses of the structural conditions produced the following observations.

First, push-and-pull model perspectives concisely account for personal reasons for leaving their countries, while focusing on the economic migrants that prioritize economic needs. However, the mechanism for selecting destinations that are geographically and culturally distant has not been satisfactorily explained. Here, it was found that the personal reason for choosing Korea as a destination may largely be due to the influence of the Korean mass media. Second, by comparing the development and influence of Korean mass media in Hispanic America between subjects of Generation Y, as well as a subgroup of the previous generation, it was found that a generational gap exists between the two generations, such that the older generation is motivated by different life situations that are not related to mass media. Finally, it was found that a connection is symbolically, emotionally, and individually built by immigrants themselves toward Korea that directly links macrosocial conditions and individual decision-making at the microsocial level; this meso-level connection appears as idealistic narratives born from media consumption habits. These characteristics indicate how pre-migration structural conditions are transformed into motivational prerequisites. A transformation takes place through the subject's interpretation before immigration, uncovering an interaction between mass media products and individual decision-making.

The relationship between Korea as a destination and Hispano-Americans in their countries does not require a meso-level brokerage network system to facilitate immigration. This contrasts with earlier historical migrations, as the delocalization brought about by the internet has permeated everyday life. Likewise, if immigrants have different assumptions and are looking for different things in relation to their individualized media consumption, then their real-life experiences after migration will also differ, and they will need to be explored as particular cases.

This paper focuses on a selection process for migration destination that transcends economic factors and also transcends typical economic immigration; in such a case, the starting point of interaction between foreigners and the host society will be different. By constructing a framework enabling an understanding of the influence of Korean culture through its mass media since the mid-2000s on the life narratives of immigrants, an explanation that goes beyond mere economic factors can be provided, while clarifying the motives of Hispano-Americans in Korea and their particular migration in relation to the macroconditions of their countries of origin. This is not to deny the role of more classical factors in determining immigration destinations, however this research is dealing with a particular immigration process in contemporary times, as well as the particular circumstances between particular countries, namely, between Korea and the countries of the Hispanic American region in the twenty-first century. According to these results, not only should the research perspective on international migration be diversified, but also the image of specific immigration phenomena within Korea.

Finally, as this study is framed inside a wider scope of research on Hispano-Americans immigrants in East Asia, a parallel set of studies are underway on Hispano-Americans living in Japan and China. Based on the mechanism between immigration motivation and mass media as explained in this paper, future articles will adopt analyses using a symbolic anthropology and sociological standpoint on the idealized image of the host country-society and its effect on migration experience as described by immigrants themselves.

References

- Beck, Ulrich. Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth. 2002. "Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences." London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Canclini, Néstor García. 2012. "Consumidores y ciudadanos: Conflictos multiculturales de la globalización." Barcelona: Grijalbo, Debolsillo.

- Choi, Jinsook. 2017. "Latin American Immigrants' Adaptation Experiences in Korea: Cases of Migrant Workers with Professions in Culture and Entertainment Sectors." *Asian Social Science* 13(12):1–8
- Choi, JungBong. 2014. "Loyalty transmission and cultural enlisting of K-pop in Latin America." In *K-pop—The international rise of the Korean music industry*, edited by JungBong Choi and Roald Maliangkay, 98–115. NY: Routledge.
- Colic-Peisker, Val. 2010. "Free floating in the cosmopolis? Exploring the identity-belonging of transnational knowledge workers." *Global networks* 10(4):467–488.
- Cranston, Sophie. 2016. "Imagining global work: Producing understandings of difference in 'easy Asia'." *Geoforum* 70:60–68.
- DESA. 1998. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration, Revision 1*. p.10.
- DESA. 2019. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *International Migrant Stock*.
- Flores Yapuchura, Ányela Y. 2013. "¿K-pop, nueva opción de identidad peruana? —Perú." *Comuni@ccion: Revista de Investigación en Comunicación y Desarrollo* 4(1):38–45.
- Han, Benjamin. 2017. "K-pop in Latin America: transcultural fandom and digital mediation." *International Journal of Communication* 11:2250–2269.
- Higuchi, Naoto. 2002. "Kokusai imin ni okeru mezoreberu no ichiduke: makuro-mikuro moderu wo koete [The Role of Meso-Link in International Migration: Beyond the Macro-Micro Model]." *Shakaigaku Hyōron* 52(4):558–72.
- Ishikawa, Yoshitaka. 2013. "Jinkō idō [Population Movements]." In *Jinbunchirigaku jitten* [Human Geography Encyclopedia], edited by The Human Geographical Society of Japan, 566–568. Maruzen Publishing.
- Japanese Sociological Society (JSS). "Code of Ethics." <https://jss-sociology.org/about/ethicalcodes/>. (Accessed February 17, 2023)
- Jin, Dal Yong. 2012. "Hallyu 2.0: The New Korean Wave in the Creative Industry." *International Institute Journal* 2 (1):3–7.
- Jin, Dal Yong. 2015. "New Perspectives on the Creative Industries in the Hallyu 2.0 Era: Global–Local Dialectics in Intellectual Properties." In *Hallyu 2.0: The Korean Wave in the Age of Social Media*, edited by Sangjoon Lee and Abé Mark Nornes, 53–70. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Joo, Jong-Taick. 2012. "Migration processes and sociocultural adaptation of Latin American migrant workers in Korea and Japan." *Asian Journal of Latin American Studies* 25(1):113–143.
- Kim, Andrew Eungi. 2009. "Global migration and South Korea: Foreign workers, foreign brides and the making of a multicultural society." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(1):70–92.
- King, Russell. Wood, Nancy. 2013. "Media and Migration: Constructions of Mobility and Difference." London: Routledge.
- Korean Immigration Service. 2019. "National Statistical Data December 2019 Report". http://viewer.moj.go.kr/skin/doc.html?rs=/result/bbs/227&fn=temp_1581918117248100. (Accessed February 7, 2023)
- Maeda, Hitomi. 2006. "The Social Integration of Nikkei Brazilian Immigrants: A Japanese Case Study." University of Minnesota.
- Mcgregor, Elaine. Siegel, Melissa. 2013. "Social Media and Migration Research." United Nations University - Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (MERIT).
- Mellenbergh, Gideon. 2008. "Chapter 10: Tests and Questionnaires: Construction and Administration." In *Advising on Research Methods: A consultant's companion*, edited by Hermanus Johannes Adèr, 211–236. The Netherlands: Johannes van Kessel Publishing.

- Min, Wonjung, Dal Yong Jin, and Benjamin Han. 2019. "Transcultural fandom of the Korean Wave in Latin America: through the lens of cultural intimacy and affinity space." *Media, Culture & Society* 41(5), 604–619.
- Min, Wonjung. Jin, Dal Yong. Han, Benjamin. 2019. "Transcultural Fandom of the Korean Wave in Latin America: Through the Lens of Cultural Intimacy and Affinity Space." *Media, Culture & Society* 41(5):604–19.
- Novella, Rafael. Repetto, Andrea. Robino, Carolina. Rucci, Graciana. 2018. "Millennials en América Latina y el Caribe: ¿Trabajar o estudiar?." IDRC: Inter-American Development Bank.
- Nye, Joseph. 2004. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics." Translated by Yoichi Yamaoka. Nikkei BP Marketing Inc.
- Piffaut Gálvez, Marcelo Alejandro. 2020. "Iminsha dōshi no aidentiti kōchiku katei ni okeru shakō: Kansai chihō ni kyoju suru isupanoamericajin no jirei ni chakumokushite [Sociability in the identity building process among immigrants: Focusing on the case of Hispano-Americans living in the Kansai region]." Kyoto University, Graduate School of Education, Master's thesis 2020.
- Sekiguchi, Tomoko. 2005. "Zainichi nikkei shitei no kyōiku to nihon'nogakkō: Jinzai ikusei shisutemu no shiten kara [Education of Nikkei Children in Japan and Japanese Schools: From the Perspective of Human Resource Development System]." *Kikan Kaigai nikkeijin* 57:25–30. *Kaigai nikkeijin kyōkai*
- Serres, Michel. 2014. "Thumbelina: The Culture and Technology of Millennials." London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Takenaka, Ayumi. 2005. "Paradoxes of ethnicity-based immigration: Peruvian and Japanese-Peruvian migrants in Japan." In *Global Japan: The Experience of Japan's New Immigrant and Overseas Communities*, edited by Roger Goodman, Ceri Peach, Ayumi Takenaka, Paul White, 234–248. London: Routledge.
- Taylor, Steve. Bogdan, Robert. DeVault, Marjorie. 2015. "Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource." New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Torres Martínez, Rubén. 2016. "Sobre el concepto de América Latina ¿Inventión francesa?." *Cahiers d'études romanes. Revue du CAER* 32:89–98.
- Tsuda, Takeyuki. 2003. "Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective." Columbia University Press.
- Tsuda, Takeyuki. 2022. "Racism without racial difference? Co-ethnic racism and national hierarchies among Nikkeijin ethnic return migrants in Japan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 45(4):595–615.
- Urbanski, Edmund. 1978. "Hispanic America and Its Civilization: Spanish Americans and Anglo-Americans." University of Oklahoma Press.
- Viola, Lorella. Musolff, Andreas. 2019. "Migration and Media: Discourses about Identities in Crisis." Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Yamanaka, Keiko. 1996. "Return Migration of Japanese-Brazilians to Japan: The Nikkeijin as Ethnic Minority and Political Construct." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 5(1):65–97.
- del Pilar Álvarez, Maria. 2013. "Who are the fans? Understanding the K-pop in Latin America." Paper presented at the First World Congress for Hallyu Studies, Seoul, South Korea.

The Transnational Migration between Venezuela and Colombia: A Long and Unknow History

Giuseppe De CORSO

Abstract. This essay examines the historically intense flow and reflow of transnational migrants between Venezuela and Colombia from a quantitative point of view and employs concepts suggested by Thomas Nail in his work *the Figure of the Migrant*. We focus on the regimes of social motion in both countries, the political figures of migrants, and the strategies of expulsion to analyze the social condition of the migrants and their demographic impact. In pursuing the latter goal, we discuss censuses and vital events. We finally discuss, the current migratory flood shaped by decades of Colombian immigration to Venezuela.

Keywords: *Colombian diaspora, politics of movement, proletarian, figures of migrants, surplus motion*

Introduction

This work explores some issues of large-scale transnational migration¹ in a south-to-south corridor employing the techniques of social expulsion, the migrant figures, and the regime of social motion proposed by Thomas Nail (2015) in *The Figure of the Migrant*. We complemented it with ethnographic material² like interviews and an analysis of migratory statistics and vital events.

For the ethnographic fieldwork, we collected material from twenty-one structured interviews, sixteen of these were Colombians, including nine women, with Venezuelan passports, and we conducted 43 semi-structured interviews with persons selected at random, like street sellers or beggars hanging out in Bogotá. Of these, 79 percent had at least one Colombian-born parent, and 64 percent had spent

¹ Transnationalism is “a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country (Fouron, Geoge, E. and Schiller, G., Nina 2001), 60

² We only use in this article a few notes of the ethnographic material those related with what high- and middle-class Colombians think about migrants and the lower class.

less than a year in Colombia. Finally, I received major help from conversations with dozens of my Colombian students, colleagues, and friends.

When we arrived in Colombia in 2013, there was an affluent Venezuelan community. Most individuals were middle- and upper-class professionals working in oil industry companies founded and owned by Venezuelans or small-scale business proprietors. We saw them leaving in 2014 for new destinies, particularly to the United States.

Nevertheless, a second wave of immigrants came from 2015. This new wave had two characteristics: most were precarious workers and were often descendants of Colombians born in Venezuela. To understand this migratory flow, Colombians who emigrated to Venezuela and their social conditions are essential. Therefore, the focus of this paper is on how Colombian migrants were expelled under different social figures from their country to Venezuela and then expelled again from their destination—Venezuela—after 2015.

The organization of the paper will proceed as follows. In the first section, we discuss the core concepts and methods used. Then, we examine the political regimes of social motion in both countries, and how they influence- historically- the population flow among them, including an exploration of demographic statistics. Next, we suggest looking at the current population movement as predominant reverse immigration of Colombian families and dual citizens hurt by the economic crisis in Venezuela. In this sense, we question the way migratory flows have been portrayed in the literature and the official statistics as a movement of exclusively “Venezuelans,” without considering the mixed character of that movement that includes dual citizens and Colombians returning home. To conclude we discuss the Colombian migrant figures using Nail categories and close the article with some final considerations.

Methods and concepts

This paper takes a mixed-method approach. To analyze the social conditions of migrants, we use concepts develop by Nail, and then the official migration and demographic statistics. We also used a non-parametric Spearman correlation ranking model, a geographically inspired method to measure the flow of migrants among both countries and their national origins.

The flow on that frontier is made up of two large groups. The first consists

of returning Colombians who emigrated to Venezuela and in recent years returned with their offspring born in Venezuela. As a result, the spatial distribution of Colombian emigrants who were in Venezuela must be strongly and positively correlated with the number of Venezuelan immigrants in many Colombian regions³ from which Colombian emigration to Venezuela was sizable. The second group is Venezuelans outside the counterflows of Colombian emigrants to Venezuela. Thus, the correlation between Colombian emigrants and Venezuelan immigrants will be low in those regions that attract this type of migrant. Therefore, the number of Venezuelan immigrants can vary significantly according to the earlier categorization. If the Venezuelan migrant came with his Colombian parents, he would enjoy dual citizenship and could move between both countries. If there are Colombian departments where Venezuelan immigrants concentrate and they do not come with Colombian return flows, these flows are actual Venezuelan migrants.

The vital statistics and censuses were used to estimate the Colombian demographic contribution in Venezuela and Colombian censuses and vital events for the real figure of Venezuelan migrants and foreigners living in Colombia. We must underline that the statistics of both countries have shortcomings. The Venezuelan census is voluntary, and participation of foreign migrants is historically low, but then tendencies are useful. The Colombian censuses and vital events do not distinguish between actual foreigners and people born abroad of Colombian parents, so they are as a rule very confusing and cumbersome to work with, since descendants of Colombians are registered as foreigners even if the Colombian constitution states in article 96 that children of Colombian parents born in foreign land are Colombians by birth.

The second approach is ethnographic and includes my participatory observation. But it was based on semi-structured and structured interviews with migrants and long conversations with dozens of my Colombian students, colleagues, and friends. From this fieldwork, we got information surrounding migratory phenomena. Finally, the analysis of migration presented here is not one of causal explanation; instead, it offers a social and historical analysis. The object is not to explain the causes of migration.

Nail says that the history of the migrant is the history of social motion. Societies are constantly moving people, objects, and trying to increase their

³ Colombia is divided in thirty-two departments; a department is the equivalent of a state in Venezuela or the United States.

territorial, political, juridical, and economic power through different practices of expansion and expulsion. In such a way, the theory of social motion radicalizes and expands Marx's classic concept of primitive accumulation. Nail describes three diverse ways in which expansion by extensive expulsion takes place: penal transportation, as those conducted in the 18th century from Great Britain to her colonies; The emigration of the relative surplus population and the denationalization of returned migrants. Nail theory underlines how social regimes of accumulation since ancient times bring into play four combined strategies of social expulsion: territorial, political, juridical, and economic. Each strategy is associated to a mode of circulation or what he calls kinopower (centripetal, centrifugal, tensional, and elastic forces). The combinations of social expulsion strategies and mode of circulation produces four historical categories of migrants: nomad, barbarian, vagabond, and proletarian. The nomad is the migrant expelled from the territory, the barbarian is expelled from political status and citizenship (denationalization), the vagabond from the juridical order, and the proletariat from the economic process. These figures are denied their social status (expulsion) to develop new forms of social motion (expansion) and they continue to coexist in the contemporary migratory processes. So, from Nail work, we used three constructs, the political figures, the strategies of expulsion, and the regime of social motion.

The regimes of social motion in both countries and the migration movement in the long run

The migration flow between Colombia and Venezuela can be explained by the differences in the techniques of population governance and of capital accumulation.

Colombia has been, during a great part of the twentieth century, a booty capitalist economy. Weber described booty capitalism as a way of accumulating wealth from war, plunder, and speculative adventures (Parkin 1982). Many characteristics of this type of capitalism are present in the Colombian economy, like in the large concentrations, through war and displacement, of land and in the cocaine production that gave rise to an influential *narcobourgeoisie* integrated into the legal economy (Richani 2013) and that, in the words of Arias Felipe (2019) is a macroeconomic "stabilizer."

The Andean country has been involved in a ruthless war over control and property of land and has been governed indirectly as a European colonial empire

(Robinson 2013). This form of internal colonialism has produced a highly stratified regional and social system. The national political elite, living in the capital Bogotá, have left vast geographical spaces in exchange for its power in the hands of local elites associated with non-state armed groups (paramilitaries and drug-trafficking bands). Peripheral regions live in a permanent low-intensity conflict to control resources (Hristov 2014). This conflict has a demographic logic. The depopulated regions (population decreased via the extermination of social groups that object to booty capitalism or displacement) are occupied with capital intensive activities like mining, large scale cattle raising and coca leaf plantations. Indeed, 70 per cent of the Colombian migrants in Venezuela come from peripheral regions like the Caribbean coast and the Oriental frontier where state and non-state (paramilitary and guerrillas) violence and appropriation of land is intense. Many of them settled in two Venezuelan border states. In the oil-producing state of Zulia lived 801,465 Colombo-Venezuelans out of a population of 3,704,404. In the agricultural state of Táchira lived 543,533 Colombo-Venezuelans out of 1,168,908 inhabitants⁴

Colombian capitalism relies heavily on non-capitalist methods of violence. Its political order displays a tendency to expel the surplus population⁵ to preserve the status quo, shelter the power elites from the populace's unrest, and encourage capital accumulation by dispossession. The Colombian power elite is obsessed over domestic instability and the threat of class war. Indeed, the permanent civil war has given Colombia's elites an alibi to crush progressive popular movements and attempts at social reforms. Social expulsion (displacement and emigration) is the basic condition for capitalist accumulation, expansion of private property and economic growth in Colombia.

During the era known as *La Violencia* (1948–1961), forced migration reached the astounding number of 2 million people out of a population of 11 million. As a result, the production frontier of cash crops grew by decreasing the domain of subsistence peasant agriculture. The development of a neoliberal predatory extractive economy (expansion) in the last two decades, such as oil, coal mining and

⁴ Projections for 2011 were estimated from Acnur et al. (2008), INE-Anuarios Estadísticos de Venezuela, and the census of 2011.

⁵ Venezuela has been forced to absorb the Colombian demographic surplus. More than 650,000 children born to clandestine Colombian migrants were granted Venezuelan citizenship between 1991 and 1998 because the Colombian government refused to recognize them as Colombian citizens, even if the Colombian political constitution in its article 96 establishes the right of the foreign-born children of Colombians to that citizenship.

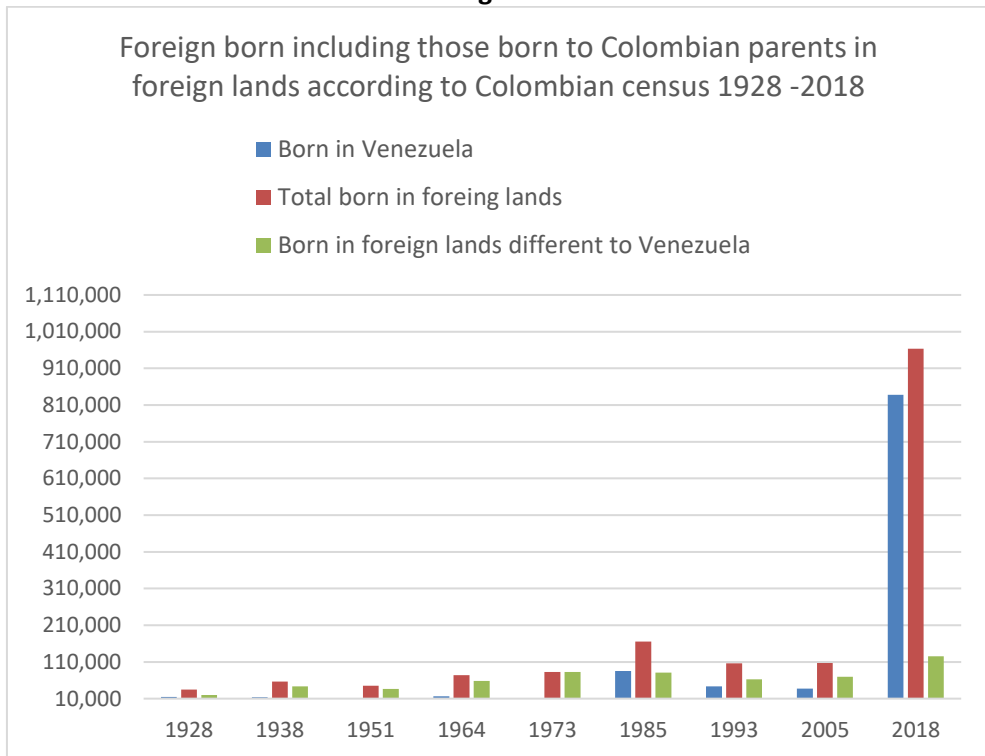
biofuels, has led to a new intense cycle of dispossession and forced displacement with the expropriation of lands of peasant communities, natives, and Afro-descendant populations (Ruiz and Santana Riva 2016; Hough 2007). All these communities lost their social status (expulsion). This surplus population either moved to urban centers, swelling the informal economy, or emigrated.

The extractive economy prospered, and an alliance of non-state armed groups, local and national elites, and transnational capital seized and accumulated millions of hectares of superior quality land. The political economy adopted by these social actors in seizing and accumulating land—violently—was argued with contemporary wit by Marx in a letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt, when Marx wrote: “in reducing the Irish population by eviction and forcible emigration, to such a small number that English capital (capital invested in land leased for farming) can function there with security” (Marx and Engels 1975). In Colombia, as in the case examined by Marx, expelling and reducing the *relative surplus population* is a key factor for capitalist accumulation.

Colombia is the country in South America with the scarcest migration because of few economic opportunities, intense internal violence, and an anti-migration public policy, justified on the basis that foreigners would endanger the socio-political order (Smitmans, Hernández and Iregui 2010). As an example, in the late 1930's, Colombia locked its doors to a well-educated Jewish migration coming from Europe. Colombian politicians, businesses and even common people perceived Jewish migrants as a threat to their way of life. This period is even associated with the emergence of a local version of anti-Semitism (Leal Villamizar 2011).

According to the Colombian census of 2018, there were 963,492 foreign born people (2 percent of the Colombian population) but many are dual citizens since they were born to Colombian parents in foreign countries. Different reports of Registraduría Nacional (National Civil Registry), reveal, for example, that 568,825 Venezuelan born of Colombian parents got Colombian citizenship between 2015 and 2019 while living in Colombian territory, thanks to article 96 of the Colombian constitution that states “are Colombian nationals by birth ... the children of a Colombian father or mother born abroad who have later established their domicile in the Colombian territory or registered in a consular office of the Republic”.

Figure 1



Source: Colombian censuses

As can be seen in Figure 1 the number of foreigners born stayed stable around 100,000 for decades, increasing rapidly only after 2016 due to the economic crisis in Venezuela. But if we subtract the people born to Colombian parents in foreign countries, including in Venezuela, the real number of immigrants is about 250,000. This is a small fraction of the total population of Colombia, which is 50 million people.

On the other hand, aliens who asked for and obtained a Colombian naturalization card were a meager 1,911 or 0.004 percent of the Colombian population (Extranjeros en Colombia 2016). The vital events show that of 15,216,578 live births, between 1998 to 2019, merely 20,659 or 0.13 percent were born to foreign mothers and this last figure may include some daughters of Colombians born in foreign lands but without the Colombian citizenship certificate. In fact, we can conclude that Colombia is a country with very few immigrants. Even Venezuelans migrants are a mixed group, since most of them are dual citizens because their parents are Colombians.

Apart from the numbers, Colombia is a country deeply influenced by Malthusian ideology and aporophobic⁶, as we inferred from our lengthy conversations with local informants and interviews. The urban and rural lower social classes are perceived as dangerous. In our dialogue with high social stratum Colombians and middle-class students, there is always a fear of a poor surplus population producing unemployment and class warfare. Returnees and migrants, according to our Colombian informants, are a dangerous group. They are a recruitment source for drug trafficking criminal bands, Marxist guerrillas, rise unemployment and are a drain on financial resources. But also, in our conversations with local people, we found a surprising and excluding notion of citizenship. It is intensely associated with the soil. As one of our informants told me emphatically, “to be a Colombian you must be born in Colombia and live in Colombia.” Thus, people born to Colombian parents in foreign land are rejected. Most people I spoke with share this narrow view of nationality, even my otherwise liberal and open-minded postgraduate students.

In contrast to restrictive Colombian immigration policies and anti-immigration *mentalité*, Venezuela has had a liberal policy. Immigration policies responded to labor market needs and demographic goals. Intellectuals and politicians were concerned after independence about the chronic shortage of labor and firmly endorsed immigration to solve it. In their view, Venezuela needed to populate its vast frontiers. Later, since the 1890s, under the influence of Spencerian positivism and European racist theories, the nation’s elites advocated both large-scale immigration and the whitening of the population by encouraging European migration (Wright 1993). Venezuelan elites associate modernity and rapid economic growth with liberal immigration policies and the population as a fundamental resource for capitalist accumulation. However, efforts to attract immigrants failed due to limited economic incentives until oil was discovered.

In the twentieth century, immigration policies succeeded; Venezuela became a state capitalist oil rentier economy, as illustrated in the works of Baptista (1997). During the high rise of oil-investment-driven capital accumulation, from 1920 to 1958, 1.3 million migrants (Sánchez Albornoz 2014) came to Venezuela. The country was, in 1960 the second world oil producer and the first exporter. In 1920,

⁶ From the Spanish aporofobia, and this from the Ancient Greek ἄπορος (á-porous), without wealth, poor or indigent and φόβος (phobos), fear. The Spanish philosopher Adela Cortina coined that term.

Caracas had a population of 100,000 inhabitants and 3,000 aliens, and by 1960 the city had reached 1.2 million inhabitants, including 300,000 foreign migrants, mostly Europeans. The population of Venezuela was 7 million in 1960 and the immigrants were 800,000.

Caracas became a mixture of European culture and the American way of life brought by the petroleum companies. A second and a third torrent of people arrived during the first oil boom (1974–1982), and the second one (2004–2011); people were attracted by the prospects of wealth from rising oil prices. These second and third waves were mostly undocumented Latin Americans (mostly Colombians) and Caribbeans. Even if the Venezuelan census is not a reliable source to know the absolute numbers of foreigners, it is helpful for grasping the tendencies. Most Colombian migrants arrived between 1970–1979 (22%) and 2001–2011 (32%), according to the census of 2011.

For decades, Venezuela has assimilated social motion surplus (immigrants) to regulate the imbalances produced by the economic cycles of oil income. Colombia became a source of cheap and abundant labor to be exploited by Venezuelan rentier capitalism. But unlike other oil countries, Venezuela encourages the settlement of immigrants. Sassen highlights the complexity of migration to Venezuela compared with other oil-producing countries in the Middle East when she says.

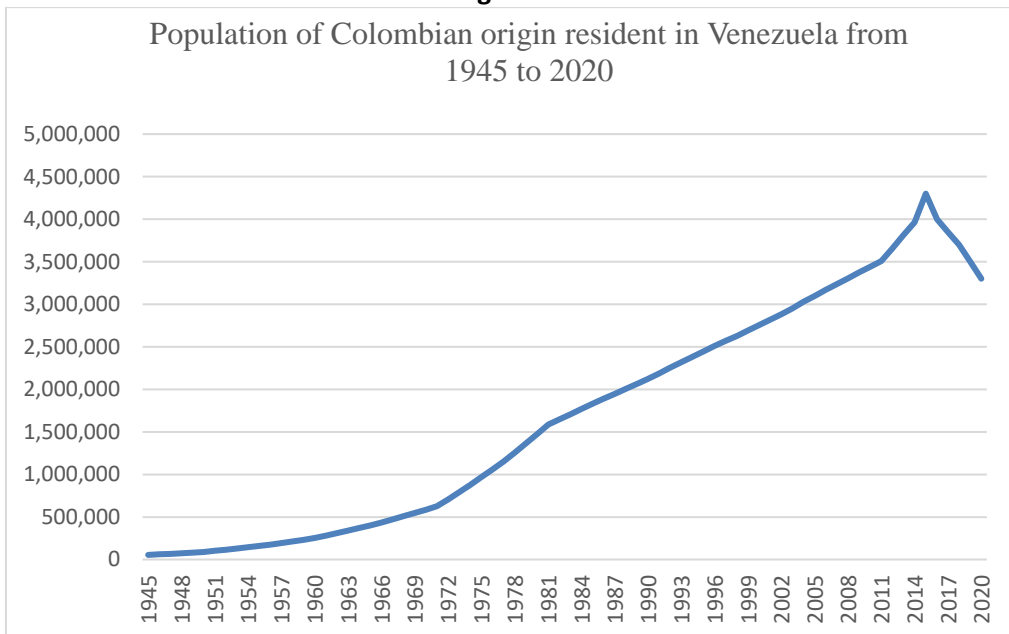
In contrast to nations as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, the recruitment of immigrant labor has a long history in Venezuela and occurs in a cultural context that historically has accepted and encouraged the long-term settlement (Sassen words cited by Massey et al. 1998, 211).

Indeed, there are 700,000 Colombian born naturalized Venezuelan and all second and third generations Colombians are Venezuelan citizens. During the Chavez government, 1,3 million undocumented immigrants were granted Venezuelan citizenship and residence. They were integrated into a social program (Missions Identidad) intended to issue identity documents to the population.

Thus, in the twentieth century, Venezuela became a society with many foreign-minority communities that played a significant role in shaping the culture and institutions. According to González (1991), 42 per cent of Venezuelans were foreign born and second- and third-generation migrants. Particularly, the European communities, consisting primarily of storekeepers, artisans, and professionals, have enjoyed economic wealth and a privileged social status. The European community in Venezuela consists of about 1.8 million people, most of them of Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and German background.

The Colombian community is the largest foreign community in Venezuela, but it is difficult to measure the real numbers because of the clandestine nature of these migrations. But most expert sources agree that there are several million people of different generations. The Venezuelan Immigration Service (SAIME) and Ministerio del Interior (Ministry of Internal Affairs) estimated in 2015 the Colombian community to be 5,135,346 (33 percent foreign born). The Colombian embassy in Caracas estimated the number to be 4,000,000 in 2014. Acov (Association of Colombians in Venezuela) at about 5 million. Our estimation, based on census growth rates and vital statistics, is about 4,330,273 inhabitants (38 percent foreign born). Colombians are 14 percent of the population of Venezuela and 9 percent of the population of their old country, figure 2 illustrates the quantitative importance of the Colombian community. However, since 2015, the Colombian community in Venezuela began to shrink, as they returned to the old country because of the economic crisis fueled by United States sanctions.

Figure 2



Sources: Venezuelan censuses and projections from 1945 to 2020 and vital events from 1944 to 2012. INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas) and Anuarios Estadísticos

Colombian migrant movement to Venezuela has been correlated with diverse factors: family networks, unemployment, geographic proximity, political



violence, oil revenues, and the welfare state. Indeed, the decision that leads to emigrate is multidimensional. But as Gall says

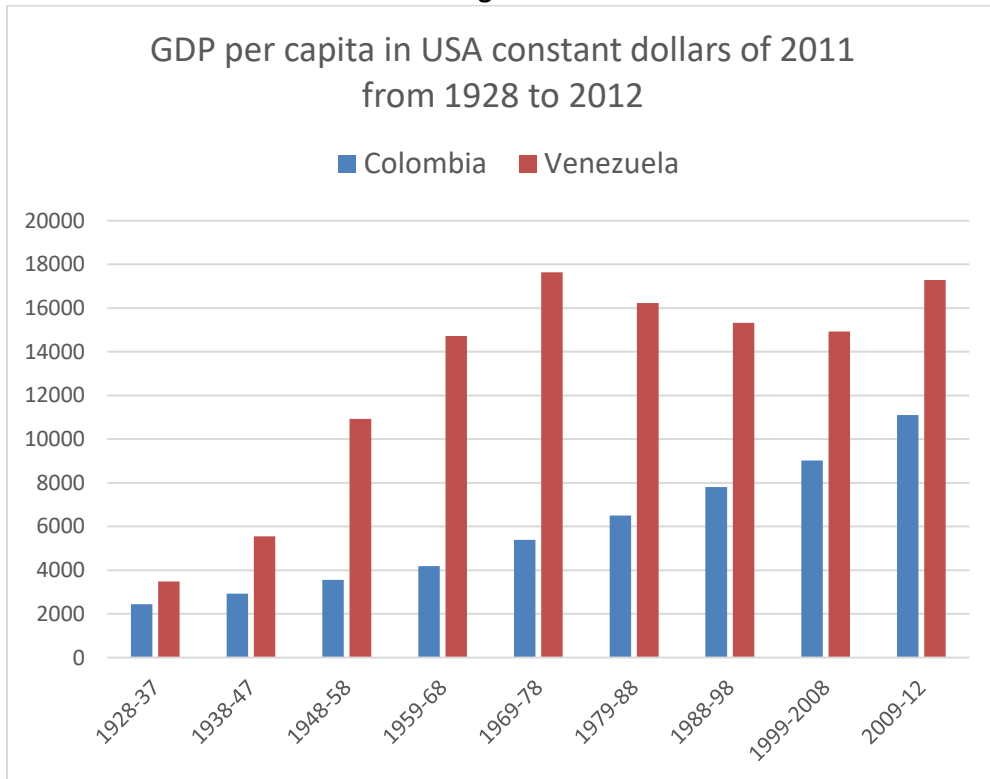
It is largely because of Venezuela's easy and unearned oil prosperity that the Colombian undocumented have found their uneasy, illegal, but desperately sought place in the hemisphere's richest underdeveloped society, in a society that has become hyperurbanized and an economy ... on continued high per capita oil income ... Economically speaking, the Colombian undocumented is just one more cheap imported commodity sucked in by the Venezuelan economy's extraordinary capacity to buy foreign goods (Gall 1972).

The oil-income cycles (expansion and contraction) interlinked with the political violence in Colombia is a key factor of gravitation. The internal unrest in Colombia and oil price oscillations could explain most Colombian movement from and to Venezuela. Colombian immigration increased during *la Violencia*, a ten-year civil war that began after the assassination (1948) of radical politician Jorge Eliecer Gaitan. Arrivals of migrants increased yet again during the first oil boom between 1974–1981. Thereafter, there was a decline in immigration that was associated with a drop in oil revenue. The last wave of Colombian immigration, many refugees, intersects with the severe social and political violence in Colombia from 1991 to 2013, and the uphill oil price cycle. A reverse migratory movement started to take place in 2015 with the signing of the peace agreement with the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) and the crisis in Venezuela.

Yet recent research (AVN 2015) shows that the movement of Colombians to Venezuela is the outcome of a continuous production of a surplus population in Colombia (77% of migrants move for employment). The second motive for emigration (18% of the migrants) is the result of dense social and family networks, developed over decades with the transition from low to mass emigration. Finally, the large income gap, during most of the XX century (figure 3) between the Colombian-based agricultural economy and the Venezuelan oil economy together with a high demand for low skill labor were key factors attracting Colombian migrants.

The Colombian migrant workforce has clustered in jobs like domestic servants, janitors, masons, day laborers, agricultural workers, and street vendors. Colombian families anchored at the lower end of the social scale. They fulfill low-paying occupations demanded by wealthy urban middle and upper classes, most of them Creoles and white European expatriates and their descendants. The added demand came from small businesses and *haciendas* that needed cheap and unskilled workers.

Figure 3



Source: Banco Central de Venezuela and Departamento Nacional de Planeación Colombia

The current migration crisis

The information on the state of migratory flows along the Colombian-Venezuelan border is confusing. Most statistics comes from four Latin American (Ecuador, Chile, Peru, and Colombia) governments allied with the United States in the conflict with Venezuela. This circumstance should produce hesitation about the data's accuracy. As Scheel and Ustek-Spilda say and applies to the politics of numbers in the Colombo-Venezuelan corridor,

“Politics concerns how institutional interests and agendas of the actors of particular policy fields shape decisions about how migrants are counted and what kind of numbers are ultimately disseminated in the public sphere.” (Scheel and Ustek-Spilda 2018)

In an article, Hanson (2018) questioned the Venezuelan emigration wave, citing the fact that 641,353 Venezuelans entered Ecuador from January to August

2018, but the vast majority—524,857—left.

Since statistics on Venezuelan emigration are often inaccurate to varying degrees and highly politicized⁷, we may suggest one estimate based on demographic methods. There is a correlation between vital events and the size and structure (age and sex) of the population that produces them. As Van Hook (2019) says, “populations leave ‘footprints’ of their presence in the form of deaths and births” or, as Bogue states, “The number of births and deaths which occur each year among a population is roughly proportional to the size of that population” (1950).

Table 1. Mortality and estimated Venezuelan population in Colombia 2020.

Age group	Colombian Population	Colombian Death	Colombian Mortality/ rate per-1000	Venezuelan Death	Venezuela Population
1 or less	1,559,800	6,944	4.45	55	12,354
2 - 4	2,367,456	649	0.27	14	51,070
5 - 9	3,936,569	745	0.19	1	5,284
10 - 14	3,975,771	1,112	0.28	3	10,726
15 - 19	4,136,556	3,416	0.83	13	15,742
20 - 24	4,327,019	5,750	1.33	41	30,854
25 - 29	4,224,837	6,166	1.46	31	21,241
30 -34	3,866,655	5,985	1.55	36	23,258
35 -39	3,604,026	6,553	1.82	26	14,300
40 - 44	3,221,169	7,238	2.25	22	9,791
45 - 49	2,909,035	8,688	2.99	19	6,362
50 - 54	2,834,927	12,347	4.36	22	5,051
55 - 59	2,599,963	17,169	6.60	26	3,937
60 - 64	2,146,355	22,830	10.64	29	2,726
65 - 69	1,648,967	27,258	16.53	25	1,512
70 - 74	1,199,084	30,959	25.82	27	1,046
75 - 79	804,743	33,448	41.56	18	433
80 - 84	494,772	37,646	76.09	27	355
85 +	514,720	65,708	127.66	0	0
Total	50,372,424	300,611	5.97	435	216,042

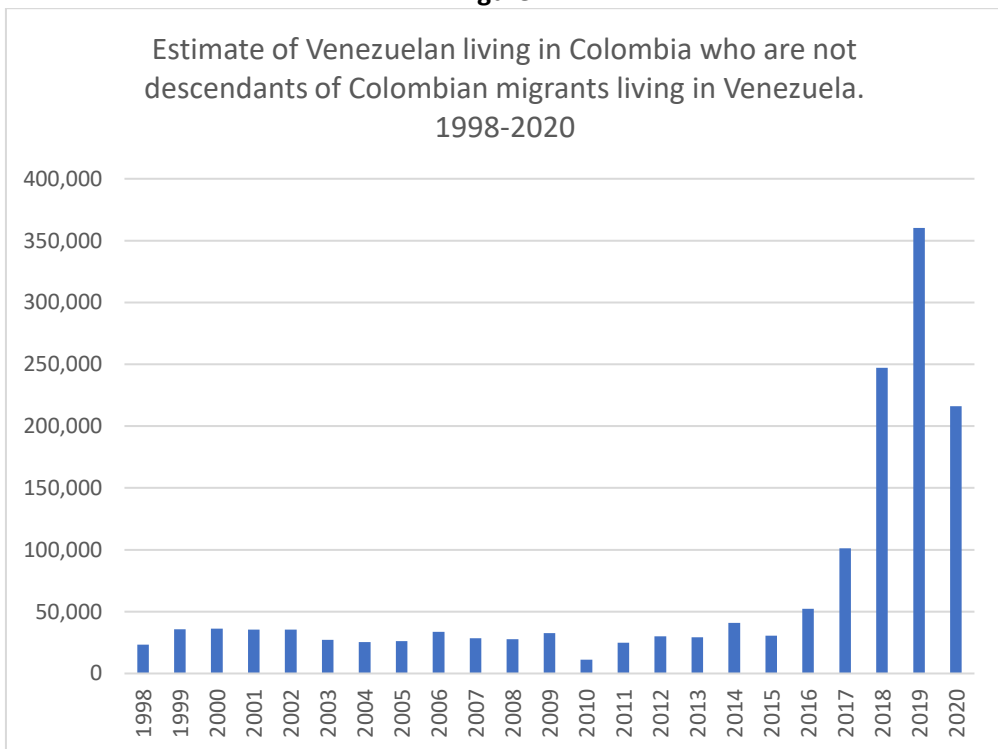
Source: DANE vital statistics 2020, for the method see Borjas, J. George.J, Freeman, B, Friedman, Lang, K. 1991.

⁷ According to Argos (2021): Multilaterals “have shown difficulties in establishing a measurement of Venezuelan migratory flows due to the weight of return migration and people with dual nationality” causing differences in the UN agencies statistics of 100% for 2019.

According to Colombian census bureau DANE, 435 Venezuelans of all ages die in Colombia in 2020. Assuming mortality rates are similar for Venezuelans and Colombians⁸. The number of mononational Venezuelans in Colombia is 216,042 (Table 1).

We can offer a historical series of Venezuelans living in Colombia from 1998 to 2020. For that purpose, we used the Colombian official vital events statistics and the method proposed by Borjas, J. George.J, Freeman, B, Friedman, Lang, K. (1991). As can be seen from figure 4, Venezuelans remained steady from 1998 to 2015, oscillating around 40,000 people. From 2016 the number of Venezuelans increases to reach a maximum in 2019, and then began to fall swiftly in 2020, when many Venezuelans began to return home or began their migratory journey to the United States.

Figure 4



Source: DANE vital statistics and the method taken from Borjas, J. George.J, Freeman, B, Friedman, Lang, K. (1991)

⁸ I assumed that all vital events come from mononational Venezuelans, but surely, they include descendants of Colombians without the citizenship certificates

The numbers estimated here are far from the one million or more Venezuelans living in Colombia. Indeed, and this is our claim, there is no correlation whatsoever between vital events and the number of publicized Venezuelans immigrants by the Colombian Government.

To put it plainly, for foreigners living in Colombia, neither the Census bureau nor Migration Colombia use statistical tools that differentiate between Colombians born abroad and returnees and actual immigrants. It is well known in the literature that foreigners settling in Colombia include persons born abroad of Colombian parents, who usually arrive with the return of the latter (Ochoa 2012).

Also, from the RAMV (Administrative Registry of Venezuelan Migrants of 2018), we may infer the national origin of the population moving from Venezuela to Colombia. We used the geographical migration model employed by Santana. He used two variables, the Venezuelan migrants living in each Colombian region, according to the Colombian census of 2005, and Colombian returnees by region of origin with migratory experience in Venezuela.

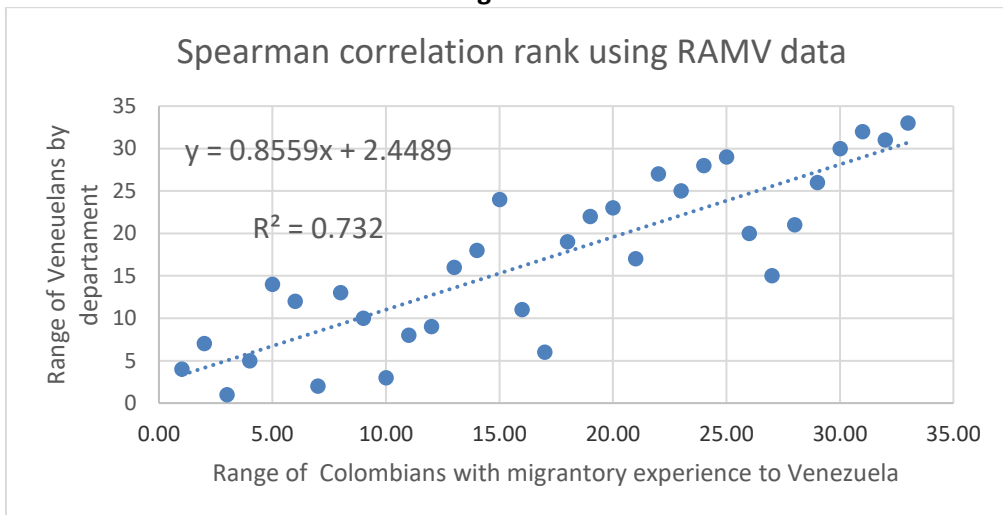
We as Santana used those two variables, Venezuelans living in each Colombian region and those Colombians with migratory experience in Venezuela who returned to their regions, but we employed data from RAMV. The relationship between the ranges of the two variables is remarkably high (0.8559), as can be seen in Figure 5.

So, if a Colombian region presented an historically strong flow of emigrants to Venezuela, we expect to find a strong concentration of Venezuelan immigrants in that region. The former allegation implies that a large part of the Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia have arrived because of a return of Colombians, being the first (“Venezuelan migrants”) children of the second (Colombian returnees).

Following the result of the Spearman correlation rank statistic model and vital events method, we conclude that Colombian transnational migrants in Venezuela are returning to their regions of origin in Colombia with their children born in Venezuela. What the Colombian government registers as “Venezuelan immigrants” are mostly Colombians. Next, there is also an economic dimension to this agenda. By denying the Colombians returnees their national status, the Colombian state passes on the welfare cost of this surplus motion onto the international community donors and governs them as a stateless social surplus. Thus, they are expelled from the political status of Colombian citizenship and become the new figure of the barbarian (a Nail category) in that migratory corridor.

In fact, according to an article by the influential Colombian conservative newspaper *El Tiempo* (2020) the Colombians born in Venezuela (dual citizens) were a political threat to national security. The Registrar’s Office was even contemplating refusing Colombian returnees their right to vote because they could vote for left-wing parties (Alsema 2020). In fact, thousands of Colombians born in Venezuela have recently been disfranchised.

Figure 5



Source: Colombian census 2005 and RAMV.

What are the outcomes of this process of denationalization? A direct one is the inflation of the number of Venezuelans. As Hanson (2018) says,

Migration data is often politicized and used to justify policies that themselves violate human rights. For example, migration statistics in the United States have been used to push for draconian legislation, increased border security, and the criminalization of immigrants. In the case of Venezuelan emigration, estimates have been used to justify misguided sanctions and even potential military intervention... (358).

The figure of the Colombian migrant

Political figures of migrants are associated with the strategies of social expulsion and the mobile process in each historical milieu. They are important to understand the social background of migrants. Since the 19th century, the proletarian has been the principal figure whose movement is determined by the

economic elastic forces of expansion and contraction that redistribute the population to cover a deficit or remove the surplus. The proletarian family is the predominant figure of the Colombian migrant in Venezuela.

Another social category is what Bauman (2004) calls redundant people, those having no distinct social status and those not needed for economic expansion. They are neither valuable consumers nor producers. These migrants come from the *outcast* segments of Colombian society and need help to reproduce biologically and socially since they cannot produce their own means of subsistence.

In Agamben's (1998) depiction, the outcast is the *homo sacer*, a juridical term of archaic Roman law to describe the person cast out from the community. The life of this subject is devoid of value. In Colombia there is a local word for the *homo sacer*: *desechables* (disposable). There is a lengthy list of "undesirables" in that country, which includes beggars, street children, drug addicts, petty criminals, prostitutes, LGBT people, political activists, human rights defenders, union leaders, idle persons perceived as a drain on the resources of society, and even migrants. Social cleansing groups like paramilitary forces and vigilantes, allied with the state security apparatuses, have undertaken numerous massacres for decades. The war against the lower strata and political dissidents has been a way to enforce social order and discipline with an iron fist (Stannaw 1996, Graham 2016) and Manetto 2019).

Many of these *desechables* moved to Venezuela. In a dialogue with Caracol Radio a consul of Colombia in Caracas and Colombians from local associations acknowledged that more than 70% of Colombians in Caracas lived in slums. They described *ghettos* occupied by a floating population of itinerant workers and single-parent households with their sons outside of the school system and in street gangs. Nevertheless, they could subsist in Venezuela, despite all the difficulties they endured, thanks to subsidies granted by the government (Caracol 2006).

Other categories, such as the barbarian, the nomad, and the vagabond, are ideal types since we should understand those figures in an intersected way. The barbarian is, following Aristotle, the person unable to speak Greek, the language of the political center, and who lacks the *logos* to be part of the social-political body of the city state. He is the product of the centrifugal force, an outward-directed motion from the center to the periphery.

The Colombian "illegal" is the core figure of the barbarian. These migrants were subject to hard-working conditions and lived without the status of a citizen.

Wages were exceptionally low because employers exploited the workers' juridical defenselessness. Once in the power of the oppressing bosses, they would work for lower wages than Venezuelans. The left-wing Chavez government ended this inequality by legalizing 924,118 undocumented Colombians (Ministry of Internal Affairs -Saime -migration services- 2015). The Venezuelan bourgeoisie angrily criticized the naturalization campaign because "those people voted for Hugo Chávez to receive perks." (Schwarz 2014). This bigoted rhetoric underlines the figure of the "illegal Colombian" as deprived of the ability to be a citizen like the ancient barbarian. This xenophobic narrative resumed during the closing of the frontier between August 2015 and August 2016. More than 30,000 Colombians were expelled from Venezuela without due process (The Guardian 2015, Agencia Efe-El Espectador 2015). The government used military forces to round up whole communities in border districts and suspended the juridical order in the frontier regions. The *Barrio la Invasion*, where 1,800 Colombian families lived in the border state of Táchira was a special military target. The Venezuelan government affirmed that a huge paramilitary base functioned there. The Barrio was demolished, and its population expelled.

Since 2013, migrants coming from Colombia has faced a bureaucrat apparatus that ended legalization procedures, sometimes refusing to issue birth certificates for their babies and increasing deportation (Pardo 2015, Infante 2013, and Hernandez 2019).

The next figure of the barbarian is the climate migrant, illustrated here as a historical-social category. As B. Lee Drake (2017) says,

A recent reconstruction of the North Atlantic Oscillation (NAO) offers insight into a specific potential climatic driver for historical migrations in Europe... specifically in the Western Roman Empire... a key vulnerability of climate change is push factors which contribute to migrations" (2, 4).

The 2010 Colombian heavy rain season associated with flooding and landslides left millions of people homeless. Many, coming from the northern coast, moved to Venezuela. The city of Caracas sheltered 58,299 Colombian climatic refugees (Expansion 2010). The barbarian is also a figure identified with the ancient Germanic and Slavic tribes crossing the Roman Empire *limes* and colonizing imperial lands. Colombians often move in substantial numbers to Venezuela, seizing land and founding small towns and barrios on the frontier. A good example is the town of *El Cruce* (the Crossing) in the Zulia border state, settled by thousands of Colombian families fleeing from political violence (Lares 2005).

The vagabond is the third figure associated with the demise of feudalism. The vagabond is the product of tensional forces and the dissolution of pre-capitalist juridical covenants. In today's world, we could relate the vagabond to guest-worker programs. In the Colombian-Venezuelan case, workers in border areas were subject to an international legal provision, the Tonchala Treaty of 1959. This treaty allowed Colombian and Venezuelan labor forces to cross the border to work. But, above all, it permitted the Venezuelan agrarian capital to hire cheap Colombian seasonal workers. In 1980, of one million agricultural workers in Venezuela, 250,000 were Colombians (Gomez and Diaz 1983).

The last figure is the nomad, whose kinopower is the centripetal force brought about by the hoarding of land for agriculture and mining. The agrarian counter-reform in Colombia and the mining concessions to transnational corporations- in the last two decades- are crucial factors to understand the exclusion of people from the means of production. This was intense in border areas like Guajira and Norte de Santander, thereby producing a floating population which became involved in smuggling Venezuelan products to survive, moving constantly back and forth, and trafficking mostly gas. The archetypal figure is the *pimpinero*, the designation for the Colombian gasoline smuggler named after a small plastic container.

The second group of nomads are peasants evicted from their land and means of production. We know them as persons in need of international protection or refugees. During the period of *La Violencia* (1948–1961) 100,000 Colombians entered Venezuela, fleeing the civil war in their country. A second wave of at least 200,000 refugees arrived during the first decade of the twentieth century as the conflict in Colombia escalated (Acnur et al. 2007; Cruzando las Fronteras Memorias del Exodo haka Venezuela el caso del Rio Arauca 2015).

Final considerations

To sum up, the Colombian emigration to Venezuela has been a social experience where all different modes of circulation, expulsion strategies, and political figures are traceable as discussed in Nail's text. It has proven itself an escape valve for the long and brutal internal conflict in Colombia. Colombian emigration to Venezuela is motivated by the intense violence directed at the population because of the expansion of capitalist accumulation. Since the assassination of the radical popular

leader Gaitan in 1948, 1,000,000 Colombians have died in multiple internal conflicts, 100,000 are missing, 11,000,000, mostly peasants, have been displaced (Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas 2019). This violence is intrinsic to the economic and political institutional arrangements to reproduce the social system which interlocked with oil income cycles and labor demand in Venezuela has pushed Colombian to Venezuela for decades.

The significant levels of Colombian immigration were unnecessary since natural population growth was enough to supply the workers needed by the economy. It served the interest of Venezuelan bourgeoisie that benefitted from a disenfranchised low-wage labor. The losers were the Venezuelan working class in terms of employment. A recent study on employment (Levy and Yang 2014), for the period from 1980 to 2003, concluded that Colombian immigration brought a sizable increase (a one-to-one ratio) in unemployment for Venezuelans.

Venezuela has always needed a qualified foreign workforce to fulfill its development programs, but most immigrants have been unskilled workers hired irregularly, instead of the specialized labor needed, and most migrants (Colombians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Haitians, and Trinidadians) have been engaged in the informal sector. These immigrants, in turn, have competed with Venezuelans for limited employment and services (Davila 2001). As well, the environment has been particularly damaged by this immigration and its high birthrate. Since the seventies, Colombians have been important organizers of urban land invasions and have formed a sizable part of the inhabitants of the squatter settlements in occidental cities like Maracaibo (Gall 1972, Campos 2019). Fertile land like in the Colón District in western Venezuela was occupied by Colombian migrants. From these invasions appeared new towns like Tres Bocas and other *caseríos* (small villages). An estimated 50,000 Colombian *conuqueros* (slash-and-burn, nomadic subsistence farmers) removed a substantial portion of the forest land in the states of Barinas and Apure (Gall 1972).

We lack consistent data to make an unbiased assessment of the Venezuelan emigration. But most of the people moving under pressure and voluntarily in the occidental corridor are *Colombian families* that include a substantial number of Venezuelan-born descendants, thus a mixed population. On the other hand, the Colombian official statistics are hardly a reliable source. Even if we do not have consistent numbers of returnees and migrants, a good guesstimate could be from 800,000 to 1,000,000 ethnic Colombians moved in the last four to five years, or 20% of those who lived in Venezuela and 200,000 ethnic Venezuelans moved to Colombia. Nevertheless, the

situation is very fluid. From March 2020, about 1,200 Venezuelans and dual citizens have fled daily, on foot or buses, from Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Chile (Sures 2020).

The politics of the Colombo-Venezuelan migratory corridor shows how migrations have complex repercussions. They are social-political and historical phenomena with many angles, including today's geopolitical drives. Migration is a hybrid experience where political and social forces, different techniques of expulsion, and figures coexist.

References

- Acnur, et al. 2008. *El perfil de la población colombiana con necesidad de protección internacional. El caso de Venezuela*: Caracas, Lithoexpress CA.
- Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo sacer: Sovereign power and bare life*. Stanford, University Press.
- Agencia Efe-El Espectador. 2015. Maduro dice que la inmigración colombiana está poniendo "al límite" a su país. (<https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/elmundo/maduro-dice-inmigracion-colombiana-esta-poniendo-al-lim-articulo-580477>).
- Argos. 2021. Human Mobility in Venezuela: Recent Emigration (<https://www.argosob.org/2021/04/human-mobility-in-venezuela-recent-emigration/>)
- Alsema, A. 2020. Colombia may refuse right to vote to citizens who fled Venezuela. *Colombian report*. (<https://colombiareports.com/colombia-may-refuse-right-to-vote-to-citizens-who-fled-venezuela/>)
- Arias Andrés Felipe. 2019. *Cocaína: ¿Estabilizador Macroeconómico Colombiano 2015-2018?* Bogotá, Universidad Sergio Arboleda.
- AVN 2015. Mayoría de colombianos residentes en Venezuela acuden a misiones sociales de salud. (<http://www.avn.info.ve/contenido/mayor%C3%ADa-colombianos-residentes-venezuela-acuden-misiones-sociales-salud>)
- Banco Central de Venezuela. Series Estadísticas de Venezuela 1950-1999, tomo I-A y Tomo I-B, and Informes Económicos 2000-2013.
- Baptista, Asdrúbal. 1997. *Teoría económica del capitalismo rentístico*. Caracas: BCV.
- Bauman, Zygmunt 2004. *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Bogue, J.D. 1950. "A Technique for Making Extensive Population Estimates" *Journal of the American Statistical Association* Vol. 45, No. 250), pp. 149-163.
- Borjas, J. George.J, Freeman, B, Friedman, Lang, K. 1991. Undocumented Mexican-born Workers in the United States: How Many, How Permanent? In *Immigration, Trade and the Labor Market*. John M. Abowd and Richard B. Freeman, editors. (p. 77 - 100). University of Chicago Press
- Campos, B. 2019. "A Colombian barrio in Venezuela: San Blas. Part I" (<http://urbz.net/articles/colombian-barrio-venezuela-san-blas.-part-i.>)
- Campos, Encinales Laura. 2019. "Colombianos de sangre, pero sin papeles: el drama de los retornados". *Armando info* (<https://armando.info/Reportajes/Details/2605>)
- Caracol Radio. 2006. "Entre el 70 y 80 por ciento de los pobres que viven en las zonas marginales de Caracas, son colombianos". (https://caracol.com.co/radio/2006/07/27/internacional/1153987260_313634.html) (<https://alacarta.caracol.com.co/audio/313757/>)

- Cruzando las Fronteras Memorias del Éxodo hacia Venezuela el caso del Rio Arauca. 2015. *Informe del Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica*. (<http://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/descargas/informes2015/naciondesplazada/cruzando-la-frontera.pdf>.)
- DANE (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística Colombia). Censuses 2005, 2018, and vital events 2020. Bogotá.
- Dávila Ricardo Luis. 2001. Confused borders: the social impact of migration. In ECLAC/ Population Division, *International migration, and development in the Americas Symposium on International Migration in the Americas. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)* (251–269). San José de Costa Rica.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación. Estadísticas Históricas. (<https://www.dnp.gov.co/estudios-y-publicaciones/estudios-economicos/Paginas/estadisticas-historicas-de-colombia.aspx>)
- Drake, B. Lee. 2017. “Changes in North Atlantic oscillation drove population migrations and the collapse of the Western Roman Empire”. *Scientific Reports*, 7(1227).
- Expansion. 2010. “Venezuela alberga a 58,299 colombianos damnificados por las lluvias” (<https://expansion.mx/mundo/2010/12/08/venezuela-alberga-a-58299-colombianos-damnificados-por-las-lluvias>)
- El Tiempo. 2020. “Indagan plan desde Venezuela para afectar las elecciones en Colombia”. (<https://www.eltiempo.com/unidad-investigativa/nicolas-maduro-indagan-plan-desde-venezuela-para-afectar-elecciones-en-colombia-549117>)
- Extranjeros en Colombia. 2016. *Migración Colombia -DANE*. (<https://www.migracioncolombia.gov.co/documentos/estadisticas/publicaciones/Extranjeros%20en%20Colombia%20Aproximacion%20migratoria%20a%20sus%20trayectorias%20en%20Co.pdf>)
- Fouron Geoge E. and Schiller G Nina 2001 “The generation of identity: Redefining the second generation within a transnational social field” In Hector Cordero-Guzman, Robert C. Smith, and Ramon Grosfoguel (Eds.), *Migration, transnationalization and race in a changing New York*, Temple University Press,60
- Gall, Norman 1971. “Undocumented Colombians.” *American Universities Field Staff Report*. (<http://www.normangall.com/html%20publicacoes/arquivo%20das%20publicacoes/venezuela/Los%20indocumentados%20colombianos.pdf>). Accessed 23 January 2017)
- Glassman, Jim. 2006. “Primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession, accumulation by ‘extra-economic means’”. *Progress in Human Geography*, 30(5), 608–625.
- Gómez, Jiménez Alcides & Díaz Mesa, Luz Marina 1983. *La moderna esclavitud: Los indocumentados en Venezuela*. Bogotá. Editorial Oveja Negra.
- González, Enrique. 1991. “En Venezuela todos somos minorías”. *Nueva Sociedad*, 111, 128–140.
- Graham, Thomas 2016. “Exterminating people like bugs.” *Colombia Reports*, (<https://colombiareports.com/social-extirmination-undesirables-colombia/>)
- Hanson, Rebecca. 2018. “Deciphering Venezuela’s emigration wave”, *NACLA. Report on the Americas*, 50(4), 356–35
- Hernández Parada Fernández. 2019. “De vuelta a Colombia tras una vida en Venezuela”. *Acnur*. (<https://www.acnur.org/noticias/noticia/2019/8/5d5c64e64/de-vuelta-a-colombia-tras-una-vida-en-venezuela.html>.)

- Hough, Phillip. 2007. "Trajectories of hegemony and domination in Colombia: A comparative analysis of the coffee, banana and coca regions from the rise of developmentalism to the era of neoliberalism ". Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University.
- Hristov, Jasmin 2014. *Paramilitarism and neoliberalism violent systems of capital accumulation in Colombia and beyond*. London, Pluto Press.
- INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Venezuela)—Anuario Estadístico de Venezuela. Migratory Net Balance of Venezuela and vital events annual reports from 1944 to 2003.
- INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Venezuela). Censuses from 1941 to 2011 and vital events from 2000 to 2012.
- Infante, Alfredo. 2013. "Deportaciones en Venezuela: ¿Patria o xenofobias seguras?" *Revista Sic*, (<https://revistasic.gumilla.org/2013/deportacion-en-venezuela-patria-segura-o-xenofobia-segura/>)
- Lares, Valentina. 2005. Pueblos made in Colombia. *El Tiempo*, (<http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-1621087>).
- Leal Villamizar, L., M., 2011 "Colombia frente al antisemitismo y la inmigración de judíos polacos y alemanes" Maestría tesis. Universidad Nacional de Colombia 1933-1948
- Levy, Dan, & Yang, Dean. 2014. "Competing for jobs or creating jobs?". The impact of immigration on native born unemployment in Venezuela, 1980–2003 in Venezuela before Chávez". In Ricardo Haussmann & Francisco Rodríguez (Eds.), *Anatomy of an economic collapse* (229-257). Pennsylvania State University.
- Manetto, F. 2019. "Colombia se enfrenta a la exhumación de 200.000 cuerpos sin identificar" *El País*. (https://elpais.com/internacional/2019/12/17/colombia/1576606014_842390.html.)
- Martes, Daimer., & Mora Navas, Luis. 2020. "Migraciones venezolanas y la COVID-19: Revisión y análisis de la situación entre marzo y abril de 2020". *Sures*. (<https://sures.org.ve/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Migraciones-venezolanas-y-la-COVID-19.pdf>)
- Marx, Karl., & Engels, Frederick. 1975. "Marx to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt in New York, April 9, 1870. Selected correspondence." *Progress Publishers*. (https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/letters/70_04_09.htm)
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J.D. 1998. *Worlds in motion. Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Saime (2015) Punto de Información. Situación de ciudadanos de colombianos en Venezuela.
- Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Venezuela: Memorias y Cuenta. Annual reports from 1961 to 2000.
- Nail, Thomas. (2015). *The figure of the migrant*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ochoa, William. 2012. "Colombia y las migraciones internacionales. Evolución reciente y panorama actual a partir de la cifra". *Rev. Inter. Mob. Hum.*, 39, 185–210.
- Pardo, Daniel. 2015. "El miedo con el que viven muchos colombianos en Venezuela. *BBC Mundo*". (https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/09/150910_venezuela_colombia_deportados_frontera_dp)
- Parkin, Frank. 1982. *Max Weber*. London, Tavistock Publications.

- RAMV, Unidad Nacional para la Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres (UNGRD). 2018. (http://portal.gestiondelriesgo.gov.co/Paginas/Slide_home/Registro-Administrativo-de-Migrantes-Venezolanos-RAMV.aspx)
- Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil 2020. Informes de Gestión (<https://www.registraduria.gov.co/-Informes-de-Gestion,40->)
- Richani, Nazih 2013. *Systems of violence. The political economy of war and peace in Colombia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Robinson, James. A. 2013. Colombia: “¿Another 100 Years of Solitude?” *Current History*, 112(751), 43–48.
- Ruiz, Yaneth., & Santana Rivas, Daniel. 2016. “La nueva geografía de la explotación minero-energética y la acumulación por desposesión en Colombia entre 1997 y 2012”. *Cepal Notas de Población*, 102, 249–277.
- Sánchez Albornoz, Nicolas. 2014. *Historia mínima de la población en América Latina*. España: Editorial Turner.
- Santana, Daniel. 2008. “Geografía de la inmigración venezolana en Colombia. Entre 1993 y 2008”. *Ar@cne Revista electronica*, 124. <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/ aracne/aracne-124.htm>
- Stannow Lovisa. 1996. “Social Cleansing in Colombia”. Máster Dissertation. Simon Fraser University.
- Schwarz, Tobias. 2014. “Regímenes de pertenencia nacional en Venezuela y la República Dominicana contemporánea”. *Tabula Rasa*. No.20:227-246.
- Scheel, Stephan., & Ustek-Spilda, F. 2018. “Big data, big promises: Revisiting migration statistics in context of the datafication of everything.” (<https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2018/05/big-data-big>)
- Smitmans, M., Hernández, L., & Iregui, T. 2010. “Indagación sobre las causas de la escasa inmigración en Colombia: ¿ausencia de políticas o políticas públicas restrictivas?” *Opera*, 10, 167–183.
- The Guardian. 2015. “Venezuela deports almost 800 Colombians in border-region crackdown”. *The Guardian* (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/24/venezuela-colombia-deportation-border-crackdown>)
- Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas. 2019. (<https://www.unidadvictimas.gov.co/es/registro-unico-de-victimas-ruv/3739>)
- Van Hook, Jennifer. 2019. “Counting 11 million undocumented immigrants is easier than Trump thinks”. *The Conversation*. (<https://theconversation.com/counting-11-million-undocumented-immigrants-is-easier-than-trump-thinks-120459>).
- Weisbrot, Mark & Sachs, Jeffrey. 2019. “Economic sanctions as collective punishment: The case of Venezuela”. *Center for Economic and Policy Research*. Washington, DC. (<http://cepr.net/publications/reports/economic-sanctions-as-collective-punishment-the-case-of-venezuela>)
- Wright, R. Winthrop. 1993. *Café con leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela*. Austin, University of Texas.
- Wyman, Mark. 2001. “Return migration—old story, new story”. *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 20(1), 1–18.

Determinants of Return Migration Decision among Ethiopian International Returnees of Addis Ababa: Implications for Sustainable Livelihoods of Returnees

Abinet Fulasa CHINKILO, Teferee Makonnen KASSA, Temesgen Tilahun TESHOME

Abstract. Scientific evidences on determinants of return migration decision were scanty in Ethiopia. The study is an endeavour made to unveil the determinants of return migration decision in Addis Ababa. A cross-sectional study was conducted on a sample of 402 international returnees drawn via a simple random sampling method to provide a platform for future intervention efforts. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive, inferential statistics, and binary logistic regression model (BLRM). The chi-square test indicated that there is no statistically significant relationship between forced and voluntary return modalities and the sex, roles in the family, religion, and educational status of the returnees at the 0.05 level of significance. Results of BLRM depicted that destination area factors had more substantial positive impact with the odds ratio of 85.70 than homeland and personal factors with the odds ratio of 25.58, and 9.12 respectively, despite, all the three factors have a positive effect on likelihood of making return migration decision at ($P < 0.001$). The results disclosed that Ethiopian emigrants that constitute a significant number were subjected to coercion in the destination areas to evacuate instead of making free choice to return, which inexorably could lead the returnees to unsustainable livelihoods in the study area.

Keywords: *Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, return migration decision, returnees, sustainable livelihoods*

1. Introduction

In today's globalizing world, return migration remains a demanding agenda. Currently, in the migration literature, the subject of return migration has been receiving growing attention (Hahn-Schaur and Segeš-Frelak 2019; Cassarino 2004; Rodriguez and Egea 2006). Globally, return migration has become one of the priority agendas of increasing number of countries (Organization for Economic Co-operation/OECD 2017; ILO 2019; Debnath 2016). Return migration is common, albeit our knowledge of its extent is hampered by lack of data, and whether those exiting return to their home country or move on to another destination is rarely known (Wahba 2014; Global Migration Group/GMG 2017; Zenou and Wahba 2012).

In Ethiopia, though exact figures are not yet at hand, available evidences

reveal an increase in return migration and the country is hallmarked by frequent international return migration. Over the past decades, return migration has increased to Ethiopia (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of Ethiopia/MoLSA 2021; Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs of Addis Ababa/BoLSA2021; and Kuschminder 2013). On the one hand, a growing number of studies indicate that many of the returnees continued to grapple with: difficulty of accessing jobs and other services, food and health complications, loss of personal belongings, poor relationships, family separation, and economic hardship (Kodom and Dako-Gyeke 2017). Returnees' previous social network has either been lost or damaged, they are obliged to rebuild their social network and develop their means of livelihood in a new setting (ILO 2013; Jacobsen 2014).

Undoubtedly, the foregoing discussions demonstrate that return migration is not always a process of simply 'going-home'. Rather the process is entangled with severe obstacles. In this respect, despite, long-standing efforts accorded by Ethiopian government to mitigate irregular fluxes and to reintegrate the returnees, return migration still remains a predominant phenomenon and the trends are expected to present in the foreseeable future in the country.

On the other hand, most studies that were conducted in Ethiopia often tended to omit crucial factors associated with origin and destination countries and personal attributes as a result core actors have been fallen out of a full understanding of the dynamics of the issue under way. Hence, here is a clear need for targeted evidence and the urgency of the issue for scientific investigation to start filling the gap at a propitious moment. Accordingly, the main intent of the study is to highlight the determinant factors and panorama of return migration decision in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

2. Conceptual and theoretical frameworks

Conceptualization of Return Migration

An extensive literature has underlined that return migration is a relatively new area in migration studies. IOM (2019), Battistella (2018), and Schüring et al. (2017) invariably have concluded that the concept has lacked a universally accepted definition; and it is the concept entangled with conceptual difficulties and has even less consensus unanimity (Kuschminder 2017; Battistella 2018). The lack of a clear definition generates confusion on the assessment and estimates of the size of return migration. The absence of administrative tools to register returning migrants means

that in many countries the number of returnees is unknown (Global Migration Group/GMG 2017); return migration is often badly understood and even more badly planned, and its dimensions and modalities are often poorly recognized (Battistella 2018; Wahba 2014; Kuschminder 2017).

Return migration has historically been thought as a specific moment of migration cycle, however, in reality, return constitutes a specific moment of the migration process and it is often followed by repeated migration as people lead increasingly fluid lives of mobility (Riiskjaer and Nielsson 2008; Stefannson 2004; Battistella 2018). An alternative definition that does not imply a resettling is given. Return migration may be defined as the process whereby people return to their country or place of origin after a significant period in another country or region (King 2000); nonetheless, King does not clearly indicate what a 'significant period' entails as suggested by Ammassari (2009).

There is heated dispute as to how long one has to be abroad to be considered a return migrant. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/UNDESA (1998) has illuminated that a return migrant is an individual who has been abroad for at least 12 months. Alternatively, there is also the argument that a period of three months can also be viewed as significant enough to be considered as a migration episode, especially in terms of circular or seasonal migration. Return is a catch-all term which can apply to a whole range of situations, and in general, it refers to the return of migrant workers from a country of destination back to the country of origin (ILO 2019); return migrants are individuals returning to their homelands after having been international migrants (short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year (UNDESA 1998; IOM 2004). While this definition indicates the home country with nationality, some argue that it is by far better to use birth place as the criterion for identifying returning migrants since those who were naturalized in destination areas may otherwise be neglected (Dumont and Spielvogel 2008).

Migrants may also move to a third country or countries before returning to homeland. It is the process of going back to the point of departure, which could be within the boundaries of the origin country or between host and origin countries which could be forced or voluntary, assisted or spontaneous (IOM 2011; ILO 2019). In the views of IOM (2019), return in general sense, is considered as the process of going back to the point of departure; and 'return is no longer viewed as the end of the migration cycle; rather, it constitutes one stage in the migration process'

(Cassarino 2004:28). Generally, it is evident that definitions of return migration are not necessarily straightforward and must remain broad to include the multiple categories of return migrants as a whole.

Thus, the authors would argue that a basic definition provided by King is best suited to return migration, and that scholars should define a ‘significant period’ for their work. Accordingly, in this study, return migration is considered as the process whereby people return to their country of origin after a significant period in another region (King 2000) wherein a significant period is considered as a minimum of one year stay at abroad as recommended (UNDESA 1998; IOM 2004). During the journey of the current study, tremendous literature reviews were made to capture the true picture of the issue under investigation. Albeit, the presence of an overwhelming number of factors associated with return migration decision, to make the study manageable, it only hinges on the most common known framework the ‘push-pull model’ introduced by Everett Lee (de Haas 2007; Hagen-Zanker 2008); and the decision to return to the country of origin is influenced by factors similar to those affecting the decision to emigrate (Schüring et al. 2017).

In short, the present study capitalizes that the decision to return can heavily rely on situations in the country of origin, destination, and personal factors as the main framework of investigation for their practical significance to broaden better understandings of the major interactive elements interwoven with the issue in the area under study.

Theoretical framework of the Study

In the modern literature, there are a number of theories and versions of theories associated with migration in general and return migration in particular. As the result considerable debates exist in the scientific community about the definitions of “theories of migration” (Drbohlav 2011; Wimalaratana 2017). It is evident that, research into migration conceptually as well as empirically is challenging due to the complexity and diversity of the area covered by international migration (King 2012; Battistella 2012; Kurekova 2010); the discipline has been challenged by a number of factors inherent to its subject matter when the study of migration has advanced (Kurekova 2010; King 2012). By the same token, some scholars and organizations vindicated that an immense number of variables are at the heart of a variety of theories of migration to deal with the dynamics, degree and factors of return migration. For instance, Naveed, Bhatti, and Ullah (2017) and

International Centre for Local Democracy/ICLD (2018) have argued that some theories discuss the economic aspects of the return migration at individual and household levels (neo-classical and new economics of labor migration approaches), whereas others explore the micro and macro aspects of return migration (transnationalism, structuralism and social network theory). All the aspects of international migration could not be covered only by a theory of migration (Wimalaratana 2017; Todaro and Smith 2006; Faist 2000); in migration arena, an all-encompassing and all-explaining theory of migration will never arise (Castles and Miller 2009; de Haas 2011). Furthermore, bringing together the existing theoretical lines of thinking help us to advance our conceptual and empirical understanding of migration (de Haas 2007, 2010; Skeldon 1997; World Bank 2007).

Generally, the above discussions demonstrate that there is no single theory that captures the full complexity of migration, and nor will there ever be. Moreover, a range of individual, household, community and national factors influence return migration decision in which no single theory can be able to consider broader factors and provide satisfactory all-embracing explanations in Ethiopian context. To this effect, amongst a bundle of migration theories, only neo-classical economics, structuralism, and the new economics of labour of migration (NELM) were used as framework of investigation for their practical significance to test these theories of migration and ultimately to single out determinants of return migration decision in the study area.

The central argument of the neoclassical approach concentrates on wages and predicts a linear relationship between wage differentials and migration flows, and it is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations under the assumption of full employment (Bauer and Zimmerman 1999; Massey et al. 1993; Borjas 2008; Todaro and Smith 2006; de Haas 2007). The structural approach assumes that the decision to return cannot be analyzed only with perspective of migrant experience, but social and institutional factors of homeland also play an important role (Cassarino 2004; de Haas 2007; King 2012); whereas the centre of argument for NELM is that, migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors but typically by families or households, and the decisions of migrants are influenced by a comprehensive set of factors, which are shaped by conditions in the home country (Kurekova 2010; King 2012; de Haas 2007). Furthermore, the aforementioned theories are amongst the major theories that underpin many scholarly works and most widely used for the study of international migration

including return migration (Kodom and Gyeke 2017; Cassarino 2004); and these theories offer valuable explanations on why people return to their communities of origin (Cassarino 2004).

3. Materials and Methods

Research Setting

The study was conducted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Fig.1 Appendix 2), which is located on a well-watered plateau surrounded by hills and mountains, in the geographic centre of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa Plan and Development Commission/AAPDC 2020; Addis Ababa City Administration/AACA 2015). It is located at geographical coordinates: between 8055' and 9005' North Latitude and between 38040' and 38050' East Longitude. Its average elevation is 2,500 meters above sea level, and hence has a fairly favorable climate and moderate weather conditions. Addis Ababa is the capital and largest city of Ethiopia and it is the educational and administrative center of the country (UN-HABITAT 2008; AAPDC 2020).

Moreover, it is the seat of the African Union (AU) and the United Nations Economic Commissions for Africa (UNECA), as well as various other continental and international organizations. It is often referred to as "the political capital of Africa" for its historical, diplomatic and political significance for the continent (UN-HABITAT 2008). The total land area of Addis Ababa is about 527 km² or 54, 000 hectors; and the city has a complex mix of highland climate zones, with temperature differences of up to 10°C, depending on elevation and prevailing wind patterns (World Meteorological Organization 2019). It is a chartered city having three layers of government: City government at the top, 10 sub-city administrations in the middle (of course, Lemi Kura, the 11th sub-city isn't considered in the study as it is the newly emerging sub-city that isn't well established), and 121 woreda administrations at the bottom (AAPDC 2020).

Research Methods

In the present study, mixed methods research approach was employed to associate both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Mixing both qualitative and quantitative data in a single study allows for the limitations of each approach to be neutralized while strengths are built upon thereby providing stronger and more

accurate inferences (Creswell 2009; Bryman 2006; Tashakkori and Creswell 2007); and using both approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone (Creswell 2009; Creswell and Clark 2007; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Creswell and Clark 2010). Amongst the major types of mixed methods design, 'Concurrent Embedded Design' was used as the primary design in which both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered simultaneously.

In concurrent embedded design, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently, though the weight between the two may vary depending on the nature of the research questions to be considered and the secondary method is embedded within the predominant method (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner 2007; Creswell 2009; Creswell and Clark 2010; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Correspondingly, in this study, the quantitative data were given more weight and the qualitative data were embedded within the former one to substantiate the numerical data obtained.

A cross-sectional study was conducted on sample of 402 returnees selected from four sub-cities (two inner-urban and two peri-urban areas) of Addis Ababa using a simple random sampling method. The sample size of the study population was determined by employing Yamane (2001) sample size determination formula which assumes 50% ($p = 0.5$) variability and 95% confidence level with $\pm 5\%$ precision error.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where, n = sample size; N = population size; and e = level of precision.

As a whole, based on sample size determination formula, out of 5,228 returnees a sample of 416 returnees was drawn randomly for sample of the study for structured survey questionnaires. Moreover, purposive sampling technique was used to select and conduct Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with key officials found at various levels; and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with returnees and other core actors in order to triangulate quantitative data obtained from structured survey questionnaires. The data gathering tools were piloted for clarity; and the computed overall reliability co-efficient of the items was found to be $r = 0.838$ at Cronbach alpha level which indicates a very good internal consistency of the items. The survey questionnaires were also translated into the local Amharic language and tested for face validity. The data collected via structured survey questionnaires were analyzed

using the latest SPSS (version 22.0) and STATA (version 13.0) computer programmes.

Moreover, a principal component analysis (PCA) was carried-out to reduce the factors into a smaller set of components and to summarize data so that relationships and patterns can be easily interpreted and understood. PCA is a statistical data reduction technique that helps to reduce data set consisting of a large number of interrelated variables into a smaller set of components (O'Rourke and Hatcher 2013; Abdi and Williams 2010); used for transforming a set of related variables and regroup variables into a limited set of clusters based on shared variance (Everitt 2004; Field 2009; Gray 2017). Before plunging into conducting factor analysis, the sample adequacy was tested by employing Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's test to check the suitability of data for factor analysis on return migration decision. Measuring sampling adequacy (MSA) is at the center of scientific investigation as insufficient inter-correlations among variables can lead to unusable exploratory factor analysis results (Chan and Idris 2017; Hair, Black, Babin, and Anderson 2010) ; and it is good practice to obtain the MSA to assess sampling adequacy prior to performing a factor analysis (Pallant 2007; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007).

As a result, the KMO measure demonstrated the goodness-of-fit of the variables for the factor analysis with a KMO equal to 0.851, which is rated as 'meritorious' as the minimum acceptable value for KMO is 0.60 (Field 2009; Hair et al.2010). Bartlett's test of sphericity (Chi-square = 3647.960, df = 231, and P-value = 0.000) indicated the inter-correlations among variables were generally considered adequate for performing a factor analysis as the significance level for Bartlett's test below 0.05 suggest that there is substantial correlation in the data (Hair et al. 2010; Pallant 2010; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007). To this end, PCA was conducted as an extraction method on the 22 variables with varimax rotation method. Nevertheless, existing literature does not provide a definite answer to the question: which cut-offs to use, in the current study, instead of a much more strict and relaxed criterion, the middle position is held and the absolute value of 0.50 was used as it is a more acceptable cut-offs in many fields of study. Descriptive, inferential statistics and binary logistic regression model were employed to analyze quantitative data. The qualitative data collected were analyzed in the form of texts and quotes, and incorporated into the analysis of quantitative data to supplement the numerical data secured through survey questionnaires.

4. Results and Discussions

Economic characteristics of the Returnees

The economic characteristics of the returnees at abroad and homeland is treated briefly (Fig. 2 Appendix 2). Accordingly, the results of the analysis discerned that the overall mean income of the respondents at abroad and homeland was found to be about 6233.46 Ethiopian Birr (ETB) and 1038.06 ETB respectively. The overall mean income of the study population at abroad is about six times the average income at homeland which may imply that returnees having significant number found in the study area had poor purchasing power so as to acquire enough and nutritious food and did not have access to sufficient food to meet their dietary energy requirements.

The medians monthly income of the study population at abroad and homeland were found be about 6,000 ETB and 800 ETB respectively. Furthermore, as can be noted from the given data, the mean income of the respondents at abroad was about 6147.69 ETB and 6250.00 ETB for male and female returnees respectively. On average the homeland income on monthly basis of the male respondents was 1938.46 ETB and female respondents was 864.39 ETB suggesting income differentials among the two groups. This finding is in harmony with the finding of Schuerkens (2010) which states that in most nations' discrimination in employment is remained entrenched and women still earn less than men. By taking on average the current exchange rate of one USD for 50 ETB, male (\$1.29) and female returnees (\$0.58) earned a day which is below the threshold that has been defined by the World Bank for extreme poverty (\$1.90 per person per day).

Occupation of the Returnees at abroad and homeland

As illustrated in Table 1, on the one hand, domestic work is the most predominant occupation category in which returnees were engaged in their respective destinations, and the vast majority of the returnees were not engaged in any occupation category at their homeland upon return on the other hand. Numerically speaking, 76.4% and 52.2% of the study population were engaged in domestic work when they were abroad and without any kind of job in Ethiopia upon their return respectively. Moreover, as it is observed from the given data, company employee (both private and government) as an occupation was the most suffered

occupation and the percentages of returnees who were working as employee at abroad and homeland were below 1.0% and 3.7% in the order mentioned which directly related with their education levels in the study area as a whole.

Modality of Returns among Returnees

The study population reported that they came back to their homeland in forced and voluntary return modalities with the percentages of 59.7% and 40.3% respectively (Fig. 3 Appendix 2). This depicts that relatively majority of Ethiopian emigrants were subjected to coercion to leave the destination regions instead of making free choice to return to their country of origin. The forthcoming section is dealt with the correlation between demographic characteristics of the returnees and modality of returns and the results of analyses are presented hereunder.

The Effects of demographic variables on modality of returns

As shown in Table 2, the number of female returnees assumes high figure in both forced and voluntary return modality with percentages of 84% and 83% respectively. This may indicate that majority of the migratory group in irregular manner is female-dominated in Ethiopian contexts. Another observation from the result of the analysis is to see whether sex, roles in the family, religion, and educational status of the respondents as demographic characteristics exhibit significant variation in the modality of returns a chi-square test was calculated. The result of the test revealed that the critical value of ($\chi^2 = 5.991$) for the first two items (sex and roles of returnees in their respective family); and the calculated value of ($\chi^2 = 0.050, 3.803, df = 1, P > 0.05$ in both cases) respectively.

Thus, it would be, therefore, possible to conclude that there is no enough evidence showing the relationship between sex and roles of the returnees in the family and the two modalities of returns. By the same token, as observed from the result of the analyses, regarding the religion and educational status of the returnees, while the calculated values are ($\chi^2 = 4.455$; and $\chi^2 = 1.814$; $df = 4$; and $df = 4$; $P > 0.05$ in both cases), whereas the critical values are ($\chi^2 = 9.49, P < 0.05$) respectively. This shows that there seems to be no statistically significant relationship between attending education at schools and religion and the modality of returns. In conclusion, the chi-square test indicates that there is no statistically significant relationship between the two modalities of return and the aforementioned

characteristics of the returnees at the 0.05 level of significance; and that the variables the modality of returns and the four demographic characteristics of the returnees are independent.

Determinants of Return Migration Decision in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

This section is concerned with the results of analysis of dominant components that influenced Ethiopian emigrants to return back from destination areas to homeland (Fig. 4 Appendix 2). The decision to return to the country of origin is presumably influenced by the following two dominant factors as a whole in the study area as reported by the respondents: determinants related to the destination areas (65.8%), and personal factors of emigrants (55.8%) in descending order. The response of the returnees on the return migration decision is a clear indication of the conditions in the destination areas was more influential to return migration decision. Moreover, as revealed above, majority of the respondents of the study rated that determinants in the origin had no sound effect on the decision to return migration with percentage of 72.4% (Fig. 4 Appendix 2).

Some of these findings were corroborated by studies conducted on the same issue. In general, the conditions in the country of origin are more relevant to the decision to emigrate than to the decision to return (Koser and Kuschminder 2015 as cited in Schüring et al. 2017).

Besides, different participants of the study raised concerns about the determinants of return migration decision during Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) in the study area. They expounded that the challenges and hurdles associated with return migration are very tremendous and linked with both destination areas and homeland; however, the challenges vary in degree wherein the challenges in the former are more complex than in the latter due to the fact that Ethiopian emigrants are much more forced to return for reasons of security or political decisions made by the country of destination than country of origin. Furthermore, based on the results of Principal Component Analysis, categorization was made on the determinants of return migration decision to better understand and make the results of analyses more sound (Table 4 Appendix 1).

Accordingly, the first four variables (factor 1) are denominated as homeland factors as seem to signify the conditions that were pervasive in country of origin as a whole. Nine items ranged from 5-13 (factor 2) are labeled as destination area

factors due to the fact they are the most commonly cited underlying latent factors in literatures associated with destination regions. About four items indicated from 14-17 (factor 3) that are named as personal factors as in one way or another entirely linked with personal attributes. Based on these, a binary logistic regression was performed to clearly distinguish which variables or combinations of variables are important and have sound impact on return migration decision in Ethiopian contexts.

As noted in Table 3, about 76.3% (Nagelkerke R Square = .763) of the variance in return migration decision is explained by the three underlying latent factors: homeland, destination area, personal factors when other parameters are unchanged. With regard to the impact of these factors in driving Ethiopian emigrants out of destination areas, all the three factors have a positive effect on the likelihood of making return migration decision among returnees ($P < 0.001$). That is, they are positively correlated with the 'decision to return'.

In sum, the above results vividly reveal that these factors had statistically significant positive impacts among the returnees to make return migration decision. Moreover, the results disclosed that in all cases the odds ratios is greater than one (Odds ratio > 1) indicates a positive relationship between the three predictors and the outcome (return migration decision (more likely decide about returning)). The above Table 3 also presents that the returnee respondents assigned the greatest rating responses to destination area factors than the rest two factors (homeland and personal factors) with the odds ratio of 85.70, 25.58, and 9.12 respectively.

Moreover, in terms of their positive influence on return migration decision destination area, homeland, and personal factors took the first three ranking positions with the Wald statistics and logistic regression coefficients of (Wald = 77.144 and $\beta = 4.451$; Wald = 43.600 and $\beta = 3.242$; and Wald = 31.946 and $\beta = 2.211$) in descending order respectively. Above all, destination area factors had substantially affected Ethiopian emigrants more likely to decide about return. The decision to return to the country of origin is influenced by factors similar to those affecting the decision to emigrate (Schüring et al. 2017). Overall, the results are best shown by the following binary logistic regression equation:

$$Y = 6.024 + 3.242X_1 + 4.451X_2 + 2.211X_3$$

Where: Y = Return migration decision; X_1 = Homeland factors; X_2 = Destination area factors; and X_3 = Personal factors.

Moreover, KIIs and FGDs were also held with participants of the study found at various levels to point out the leading factors of return migration decision and other variables pertinent to the study. Accordingly, they forwarded their ideas as follows:

.... A myriad of challenges forced the Ethiopian migrants to make return decision: unbearable work load in the destination area, employer's bad character, working any rest on full time basis, absence of willingness to salary on the part of employer, grabbing of salary by employer, difficulty of accessing jobs at abroad, low expectation to bring change on self and respective family, poor social interaction with others at abroad, monotonous domestic work in the same house and household for many years, health complications, termination of contract and disagreement with employer, deportation, request of return by Ethiopian government based on dialogue made with host community, loneliness and psychological depression, language problem, sexual harassment, low adaptability with weather conditions, high labour exploitation, homesickness, for marriage purpose, engaged in activities of many households forcefully, death of family, violation of human rights, inadequate food provision amongst others (2 July 2021 and 7 July 2021).

Therefore, one can conclude that participants of KIIs and FGDs put more powerful grip on destination area factors as more dominant contributing factors in compelling returnees to make return decision than homeland and personal factors do. In other words, these participants are on the positive side and have similar ideas about determinants of return migration decision among Ethiopian returnees with returnees who responded to the survey questionnaires. This shows that data obtained from qualitative analysis of determinants of return migration decision importantly revealed certain congruencies with data obtained from the above quantitative analysis. That is, the decision to return is strongly associated with the factors related the destination area conditions.

These findings are not in consonance and harmony with what Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development/OECD (2017) had observed that destination area factors are amongst the least reasons cited to come back to homeland. Moreover, OECD (2017) ranked on average personal preferences (for example to reunite with family in their homeland); unable to obtain legal status for residency or work in the destination country (the second); and difficulties of integrating economically and socially in destination countries the first, the second, and the third most important factor for the decision to return respectively. Similarly, except for forced return, personal factors seem to play a much more decisive role for return migration decision (Battistella 2018); the reason for return is a failure or

success of the migration process (Cassarino 2004). The following may lead to a return migration decision: higher preferences for consumption in country of origin, or high purchasing power of the host country currency in the migrant's homeland, or accumulation of human capital in the host country that improves productivity back home (Weiss and Dustmann 2007).

5. Conclusions

The central concern of the study was endeavouring to vividly shed light on the major driving factors behind return migration decision in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. A Principal Component Analysis result has demonstrated that there are three main factors compelling Ethiopian emigrant to make return migration decision: homeland, destination area, and personal factors; the study population attached a great deal of importance to all the three aforementioned factors and the results of the analyses appeared to show that all are positively correlated with the '*decision to return*'. This might clearly indicate that such return has substantial negative impact on returnees' livelihood strategies in achieving food security upon return as in developing world including Ethiopia migration is considered as a part and parcel of livelihood strategies and a good weapon for poverty mitigation. This may often lead to a rise in unemployment and decline in wages and incomes, challenging access to food and basic social services for the urban poor including the returnees. Besides, the results of analysis disclosed that the overall mean income of the study population at abroad is about six times the average income at homeland and currently the vast majority of them were not engaged in any occupation category upon return.

In a nutshell, from the current study, the following two main conclusions were emerged: the conditions in the destination areas by far had more sound impact on making return migration decision than factors in the origin country as well as personal attributes; and returnees having significant number found in the study area had poor purchasing power so as to acquire enough and nutritious food and did not have access to sufficient food to meet their dietary energy requirements and consequently unable to ensure sustainable livelihoods in the study area. Therefore, targeted interventions are required to address the multiple burden of return migration via reforming the immigration laws and implementing regularization programmes and bolstering voluntary returns, thereby building sustainable livelihoods of the returnees.

Acknowledgments:

We would like to thank all returnee respondents of Addis Ababa and other core actors for taking the time to participate in the study. We also express our thanks to the experts working at Addis Ababa Labour and Social Affairs Bureau for providing valuable information at every stage during the course of the study.

Competing Interest: None declared.

Funding: The study did not receive any financial support from any funding organizations.

Declaration of Originality: The authors declare that this study is an original one.

References

- Abdi, H., and L.J. Williams. 2010. "Principal Component Analysis: Overview." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews Computational Statistics*, 2, 433-459.
- Addis Ababa City Administration. 2015. "Socio-Economic Profile of Addis Ababa, for the years 2008-2014, City Government of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia."
- Addis Ababa Plan and Development Commission. 2020. "Addis Ababa City Administration Socio-Economic profile (2015-2019)." Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2020.
- Ammassari, S. 2009. "Migration and Development: Factoring Return into the Equation." Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Battistella, G. 2018. "Return Migration: A Conceptual and Policy Framework." March 2018.
- Bauer, Th., and K.F. Zimmermann. 1999. "Assessment of possible migration pressure and its labor market impact following EU enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe." UK. *IZA Research Report No.3*, July.
- Borjas, J. 2008. "Labour Economics (4th ed.)." McGraw-Hill International/Irwin.
- Bryman, A. 2006. "Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research: How is it done?" *Qualitative research*, 6(1), 97-113.
- Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs. 2021. "Report on number of Returnees by year of return from 2018 up to November 2020." Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Cassarino, J. P. 2004. "Theorizing Return Migration: The conceptual approach to return migrants revisited." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 6(2), 253-279.
- Castles, S., and M.J. Miller. 2009. "The Age of Migration." Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.
- Chan, L.L., and N. Idris. 2017. "Validity and Reliability of the instrument using Exploratory Factor Analysis and Cronbach's Alpha." Faculty of Science and Mathematics, Sultan Idris Education University, 35900 Tanjung Malim, Perak, Malaysia.
- Creswell, J. W., and V.L.P. Clark. 2010. "Designing and conducting mixed methods research (2nd ed.)." Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W., and V.L.P. Clark. 2007. "Designing and conducting mixed methods research." Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J.W. 2009. "Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed." New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- Debnath, P. 2016. "Leveraging Return Migration for Development: The Role of Countries of Origin." KNOMAD working paper 17, November 2016.
- de Haas, H. 2011. "The determinants of international migration: Conceptualizing policy, origin and destination effects." *The International Migration Institute (IMI), Oxford, 3 Mansfield Road, Oxford OX1 3TB*.
- de Haas, H. 2010. "Migration and Development: A theoretical perspective." *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227-264.
- de Haas, H. 2007. "Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective." Center for Interdisciplinary Research, Bielefeld, Germany, May 31 - June 1, 2007.
- Drbohlav, D. 2011. "Migration Theories, Realities and Myths." *Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1565-1586.
- Dumont, J.C., and G. Spielvogel. 2008. "Return migration: A new perspective." *International Migration Outlook 2008* (Paris, OECD), 161-222.
- Everitt, B. S. 2004. "A Handbook of statistical analyses using SPSS." Boca Raton London New York Washington, D.C., Chapman & Hall/CRC Press LLC.
- Faist, T. 2000. "The Volumes and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces." Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Field, A. 2009. "Discovering Statistics Using SPSS (3rd ed.)." Sage Publications Ltd.
- Global Migration Group. 2017. "Handbook for improving the production and use of migration data for development." Washington, DC: Global Knowledge Partnership for Migration and Development.
- Gray, V. 2017. "Principal Component Analysis: Methods, applications and technology." Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Hagen-Zanker, J. 2008. "Why do people migrate? A Review of the theoretical literature." January 2008.
- Hahn-Schaur, K., and J. Segeš-Frelak. 2019. "Return Migration: Background, Practice Examples and Policy Options for Intra-EU Mobility – Focus on Poland." International Centre for Migration Policy Development Vienna, Austria, 2019.
- Hair, J. F., W.C. Black, B.J. Babin, and R.E. Anderson. 2010. "Multivariate Data Analysis: A Global Perspective (7th ed.)." ISSN: 0135153093, Pearson.
- International Centre for Local Democracy. 2018. "Theories of Migration in and from Rural Sub-Saharan Africa: Review and Critique of Current Literature." Working paper No.14, (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency – SIDA).
- International Labour Organization. 2019. "Effective return migration and reintegration of migrant workers with special focus on ASEAN member states."
- International Labour Organization. 2013. "Assessment of livelihood opportunities for returnees/internally displaced persons and host communities in Afghanistan." UNHCR, Kabul.
- International Organization for Migration. 2019. "Exploring the links between enhancing regular pathways and discouraging irregular migration." International Organization for Migration, 17 Route des Morillons, 1211 Geneva 19.
- International Organization for Migration. 2011. "Glossary on Migration (2nd ed.)." 17 route des Morillons, 1211 Geneva 19.
- International Organization for Migration. 2004. "International Agenda for Migration Management." Berne, 16-17 December 2004.
- Jacobsen, K. 2014. "Livelihoods and forced migration." Wed Feb 12/2014, NEWGEN.
- Johnson, R. B., A.J. Onwuegbuzie, and L.A. Turner. 2007. "Toward a definition of mixed methods research." *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(2), 112-133.

- Johnson, R. B., and A.J. Onwuegbuzie. 2004. "Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come." *Educational researcher*, 33(7), 14-26.
- King, R. 2012. "Theories and typologies of migration: An overview and a primer." University of Sussex, January, 2012.
- King, R. 2000. "Generalizations from the History of Return Migration Return Migration: Journey of Hope or Despair." Geneva: IOM.
- Kodom, R.B., and M. Dako-Gyeke. 2017. "Deportation and re-integration: Exploring challenges faced by deportee residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana." *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. DOI: 10.1007/s12134-017-0526-0, Springer.
- Kurekova, L. 2010. "Theories of migration: Critical review in the context of the EU East-West flows." Central European University.
- Kuschminder, K. 2017. "Reintegration Strategies. Conceptualizing how return migrants reintegrate." New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kuschminder, K. 2013. "Female migration and reintegration in Ethiopia." Kuschminder, Maastricht, 2013.
- Massey et.al. 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A review and appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19 (3): 431-466.
- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. 2021. "Report on number of returnees by year of return and region from 2018 up to November 2020." Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Naveed, T.A, A.A. Bhatti, and S. Ullah. 2017. "Determinants of Return Migration: A case study of return from Greece." *The Pakistan Journal of Social Issues Volume VIII (2017)*.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2017. "Capitalizing on return migration by making it more attractive and sustainable. Interrelations between Public Policies, Migration and Development. Organization for Economic Co-operation Development." *International Migration Outlook 2008*, Paris: OECD Publishing.
- O'Rourke, N., and L. Hatcher. 2013. "A step-by-step approach to using SAS for factor analysis and structural equation modeling." SAS Institute.
- Pallant, J.F. 2010. "SPSS Survival Manual: A step by step guide to data analysis IBM SPSS (7th ed.)." ISBN: 9781760875534, Routledge.
- Riiskjaer, M.B., and T. Nielsson. 2008. "Circular repatriation: the unsuccessful return and reintegration of Iraqis with refugee status in Denmark." *New Issues in Refugee Research Paper No. 165 UNHCR*, Geneva.
- Rodriguez, V., and C. Egea. 2006. "Return and the social environment of Andalusian emigrants in Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32:1377-1393.
- Schüring et al. 2017. "Social Protection as an alternative to migration: An assessment of the role of social protection in reducing push factors for migration in different country contexts." The University of Bonn.
- Skeldon, R. 1997. "Migration and Development. A Global Perspective." Longman Limited.
- Stefansson, A. 2004. "Sarajevo Suffering: Homecoming and the Hierarchy of Homeland Hardship." *Homecomings: Unsettling Paths of Return*. Eds: Fran Markowitz and Anders Stefansson. USA: Lexington Books.
- Tabachnick, B. G. and L.S. Fidell. 2007. "Using Multivariate Statistics (5th ed.)." Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Tashakkori, A., and J.W. Creswell. 2007. "Exploring the nature of research questions in mixed methods research." *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(3), 207-211.
- Todaro M, P., and S. Smith. 2006. "Economic Development." Boston: Addison Wesley.

- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 1998. *“Recommendations on statistics of international migration.” Revision 1*, Statistical Papers Series M, No. 58, New York.
- United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT). 2008. *“Ethiopia: Addis Ababa Urban Profile.”* Regional and Technical Cooperation Division, GPO 00100, Nairobi Kenya.
- Wahba, J. 2014. *“Return Migration and Economic Development.”* University of Southampton, January, 2014.
- Weiss, Y., and Ch. Dustmann. 2007. *“Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence.”* Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration, Discussion Paper Series No 02/07. Drayton House, 30 Gordon Street, London WC1H 0AX.
- Wimalaratana, W. 2017. *“International migration and migration theories.” Department of Economics, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. Social Affairs. Vol.1 No.5, 13-32.*
- World Meteorological Organization. 2019. *“World Meteorological Organization Report.”*
- Yamane, T. 2001. *“Basic Sampling Methods.”* Literature Publishing, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Zenou, Y., and J. Wahba. 2012. *“Out of sight, out of mind: Migration, entrepreneurship and social capital.” Regional Science and Urban Economics, 42:890-903.*

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Tables

Table 1: Occupation of returnees at abroad and homeland

S.No	Major categorized occupations	Occupation at abroad		Occupation at homeland	
		N = 402	%	N = 402	%
1	All-round Worker	8	2	-	-
2	Cleaner	19	4.7	8	2.0
3	Daily labourer	21	5.2	53	13.2
4	Employee/Company Worker	4	1.0	15	3.7
5	Domestic Worker	307	76.4	14	3.5
6	Driver	11	2.7	7	1.7
7	Garage Worker	2	0.5	-	-
8	Guard	11	2.7	3	0.7
9	No job	4	1.0	210	52.2
10	Shepherd	6	1.5	-	-
11	Petty Trader/Trader	8	2.0	50	12.4
12	Private Work (House rent, etc.)	-	-	35	8.7
13	Student	-	-	4	1.0
14	Broker	-	-	2	0.5
15	Tailor	-	-	1	0.2

Source: Authors tabulation from Survey Data (2021)

Table 2: The Effects demographic variables on modality of returns

No	Parameters		Modality of returns		Chi-Square Tests		
			Forced	Voluntary	χ ²	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
			%	%			
1	Sex of the returnees	Male	16	17	.050	1	.824
		Female	84	83			
2	Roles in the family	Head Household	49	39	3.803	1	.051
		Household Member	51	61			
3	Educational Status	First Degree	4.2	3.1	1.814	4	.770
		Diploma	8.3	6.8			
		Certificate	5.8	4.3			
		Secondary School	47.5	46.3			
		Primary School	34.2	39.5			
4	Religion	Orthodox Christian	44.4	46.3	4.455	4	.348
		Muslim	45.1	38.8			
		Protestant	9.3	14.2			
		Catholic	0.6	0.8			
		Other	0.6	10			

Note: df = degree of freedom; χ² = chi-square; sig. (2-tailed) = significance probability (the two-tailed p-value).

Table 3: Summary of binary logistic regression on latent variables

No	Constant and key factors	β	S.E	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)	Model Summary		
							-2Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
	Constant	-6.024	.676	79.516	.000*	.002	212.910	.570	.763
1	Homeland factors	3.242	.491	43.600	.000*	25.58			
2	Destination area factors	4.451	.507	77.144	.000*	85.70			
3	Personal factors	2.211	.391	31.946	.000*	9.12			

* P-value significant at 0.001. β = beta; S.E =Standard Errors; sig. = significance probability.

Table 4: Rotated Component Matrix (Return migration decision)

S.No	Determinant factors	Component		
		1	2	3
1	Political stability in the origin country	.785	-	-
2	Availability of access to credit services	.775	-	-
3	The growing of participation in social networks in the origin country	.853	-	-
4	The growing of more job opportunities in the homeland	.795	-	-
5	Absence of legal documents upon entry in the host country	-	.622	-
6	Unable to enter labour market without permission in the host country	-	.659	-
7	Poor social interaction in the host community	-	.703	-
8	Rejection of asylum application by the host country	-	.742	-
9	The growing of restrictive immigration policies in the host country	-	.725	-
10	The rise of irregular migrants deprived of basic human rights	-	.756	-
11	The problem of homelessness in the host country	-	.680	-
12	The growing of sexual harassment in the host country	-	.561	-
13	Political instability in the host country	-	.541	-
14	Homesickness	-	-	.844
15	Family reunification in the home country	-	-	.881
16	Ill-Health or due to health problem	-	-	.552
17	Need to support family back home	-	-	.785

Only variables with rotated factor loadings above 0.5 were considered

Appendix 2: List of Figures

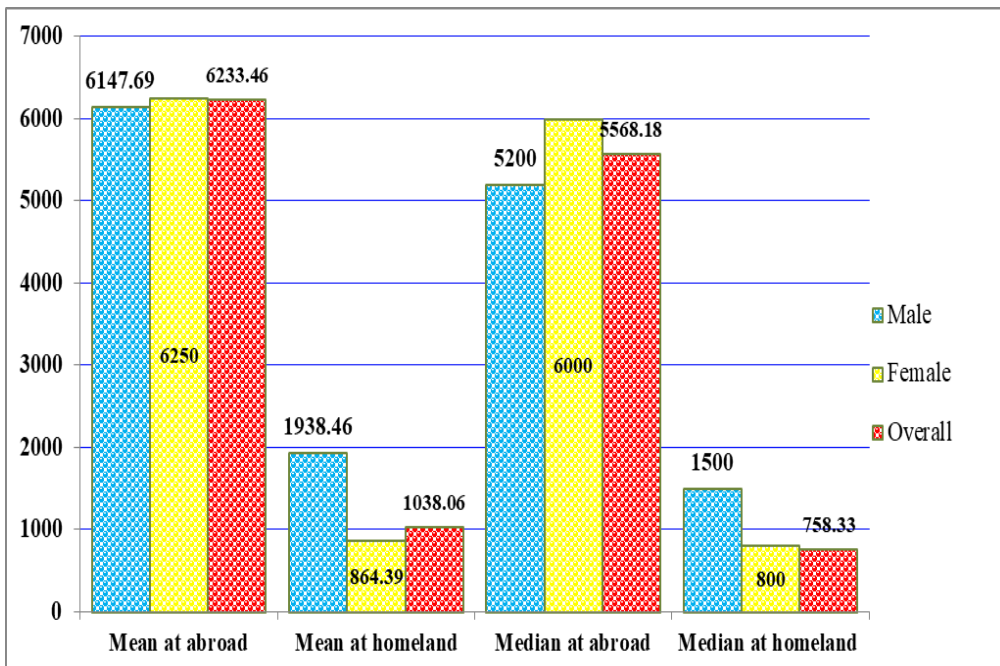
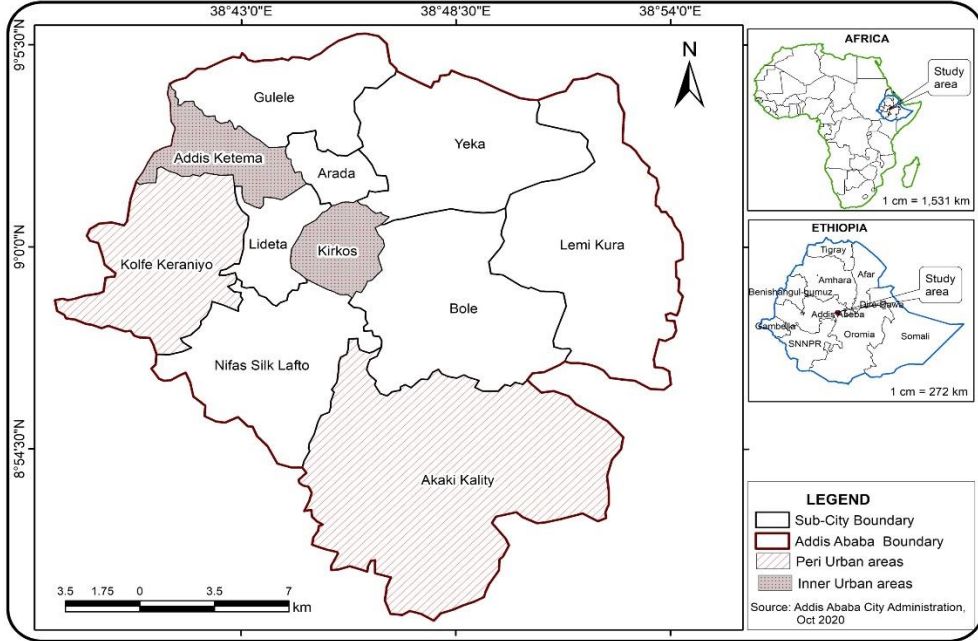


Fig. 2: Monthly income of returnees at abroad and homeland in Ethiopian Birr (ETB)

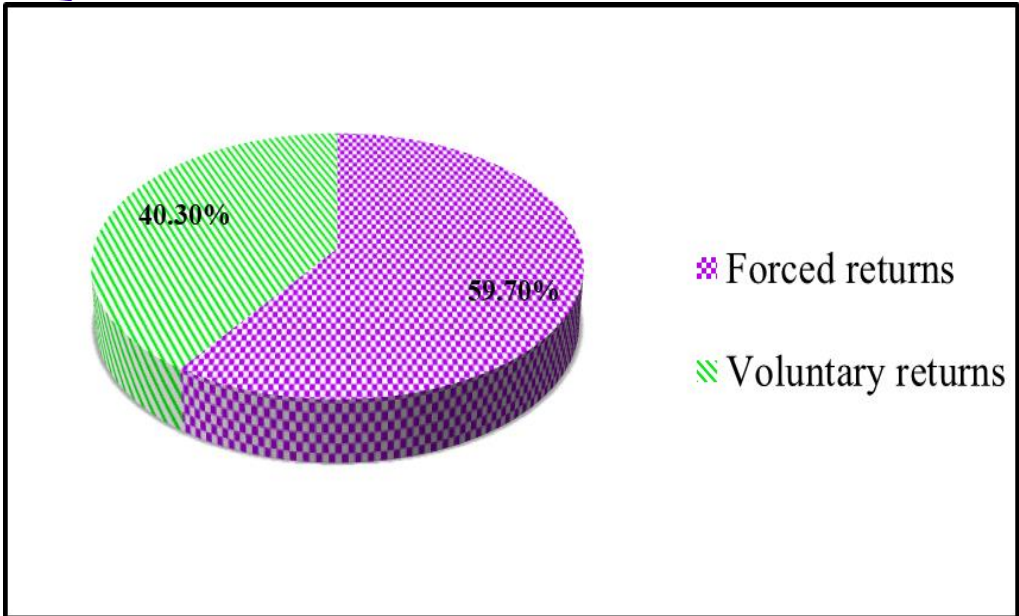


Fig. 3: Results of modality of returns among the returnees

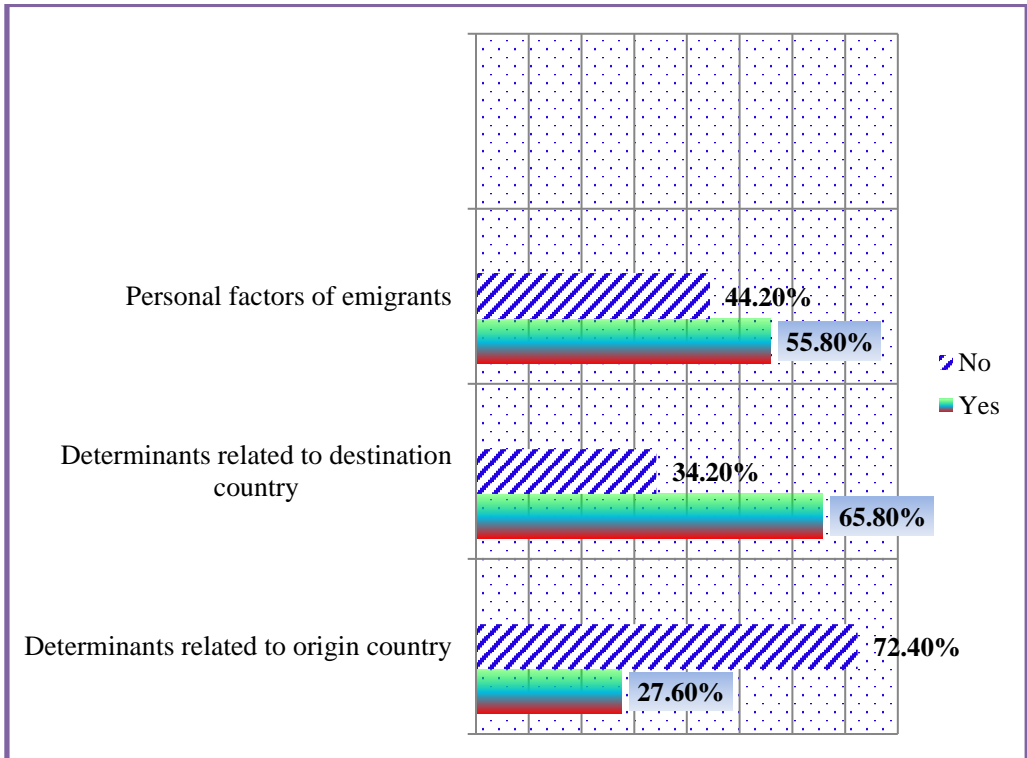


Fig. 4: Responses of the Returnees on Return Migration Decision

The 11 Years Bibliometric Analysis of Syrian Migration

Kandemir ATÇEKEN and Esra DIK

Abstract. The Syrian refugee crisis has sparked the most significant migration flows to countries bordering Syria and Europe since the Second World War. This process has been discussed in all aspects of academia, and severe literature has emerged. This study aims to analyze the academic literature on the Syrian migration that started with the Syrian Civil War in 2011 and to reveal the intensified research trends by co-citation analysis, the method used for bibliometric analyses. Co-citation bibliometric analysis through the Citespace software; enables us to analyze which subjects the studies are clustered thematically, the publications that connect these clusters, and which publications represent these clusters best. The study covers the articles on Syrian migration in the SSCI database between 2011 and 2021. In the study, different interdisciplinary study trends have been clustered throughout the Syrian migration.

Keywords: *Syria, Syrians, refugee, migration, Citespace, bibliometric analysis*

Introduction

Since March 2011, due to the civil war, millions of Syrians have had to migrate to start a new life. 6.6 million Syrian refugees have left the country, and 6.7 million have been internally displaced (UNHCR 2022). During this period, the number of people needing humanitarian aid exceeded 14 million. Türkiye, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt are host to millions of displaced people as their border neighbors. However, the Syrian refugees insist on following migration routes to migrate to Europe, even at the cost of their lives.

The influx of migration has made it necessary for the border countries to fight against irregular migration and the humanitarian aid process for those who currently take refuge in these countries. With its open-door policy, Türkiye has taken on the burden of the humanitarian crisis by accepting a large Syrian population compared to its other border neighbors. The number of Syrians under temporary protection status in Türkiye has reached 3,7 million (Goc idaresi 2022). It is known

that the number of Syrians in Lebanon, which has a population of approximately 7 million, exceeds 1.5 million (UNHCR 2022a). Jordan follows Lebanon with over 760,000 Syrian refugees (UNHCR 2022b).

The academic interest in the Syrian refugee crisis was primarily focused on the management of the migration influx by the border countries. As the humanitarian crisis increased, attention shifted to the problem of defining Syrians under the names of refugees/asylum seekers/temporary protection, which remains legally uncertain. Thus, the decisions and practices of the countries against the mass influx changed form in the process. Türkiye initially implemented an “open door” policy and provided “temporary protection” to the Syrian Arab Republic citizens (Aras and Mencutek 2015). The temporary protection status for Syrians has excluded them from the status of refugees or asylum seekers. At first, Syrians under temporary protection status were placed in temporary accommodation, but with the prolongation of the process, migration spread to cities. Türkiye has acted with a government strategy that allows Syrians to directly benefit from services such as education and health beyond providing legal infrastructure and humanitarian aid. In other border countries, the migration process was managed differently. Lebanon has not developed a specific government strategy (Chaaban et al., 2013). On the other hand, Jordan designed the camp system as a barrier for Syrians from settling in cities and joining the labor force (Turner, 2015). However, as the length of stay in the host countries and the scenarios of returning or sending to a third country decreased, the resettlement processes in the host countries started. Türkiye preferred a settlement system spreading to the city rather than a camp system. As of August 2019, there are approximately 620,000 Syrian households in Türkiye, with an average family size of 5.8 (Erdoğan 2020). This situation has made it compulsory to share the burden not only in border countries but also by the other countries.

In 2016, the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, accepted unanimously by 193 countries at the United Nations (UN) General Assembly, became a global voice for the fair sharing of the migration burden (UN 2016). Thus, social cohesion and integration processes started for millions of Syrian refugees who could not return to their country. The main research question of academic studies after 2016 is what will be the answer to the problem of migration in the long run. The majority of solution proposals have developed on the implementation of social integration policies. The topics that will increase social integration, especially education and labor force participation, have guided the literature, and field

experiences originating from the funds given by international organizations have formed the axis of discussion after 2016. Good governance and capacity-building practices of international organizations in border countries have guided the migration management of countries shouldering the humanitarian burden, and the academic studies focused on these practices have increased. The purpose of these practices, which impact the management of migration processes at national, institutional, and local levels, is to reduce the pressure on the city and integrate the Syrians with the local community. For this reason, the funds allocated to local governments have been increased, and local integration has taken an essential place in the literature.

This study aims to analyze the academic literature on the Syrian migration that started with the Syrian Civil War in 2011 and to reveal the intensified research trends by co-citation analysis, the method used for bibliometric analyses. Co-citation bibliometric analysis through the Citespace software; enables us to analyze which subjects the studies are clustered thematically, the publications that connect these clusters, and which publications represent these clusters best. The study covers the articles on Syrian migration in the SSCI database between 2011 and 2021. In the study, different interdisciplinary study trends have been clustered throughout the Syrian migration. Six clusters form the main framework of this study: Temporary Protection, Governance Strategy, Labor Markets, Türkiye, Syrian Refugee Student, and Connected Migrant. Each cluster was examined within itself, and the breaking points in the literature were determined by following the intellectual turning points.

Methodology

Nowadays, bibliometric analysis is used in almost all fields of academic research. Bibliometrics (sometimes called scientometrics) is the application of quantitative analysis and statistics to a set of documents to assess research trends, identify the growth of a knowledge field, and predict future research directions (Bjork et al., 2014; Ellegaard & Wallin, 2015; Sweileh, 2017; Thomson, 2008; Torres-Pruñonosa et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020). Bibliometric analyses can be done faster and more advanced by softwares like CiteSpace, Bibliometrix, HistCite, and Publish or Perish.

A field can be analyzed with various bibliometric methods. One of the main issues for providing a bibliometric analysis is the determination of the most

significant indicators for measuring the bibliographic material (Bonilla et al., 2015). Co-citation techniques were used in this study. Small (1973) defines co-citation as they are connected in a co-citation relationship when two documents are co-cited by a document. Co-citation analysis can be used at a publication, author, or journal scale. The clusters obtained by co-citation give an idea about the intellectual structure of the study area. Co-citation data can be used to construct maps of science, which show the relationships between disciplines, fields, specialties, and individual papers or authors intuitively, with their physical proximity and relative locations representing the strength of the relationships. The other issue is normalization procedures. These are very important to make an analysis based on citation data, making it possible to compare different groups. Normalized metrics could lend even more credibility to the whole field. Clustered works are automatically identified, based first on being highly cited in their own right and then on the frequency with which they are jointly cited- co-cited - in reference lists. The citations included in the analysis are prevented from forming scattered and difficult to interpret visualization with the specified threshold value. Others no less interesting falls below the threshold (White & McCain, 1998).

Citespace used in the study is an efficient co-citation network analysis and visualization tool for bibliometrics analysis. It proposes to explore the intellectual landscape of a knowledge domain based on network analysis and visualization. CiteSpace has some advantages compared to the other software, which visualizes knowledge fields. These can be sorted as burst detection to identify the main incipient research trends in a field of knowledge, identifying the foremost turning points and growing topics, and so forth (Torres-Pruñonosa et al. 2020).

Data

SSCI (Social Science Citation Index), one of the most reputed social sciences indices, was preferred in the study. An advanced search method was used on the Web of Science (WOS), which includes SSCI articles. The study query was created using Boolean search terms in the abstract, title, or keywords. TS= Syria* AND (TS= "migrant*" OR TS= "emigrat*" OR TS= "immigrant*" OR TS= "migrant*" OR TS= "emigrant*" OR TS= "immigrant*" OR TS= "refuge*" OR TS= "asyl*"). A combination of migrant*, migrat*, immigrant*, migrant*, emigrant*, immigrant*, refuge*, and asyl*" has been used along with Syria* for the literature. Articles in the SSCI, Arts,

and Humanities Citation Index, and Science Citation Index Expanded (SCI-Expanded) were the subject of the study.

The period is between January 1, 2011, and December 31, 2021, for the study. No language restrictions were applied. WOS thematizes the studies according to their fields. In the thematic content, especially health-related fields, was excluded because they were prominent in volume and affected the scope of the study. In addition, non-research-related fields such as biodiversity, zoology, geology, plant sciences, environmental sciences, space sciences, and marine sciences were also excluded from the study. In this way, 1836 articles were the subject of the study, and the results obtained on the inquiry page of WOS were analyzed around selected themes.

Table 1 displays the distribution of articles by research area. According to the top 10 research areas in which the articles are included, the fields of demography, political science, and ethnic studies are primarily included. Academic interest in these fields has increased due to reasons such as the Syrian migration crisis causing changes in the population and sociological structure in the host countries and the states having to revise their policies on immigrants or produce new policies.

Table 1 Distribution by research areas

Research Areas	%	n
Demography	13.8	253
Political Science	8.2	151
Ethnic Studies	7.6	139
International Relations	7.0	129
Area Studies	6.5	119
Education Educational	6.4	117
Sociology	6.2	114
Communication	5.9	108
Social Sciences Interdisciplinary	5.2	95
Geography	4.2	77

In Table 2, according to the top 10 universities where the articles were published, that London, Oxford, and California Universities are the universities with the most articles. Koç University from Türkiye, Lebanese American University, and the University of Jordan are on this list.

Table 2 Number of articles per university

Universities	No. articles
University of London	76
University of Oxford	36
American University of Beirut	33
University of California System	30
Koç University	23
London School of Economics	23
Lebanese American University	22
University of Jordan	22
French National Centre for Scientific Research	22
University of College London	20

In Table 3, according to the top 10 journals in which the articles were published, magazines with the title of direct immigration are primarily included. Accordingly, it is seen that most studies are published in the Journal of Refugee Studies, which belongs to Oxford Academic. It is seen that Plos One, which includes a broad research area in science, engineering, medicine, and related social sciences and humanities, takes place in this list due to its acceptance of mostly multidisciplinary studies.

Table 3 Journals in which articles are published

Journals	No. articles
Journal of Refugee Studies	55
Plos One	38
International Migration	37
Journal of Ethnic and Migration	29
Journal of International Migration	29
Migration Letters	22
Journal of Immigrant Refugee	21
Refugee	20
Refugee Survey Quarterly	19
Turkish Policy Quarterly	17

Table 4 shows that the first ten countries where the articles are published are the USA, Türkiye, England, Canada, Germany, Lebanon, Netherlands, Jordan, France, and Spain. In this ranking, there is a weighted representation of developed countries. In addition, there is a relationship between the countries hosting the Syrian migration and the number of articles. Accordingly, Türkiye is the country with the most articles published after the United States.

Table 4 Countries where articles published

Countries	No. articles
USA	411
Türkiye	360
England	281
Canada	134
Germany	132
Lebanon	79
Netherlands	74
Jordan	66
France	59
Spain	53

For the analysis of the study, a selection including timeslice, term source, node type, and selection criteria were performed in Citespace (table 5). For the study to be as complete as possible, the title, abstract, author, and keywords were included in the advanced query in WOS and imported into Citespace. The selection criteria of the articles transferred to Citespace were determined according to the g-index. The "k" is a scaling factor introduced in CiteSpace to control the overall size and clarity of the resulting network. k=25 was opted to develop the most appropriate network.

TABLE 5 Parameters for the analysis

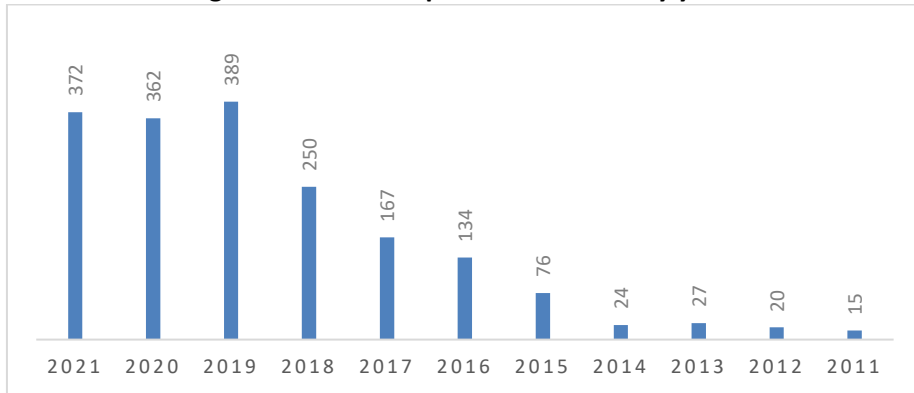
Parameter	Description	Choice
Timeslice	Timespan of the analysis	From Jan 2011 to Dec 2021
Term source	Textual fields processed	Title/abstract/author keywords/ keywords plus (id)
Node type	The type of network selected for the analysis	Reference
Selection criteria	The way to sample records to form the final networks	g-index (k=25)

Results

Many articles in various academic fields have dealt with the uncertainty that started with the migration from Syria to other countries. While there was a slight but regular increase between 2011 and 2014, there has been a severe increase since 2018 (figure 1). It is seen that the highest number of articles belongs to 2019. In the ten years included in the SSCI, an average of 183.6 articles were published, excluding

health-related fields. This section intends to describe the research areas of the field and the relationship between them through the publications cited in the articles.

Figure 1 Number of published articles by years



The major areas of the research: thematic clusters

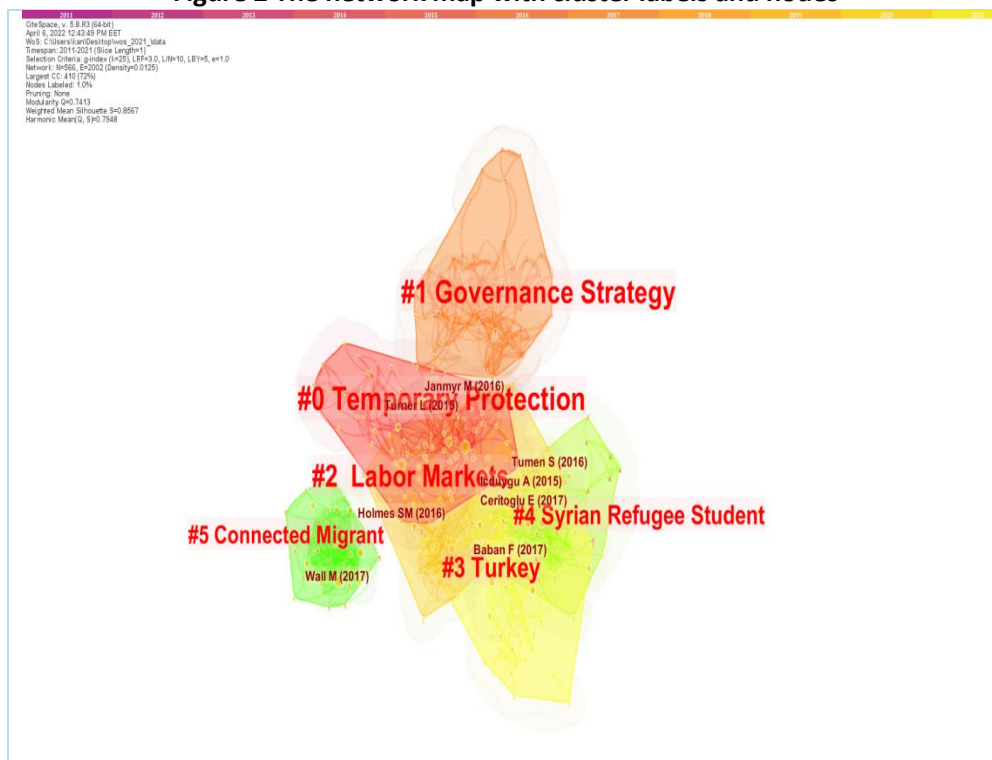
Table 6 shows the thematic clusters on Syria and migration. The first six clusters with the highest volume and silhouette values were selected in the study. Citespace extracts noun phrases from the titles, keyword lists, or abstracts of articles and gives automatic labels to them. The clusters are numbered from the largest cluster #0, the second-largest #1, and so on (table 6 and figure 2) (Chen, 2014). Each cluster is related to a line of research, and the selection criteria was created with the silhouette score. Silhouette metrics provide useful quality indicators for clustering and enhance the accountability of co-citation analysis. A silhouette score > 0.70 is considered high (Chen, 2014). If the silhouette score of all six clusters created is higher than 0.7, it indicates that the clusters have good homogeneity (table 6). On the other hand, the modularity provides a reference for the overall clarity of a given network decomposition. Like the silhouette score, the modularity score is measured in the range of 0 to 1, and it is desired to be close to 1, which indicates that the network is well structured in general. The modularity score is 0.7413. According to these results, the networks within themselves and the network containing all the clusters are in a good structure. The average year of publication of a set, on the other hand, indicates whether it generally consists of new articles or older articles (table 6) (Chen, 2014).

Table 6 Major thematic clusters

Cluster	Size	Silhouette	Mean (year)	Label
0	55	0.845	2014	Temporary Protection
1	50	0.772	2015	Governance Strategy
2	45	0.851	2016	Labor Markets
3	43	0.827	2017	Türkiye
4	40	0.778	2016	Syrian Refugee Student
5	38	0.933	2016	Connected Migrant

The first six clusters with the largest size were included in the study. Cluster labels are obtained from SSCI articles, and nodes consist of cited publications (figure 2). Therefore, cited publications may contain information sources like reports, newspaper news, or columns.

Figure 2 The network map with cluster labels and nodes



Cluster #0: temporary protection

Cluster #0 has the biggest size of publications. That means it is the largest area among the clusters (Table 6). The news of newspapers such as The Guardian, BBC News, and Economist, and reports of institutions and organizations such as The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) are frequently encountered here. The reason is that the migration wave started to increase in the middle of 2013, and the early information on the subject is obtained chiefly from newspaper reports and reports of institutions and organizations. This cluster focuses mainly on the early effects of increasing Syrian migration.

The Syrians in Turkey is the highest-ranked publication in this cluster, which includes comprehensive field research focused on the social acceptance and integration perspectives of Syrians and Turkish societies. In the report, Erdogan emphasizes that Syrians in Türkiye have a growing tendency to stay permanently, and integration policies should commence synchronously, at least for Syrians who will remain in Türkiye (2014).

Discussions about the legal status of Syrians have also increased as the idea has started perception that Syrians who will stay in the host countries started to dominate the host countries. Costello and Foster argue that there is a lack of consensus on the norm of non-refoulement of refugees in the context of international law (2016). İneli-Ciger examines the temporary protection status of Syrians seeking protection in Türkiye within the current legal protection regime (2014).

It is also understood that the attitude of the host countries has changed over time compared to the early migration process. In the report prepared for the Brooking Institution and International Strategic Research Organization (USAK), Dinçer et al. revealed that two years after the first convoy from Syria in 2011, while the resources of the Turkish government and society were running out, questions about the limits of Türkiye's hospitality increased (2013). Achilli's policy brief for the Migration Policy Center (MPC) describes how worrying changes in the government's attitude towards Syrian refugees in Jordan have become unsustainable since 2014 (2015).

Cluster # 1: governance strategy

The second-largest Cluster #1 mainly focuses on the governance strategies of the countries hosting the Syrian migration. There are discussions in the early stages of the migration, such as keeping refugees in camps, not being admitted to the country, or discrimination among refugees, and studies showing what policies governments follow on these problems.

The highest-ranked article in this cluster examines the relevance of Syrian refugee (non-) campsites in Lebanon and Jordan to governments' labor market goals. Turner (2015) claims that the Lebanese economy requires large numbers of non-encamped low-wage Syrian workers and that the Jordanian regime assists its Transjordanian support base by restricting poor Syrians' access to the labor market through the encampment. Janmyr (2017) discusses how Lebanon legitimizes its non-ratification of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Chaaban et al. (2013) emphasizes that Lebanon has very few legal provisions addressing Syrian refugees' concerns; thus, the majority of them rely on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for social assistance.

It is seen that countries other than Jordan and, Lebanon also try to determine a governance strategy directly or indirectly. Holmes and Castañeda (2016) focus on refugee representations in the media and political discourse in EU countries, particularly Germany. They argue that EU countries demarcate refugees as "deserving" and "undeserving" based on the "war of position" approach of Gramsci. Biehl (2015) focuses on the relationship between uncertainty and governmentality concerning displacement and its consequences in Türkiye. He claims that the uncertainty demobilizes, contains, and criminalizes asylum seekers.

The way governments keep refugees under surveillance is often discussed in conjunction with Foucault's "biopolitics". Andersson (2014) criticizes that the western world keeps refugees, whom it sees as "illegal immigrants", out of its borders. The study emphasizes the policy of serial deportation in border regions and its biopolitical process. Davies (2017), Isakjee, and Dhesi discuss how refugees are abandoned in camps inside the EU to prevent their survival with official provisions, and how the biopolitics of immigrant control has turned into a "bio/necropolitics". Sanyal (2014) criticizes the idea that the camps are places of pure biopolitics. Using case studies from the Middle East and South Asia, it examines how the refugee spaces developed and became informalized and how people recovered their agency through 'producing spaces' both physically and politically.

Cluster # 2: labor markets

In this cluster, there are quantitative studies that examine the extent to which refugees affect the labor market of host countries and mainly include economic analyses. The highest-ranked article in this cluster examines the impact of forced migration of Syrians on the labor market outcomes of Turkish natives.

Ceritoglu et al. (2017) using regional panel data revealed that Syrian refugees have an adverse effect on Turkish natives' informal employment. In another similar study, Balkan and Tumen estimated the impact of immigration in Türkiye through its reflections on consumer prices, labor markets, and housing. In the study, it was revealed that there are statistically significant informal employment losses among locals (2016). Akgündüz, Van Den Berg, and Hassink analyzed how the entry of Syrian refugee inflows into Türkiye affected firm entry and performance, and found that hosting refugees is favorable for firms (2018).

Also, other country cases analyze the direct or indirect effects of migration in Syria on the labor market of the host countries too. Bansak, Hainmueller, and Hangartner (2016), in a study they conducted in European countries, examined what kind of asylum seekers Europeans are willing to accept. As a result, it has been revealed that asylum seekers who have higher employability, have more consistent asylum testimonies and severe vulnerabilities, and who are Christian rather than Muslim received the greatest public support. Fakih and İbrahim (2016) examined the impact of the sudden migration flow to Jordan on the labor market. According to the experimental results of the study, it revealed that there is no relationship between flow and the Jordanian labor market.

Cluster # 3: Türkiye

In this cluster, there are studies examining the Syrian migration with the cases of Türkiye. The studies focus on what kind of government policy Türkiye followed during the Syrian migration, issues Syrians face due to their legal and class status, and integration.

The highest-ranked article in this cluster discusses how Türkiye implemented an “open door” policy in the early stages of the refugee flow and how this situation turned into a policy such as “temporary protection” and “voluntary return (Aras and Mencutek, 2015). Baban, Ilcan, and Rygiel (2017) discuss the Turkish government's central legal and policy frameworks that provide Syrians with some citizenship rights while simultaneously regulating their status and situating them in a position of limbo. Memişoğlu and Ilgit (2017) focus on the security, humanitarian and socio-economic dimensions of the new legal, administrative, and institutional mechanisms that have been introduced as Türkiye is rapidly transforming into a country of immigration. Rygiel, Baban, and Ilcan (2016) examine the agreement signed between the EU and Türkiye in 2016 to jointly address the Syrian refugee crisis and the dimensions of

temporary protection status in Türkiye. Bélanger and Saraçoğlu (2020) argue that the Turkish state's temporary protection regime and the state's ad hoc leniency towards the informal use of refugee labor are compatible with the economic expectations of Turkish business and capital owners. Şimşek (2018) claims that as a result of interviews with refugees, Türkiye favors refugees who make investments and are skilled but leaves out refugees who are unskilled and do not have economic resources to invest in Türkiye from the integration processes. Akçapar and Şimşek claim that Türkiye uses the citizenship option for skilled immigrants and integration option as a tool for those who do not (2018).

Studies on the importance of integration and the role of the state and NGOs in this issue are also included in this cluster. The report prepared for Migration Policy Institute suggests that Türkiye should deal with the Syrian war independently of the Assad regime and that more cooperation with NGOs should be established by giving importance to integration policies (Icduygu 2015). Similar to the report, studies on the importance of integration and the role of the state and NGOs in this issue are also included in this cluster. Yıldız and Uzgören (2016) focus on the socio-economic expectations of refugees regarding their integration and the social acceptance of Turks through interviews with Syrian refugees in İzmir. According to the results of their field research in Sultanbeyli, Daniş and Nazlı (2019) argue that there is a "faithful" alliance between the state and certain NGOs and that civil society assumes a supporting role to the state in accepting refugees. Aras and Duman (2019) focus on the resettlement management of large numbers of refugees in Türkiye and the processes of the government, local practices, and NGOs at this point and propose an integration policy as a result of their interviews with NGOs workers.

Cluster # 4: Syrian refugee students

In this cluster, there are studies on the educational status of Syrian students in the host countries after migration, the education policy of the host countries, and the role of education in integration.

The highest-ranked article in this cluster is the educational status and needs research of Syrian refugee students in public schools in Türkiye. Aydın and Kaya (2017) reveal that Syrian children generally have access to education in many schools in Istanbul, but they have language barriers and need psychological support. Taşkın and Erdemli (2018) examine the problems faced by Syrian students during the education process through interviews with teachers in Türkiye. The study claims that

teachers lack adequate support during the education process of Syrian students. Bircan and Sunata (2015) elaborate on the current education assessment, focusing on the children living in camps, as the global report on refugee education is below the critical level. The study points to many refugee children needing access to primary education and draws attention to the financial inadequacy of education program development. McCarthy (2018) argues that the interrelationship between ideology and policy shapes both the overall organization of refugee education and the operational practices of staff working to provide education to refugees. In this context, it examines how education is managed in Türkiye. Çelik and İçduygu (2019) emphasize that education is the most effective tool for refugee integration. Based on a comparative qualitative case study of refugee children in temporary education centers and public schools in Türkiye explores how these schools contribute to or hinder the school integration and adaptation of refugee children. Based on stakeholder interviews, Buckner and Cha (2018) examine the education policy for Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Accordingly, it has shown that the idea of children's rights in international conventions, despite some contradictions, when combined with foreign aid, encourages the creation of a national refugee education framework.

Cluster # 5: connected migrant

Cluster # 5 has the highest silhouette value, meaning there is a high degree of homogeneity among the publications (table 6). The studies in this cluster discuss the status and level of refugees' use of information and communication technologies. In particular, studies focus on the impact of mobile phone use on the migration journey, coping with various problems in host countries, and improving integration.

The highest-ranked article here explores the use of social media apps in overcoming refugee integration in Europe after the refugee crisis. Alencar (2018) presents a theoretical model for analyzing refugee integration through social media from interviews with refugees in the Netherlands.

Many studies examine the level of use of mobile phones, especially by migrants during their travels in this cluster. Zijlstra and Liempt (2017) explore immigrants from Greece and Türkiye within the framework of ethnographic research. The study analyzes how mobile technology affects irregular migrants' journeys. Borkert, Fisher, and Yafi (2018) want to learn about refugees' digital

capacities during and after their journey to Europe through a survey conducted in Berlin. It has been revealed that the vast majority of refugees learns the best route to Europe via Facebook, WhatsApp, and Viber. Gillespie, Osseiran, and Cheesman (2018) examine the role of smartphones in refugees' journeys. The study is based on qualitative research on refugees in France. He emphasizes that smartphones are lifelines as crucial as water and food for refugees.

Major connected and most active areas

The centrality of a node is a graph-theoretical property that quantifies the importance of the node's position in a network. Citespace uses betweenness centrality, which measures the percentage of the number of shortest paths in a network that a given node belongs to (Chen 2006). A node of high betweenness centrality usually connects two or more large groups of nodes with the node itself in-between. In other words, the node tends to connect itself up with different clusters. These publications (nodes) can be considered the intellectual turning points of the field (Chen 2005).

In the study, the publications of Aras and Mencutek (2015) and İçduygu (2015) have the highest betweenness centrality score. Both have a score of 0.08 and are in cluster #3. Aras and Mencutek (2015) discuss how Türkiye's "open door" policy turned into a policy such as "temporary protection" and "voluntary return". İçduygu (2015) suggests that more cooperation with NGOs should be established by giving importance to integration policies in Türkiye. These publications are in line with the literature of the study. Many researches predict that the Syrians will stay in the host countries. These studies also emphasize the need to develop integration efforts for Syrians in host countries. In addition, Türkiye is one of the countries hosting the highest number of Syrians and with the most research on Syria and migration. Therefore, the intense impact of field studies on Türkiye is observed in all clusters. Thus, it would be correct to interpret that Türkiye is predominantly concentrated in Cluster #3 and that two studies in this cluster serve as a bridge to other clusters.

The number of citations is an essential indicator for a publication, but it cannot measure its influence or density and evolution over time. A citation burst shows that a particular publication is associated with a surge of citations in a single year or years (Chen 2014). In other words, the publication has received extraordinary attention from the scientific community. The study with the highest burst level

belongs to the report published by İçduygu (2015). The report, published in 2015 has the highest burst score with 4.16 between 2016 and 2019. The number of integration-based studies on the perception that Syrians will stay in host countries has increased significantly. Therefore, İçduygu's report emphasizing integration is also compatible with the literature of the study.

Conclusion

An increasing number of articles are published every year on Syrian migration. Therefore, it is possible to say that the field is interesting for researchers. Developed countries and top-ranked universities are better at producing articles, as this study reveals too. On the other hand, it is seen that Türkiye, Jordan, and Lebanon, which host the most Syrian migration, are among the top 10 countries in the number of the articles, and they are represented in the top 10 with at least one university each. In particular, Türkiye, the second country after the United States, significantly contributes to the Syrian migration studies. This situation is closely related to the fact that Türkiye is a direct research.

In the co-citation analysis, the clusters of Temporary Protection, Governance Strategy, Labor Markets, Türkiye, Syrian Refugee Student, and Connected Migrant emerged. The research topics of the articles are also compatible with these first six clusters, which have the highest relationship and volume among them. In particular, the cluster of Governance Strategy with political science, the cluster of Syrian Refugee student with education educational and, the cluster of Connected Migrant with communication are significantly related to the areas in Table 1.

The cluster of Temporary Protection includes discussions on the effects of the presence of Syrian refugees in the host countries and their legal status. The average year of cited publications is 2014, and early discussions are in this cluster. The cluster of Governance Strategy, which has an average of 2015, mainly discusses how countries respond to Syrian migration and related country policies. The cluster of Labor Markets, which has an average of 2016, is based on studies that discuss the effects of Syrian refugees on host countries' economies and labor markets. The cluster of Türkiye, which has the average of 2017, includes studies in different disciplines with Türkiye cases. The cluster of Syrian Refugee Student, which has an average of 2016, includes Syrians' access to education in host countries, adaptation issues and suggestions. The cluster of Connected Migrant, which has the average of

2016, is the most homogeneous cluster of the study and therefore, the most relevant articles. This cluster mainly includes studies on the importance of information and communication technologies during the Syrian refugees' arrival in the host country and during their stay.

Although the Syrian civil war started in 2011, articles on Syrian migration have gained momentum since 2014 (figure 1). The cluster of Temporary Protection, which includes early discussions, frequently includes articles that cite reports and newspaper articles. In the following years, academic articles replaced these sources of information. Within a few years, it has started to be noticed that the length of stay of Syrians in host countries is prolonged, and most do not want to leave (Erdogan 2014). The effects of this long-term stay can be seen in two publications that constitute the intellectual turning point of the literature. Aras and Mencutek (2015) argue that with the increasing Syrian population in the country, Türkiye's "open-door" policy has changed into "non-arrival" and "voluntary return" policies. In his report, İçduygu (2015) argues that Türkiye's immigration legislation is insufficient, that Syrians will not leave Türkiye in a short time, and that integration efforts should be given importance, but Türkiye's opportunities are limited, and the international community should share the burden. These publications relate other clusters to each other. Because of the change in government policies with the stay of Syrian refugees in the host country, the discussion of focusing on integration policies are issues that concern the network (see figure 2) in other words, the whole literature. Also, İçduygu's report reached the highest burst level in the network and gained extraordinary attention. İçduygu's report is compatible with the New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants, which was prepared one year after the report, recognizing that the problem transcends border countries and a worldwide solution was sought to be agreed upon. Because İçduygu has drawn attention to issues that need to be taken into account at the global level.

As a result, in the study, it has been revealed what kind of transformation has taken place in academic research on Syrian migration in the 11 years. At the beginning of the migration due to the civil war, academic studies focused more on settlement, then the interest shifted to humanitarian aid. Some turning points in the migration process are important in this sense. Migration policies have entered a different phase since 2016, when the migration problem crossed border countries and agreed on a global solution. After Syrians settled in border countries, migration studies focused on integration processes. Concerns about the legal status of Syrians

have been replaced by more social cohesion and integration efforts.

Limitations

In this study, we only used the WOS database. Scopus, dimension.ai and lens.org can also be included for a more comprehensive study.

References

- Achilli, Luigi. 2015. "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check." In *Migration Policy Centre*, 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.2870/821248>.
- Akcapar, Sebnem Koser, and Dogus Simsek. 2018. "The Politics of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: A Question of Inclusion and Exclusion through Citizenship." *Social Inclusion* 6 (1): 176–87. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v6i1.1323>.
- Akgündüz, Yusuf Emre, Marcel Van Den Berg, and Wolter Hassink. 2018. "The Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Firm Entry and Performance in Turkey." *World Bank Economic Review* 32 (1): 19–40. <https://doi.org/10.1093/wber/lhx021>.
- Alencar, Amanda. 2018. "Refugee Integration and Social Media: A Local and Experiential Perspective." *Information Communication and Society* 21 (11): 1588–1603. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1340500>.
- Andersson, Ruben. 2014. "Time and the Migrant Other: European Border Controls and the Temporal Economics of Illegality." *American Anthropologist* 116 (4): 795–809. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12148>.
- Aras, Bülent, and Yasin Duman. 2019. "I/NGOs' Assistance to Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Opportunities and Challenges." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 21 (4): 478–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2018.1530382>.
- Aras, N. Ela Gokalp, and Zeynep Sahin Mencutek. 2015. "The International Migration and Foreign Policy Nexus: The Case of Syrian Refugee Crisis and Turkey." *Migration Letters* 12 (3): 193–208. <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v12i3.274>.
- Aydin, Hasan, and Yeliz Kaya. 2017. "The Educational Needs of and Barriers Faced by Syrian Refugee Students in Turkey: A Qualitative Case Study." *Intercultural Education* 28 (5): 456–73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2017.1336373>.
- Baban, Feyzi, Suzan Ilcan, and Kim Rygiel. 2017. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Pathways to Precarity, Differential Inclusion, and Negotiated Citizenship Rights." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (1): 41–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1192996>.
- Bahadır Dinçer, Osman, Vittoria Federici, Elizabeth Ferris, Sema Karaca, Kemal Kirişçi, and Elif Özmenek Çarmıklı. 2013. "Turkey and Syrian Refugees: The Limits of Hospitality." International Strategic Research Organization (USAK). www.brookings.edu.
- Balkan, Binnur, and Semih Tumen. 2016. "Immigration and Prices: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Syrian Refugees in Turkey." *Journal of Population Economics* 29 (3): 657–86. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-016-0583-2>.

- Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. "How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes toward Asylum Seekers." *Science* 354 (6309): 217–22. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aag2147>.
- Bélangier, Danièle, and Cenk Saracoglu. 2020. "The Governance of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The State-Capital Nexus and Its Discontents." *Mediterranean Politics* 25 (4): 413–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2018.1549785>.
- Biehl, Kristen Sarah. 2015. "Governing through Uncertainty Experiences of Being a Refugee in Turkey as a Country for Temporary Asylum." *Social Analysis* 59 (1): 57–75. <https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2015.590104>.
- Bircan, Tuba, and Ulaş Sunata. 2015. "Educational Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Turkey." *Migration Letters* 12 (3): 226–37. <https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v12i3.276>.
- Bonilla, Claudio A., José M. Merigó, and Carolina Torres-Abad. 2015. "Economics in Latin America: A Bibliometric Analysis." *Scientometrics* 105 (2): 1239–52. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-015-1747-7>.
- Borkert, Maren, Karen E. Fisher, and Eiad Yafi. 2018. "The Best, the Worst, and the Hardest to Find: How People, Mobiles, and Social Media Connect Migrants In(to) Europe." *Social Media and Society* 4 (1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118764428>.
- Çelik, Çetin, and Ahmet İcduygu. 2019. "Schools and Refugee Children: The Case of Syrians in Turkey." *International Migration* 57 (2): 253–67. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12488>.
- Ceritoglu, Evren, H. Burcu Gurcihan Yunculer, Huzeife Torun, and Semih Tumen. 2017. "The Impact of Syrian Refugees on Natives' Labor Market Outcomes in Turkey: Evidence from a Quasi-Experimental Design." *IZA Journal of Labor Policy* 6 (1): 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40173-017-0082-4>.
- Chaaban, Jad M., Karin Seyfert, Nisreen I. Salti, and Gheed S. El makkaoui. 2013. "Poverty and Livelihoods among Unhcr Registered Refugees in Lebanon." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 32 (1): 24–49. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hds022>.
- Chen, Chaomei. 2005. "The Centrality of Pivotal Points in the Evolution of Scientific Networks." *International Conference on Intelligent User Interfaces, Proceedings IUI*, no. January 2005: 98–105. <https://doi.org/10.1145/1040830.1040859>.
- . 2006. "CiteSpace II: Detecting and Visualizing Emerging Trends and Transient Patterns in Scientific Literature." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 57 (3): 359–77. <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.20317>.
- . 2014. *The CiteSpace Manual. Scientometrics*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-015-1576-8>.
- Danış, Didem, and Dilara Nazlı. 2019. "A Faithful Alliance Between the Civil Society and the State: Actors and Mechanisms of Accommodating Syrian Refugees in Istanbul." *International Migration* 57 (2): 143–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12495>.
- Davies, Thom, Arshad Isakjee, and Surindar Dhesi. 2017. "Violent Inaction: The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe." *Antipode* 49 (5): 1263–84. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12325>.
- Ellegaard, Ole, and Johan A. Wallin. 2015. "The Bibliometric Analysis of Scholarly Production: How Great Is the Impact?" *Scientometrics* 105 (3): 1809–31. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-015-1645-z>.
- Erdogan, M. Murat. 2014. *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum Araştırması*.
- Erdoğan, Murat. 2020. *Suriyeliler Barometresi 2019*. Ankara: Orion.
- Fakih, Ali, and May Ibrahim. 2016. "The Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Labor Market in Neighboring Countries: Empirical Evidence from Jordan." *Defence and Peace Economics* 27 (1): 64–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242694.2015.1055936>.
- Gillespie, Marie, Souad Osseiran, and Margie Cheesman. 2018. "Syrian Refugees and the Digital Passage to Europe: Smartphone Infrastructures and Affordances." *Social Media and Society* 4 (1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118764440>.

- Goc idaresi. 2022. "Geçici Koruma." In . <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>.
- Holmes, Seth M., and Heide Castañeda. 2016. "Representing the 'European Refugee Crisis' in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and Difference, Life and Death." *American Ethnologist* 43 (1): 12–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12259>.
- İçduygu, Ahmet. 2015. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey - The Long Road Ahead." *Transatlantic Council on Migration*.
- Ineli-Ciger, Meltem. 2014. "Implications of the New Turkish Law on Foreigners and International Protection and Regulation No. 29153 on Temporary Protection for Syrians Seeking Protection in Turkey." *Oxford Monitor of Forced Migration* 4 (2): 28–36.
- Janmyr, Maja. 2017. "No Country of Asylum: 'Legitimizing' Lebanon's Rejection of the 1951 Refugee Convention." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 29 (3): 438–65. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eex026>.
- McCarthy, Aslihan Tezel. 2018. "Politics of Refugee Education: Educational Administration of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Turkey." *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 50 (3): 223–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2018.1440541>.
- Memisoglu, Fulya, and Asli Ilgit. 2017. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Multifaceted Challenges, Diverse Players and Ambiguous Policies." *Mediterranean Politics* 22 (3): 317–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2016.1189479>.
- Rygiel, Kim, Feyzi Baban, and Suzan Ilcan. 2016. "The Syrian Refugee Crisis: The EU-Turkey 'deal' and Temporary Protection." *Global Social Policy* 16 (3): 315–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468018116666153>.
- Sanyal, Romola. 2014. "Urbanizing Refuge: Interrogating Spaces of Displacement." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (2): 558–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12020>.
- Şimşek, Doğu. 2018. "Integration Processes of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: 'Class-Based Integration'." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 33 (3): 537–54. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fey057>.
- Small, Henry. 1973. "Co-Citation in the Scientific Literature : A New Measure of the Relationship Between Two Documents." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 24 (4): 265–69.
- Sweileh, Waleed M. 2017. "Bibliometric Analysis of Medicine - Related Publications on Refugees, Asylum-Seekers, and Internally Displaced People: 2000 - 2015." *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 17 (1): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12914-017-0116-4>.
- Taskin, Pelin, and Ozge Erdemli. 2018. "Education for Syrian Refugees: Problems Faced by Teachers in Turkey." *Egitim Arastirmalari - Eurasian Journal of Educational Research* 2018 (75): 155–78. <https://doi.org/10.14689/ejer.2018.75.9>.
- Thomson, Reuters. 2008. "Using Bibliometrics: A Guide to Evaluating Research Performance with Citation Data." *White Paper*. http://ips.clarivate.com/m/pdfs/325133_thomson.pdf.
- Torres-Pruñonosa, Jose, Miquel Angel Plaza-Navas, Francisco Díez-Martín, and Camilo Prado-Roman. 2020. "The Sources of Knowledge of the Economic and Social Value in Sport Industry Research: A Co-Citation Analysis." *Frontiers in Psychology* 11 (December): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.629951>.
- Turner, Lewis. 2015. "Explaining the (Non-)Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan." *Mediterranean Politics* 20 (3): 386–404. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2015.1078125>.
- UN. 2016. "New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants." <https://www.unhcr.org/57e39d987>.
- UNHCR. 2022a. "Lebanon." In . <https://www.unhcr.org/lebanon.html>.
- UNHCR. 2022b. "Syria Emergency." In . <https://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html>.
- Wang, Shi-Qi, Ya-Qian Gao, Chi Zhang, Yu-Jie Xie, Jian-Xiong Wang, and Fang-Yuan Xu. 2020. "A Bibliometric Analysis Using CiteSpace of Publications from 1999 to 2018 on Patient Rehabilitation



- After Total Knee Arthroplasty." *Medical Science Monitor : International Medical Journal of Experimental and Clinical Research* 26 (March): e920795–e920795.
<https://doi.org/10.12659/MSM.920795>.
- White, Howard D., and Katherine W. McCain. 1998. "Visualizing a Discipline: An Author Co-Citation Analysis of Information Science, 1972-1995." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 49 (4): 327–55. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1097-4571\(19980401\)49:4<327::AID-ASI4>3.0.CO;2-W](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-4571(19980401)49:4<327::AID-ASI4>3.0.CO;2-W).
- Yıldız, Ayselin, and Elif Uzgören. 2016. "Limits to Temporary Protection: Non-Camp Syrian Refugees in İzmir, Turkey." *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea* 16 (2): 195–211.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2016.1165492>.
- Zijlstra, Judith, and Ilse Van Liempt. 2017. "Smart (Phone) Travelling: Understanding the Use and Impact of Mobile Technology on Irregular Migration Journeys." *International Journal of Migration and Border Studies* 3 (2/3): 174. <https://doi.org/10.1504/ijmbs.2017.083245>.

'Real-Time Autoethnography' in Migration Research: Towards Capturing Past Lived Experience as It Is Lived

Amanuel Isak TEWOLDE

Abstract. Qualitative scholars who employ autoethnography as a qualitative approach have largely focused on personal recollections or hindsight or retroactive writing to capture and document lived experiences of researchers or authors. Qualitative scholars note that employing autoethnography has limitations, such as missing complete details of past lived experience because an author relies on his/her memory to record their past experiences. Such retroactive writing may not fully represent the nuanced details and complexities of lived experience as it is being lived. This paper attempts to contribute to the methodological approach of autoethnography by developing a new methodological perspective or approach namely 'real-time autoethnography' to capture researcher's lived experiences in real-time or as it is lived. Real-time autoethnography's main focus is on documenting lived experience as it is being experienced rather than relying on hindsight memory to capture lived experience. This paper argues that employing standard autoethnography is inadequate to document the nitty-gritty of lived experience and that real-time autoethnography enables researchers to record the complexities and nuances of researcher's/authors' lived experiences as they unfold thereby minimizing the problem of missing important details.

Keywords: *Autoethnography, lived experience, migrant researcher, qualitative approach, real-time autoethnography*

Introduction: Autoethnography, a method of hindsight writing

"Nothing can last forever. There isn't any memory, no matter how intense, that doesn't fade out at last." – Juan Rulfo.

In recent years, positivist-oriented research methodologies, as normative forms of knowledge production, have been critiqued by non-positivist social science scholars who maintain that interpretivist or constructivist paradigms and research approaches such as autoethnography equally produce valid knowledges about the lived experience (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; 2010; Ellis & Bochner 2000; Méndez 2013).

The interpretivist turn appeared as a lens of representing the voices and lived experiences of everyday people and positioning their subjectivities and perspectives as valid knowledge (Anderson 2006; Chang 2008; Méndez 2013). Within the interpretivist framework, such as autoethnography, scholars argue that the principles guiding objectivist research do not adequately capture the messy and complex concrete experiences, world views and perceptions of everyday social actors (Ellis & Bochner 2006; Méndez 2013; Wall 2008).

Autoethnography emerged as a qualitative approach to document the lived experiences and perspectives of authors or researchers (Ellis et al. 2010; Méndez 2013). The term 'auto' refers to the self while 'ethnography' denotes the study of a social phenomenon within a social system (Ellis et al. 2010). Using autoethnography as a qualitative methodological perspective, an author attempts to reflect on their past lived experiences and present those individual experiences as forming part of broader social and cultural patterns within which the experiences are located (Holman 2005; Méndez 2013). Author's everyday experiences are conceptualized as a slice of broader socio-cultural patterns (Ellis & Bochner 2006). Schroeder (2017) defines autoethnography as 'people starting their research with themselves and their own lived experience, using their lives as their research questions...' (*ibid*: 316), or '...that the self becomes to some extent the subject of the research...' (*ibid*: 317). Autoethnography is conceptualized as bridging or linking the gap between science (analysis) and art (narrative) (Ellis (1999).

Within this paper, 'memory' is defined, not in a reductionist fashion, as a recalling of past experiences or rational recollection of past events, but rather as remembering the feelings (affect) while experiencing the event in the past; and it also includes aspects involving bodily experiences (somatic) (Ellis 1999: 675). Prominent autoethnographers such as Ellis (1999) employ the concept 'emotional recall' to refer to the way in which researchers retroactively visualize being 'back in these scenes emotionally and physically'. In other words, emotions and sensations of the body are largely the focus of autoethnographic recall. As Schroeder (2017) notes, much of autoethnography's focus is on using the techniques of emotional and bodily remembering to narrate recollections of past experiences as it pertains to pleasant or painful memories and experiences.

Emotional recall is embedded in sociological introspection, a process accomplished in dialogue with the self and represented in the form of narratives (Ellis 1991) Therefore, autoethnographic research is more about feeling good or bad on an emotional level while the autoethnographer is remembering (Ellis 1999).

In doing autoethnography, the basic requirements and important criteria in judging the value of autoethnography are, as Bochner notes,

Copious detail; a temporal structure revolving between past and present; emotional integrity of the author, reflecting deeply on one's actions; a plausible journey of transition from 'who I was to who I am'; ethical awareness for others and a reader moved by the story" (Bochner 2000: 270).

Autoethnography is broadly divided into two general categories, namely evocative autoethnography and analytic autoethnography. While evocative autoethnography is focused on presenting past experiences of emotional and bodily significance which trigger affective responses, analytic autoethnography on the other hand is focused on constructing theoretical explanations of larger cultural or social contexts through the lens of recalling of past experiences (Ellingson & Ellis, 2008, p. 445).

According to Ellis et al. (2010, par. 5), in conducting an autoethnographic study, 'an author *retroactively* and *selectively* writes about past experiences.' For Ellis et al. (2010, par. 5), the use of 'hindsight' or memory is central in documenting past experiences of the author. Within the framework of 'hindsight', autoethnographers write about 'epiphanies 'or remembered moments (Ellis et al. 2010: par. 6). In doing autoethnography, self-reflection is treated as the core focus of analytics) and touches on topics such as personal crisis or suffering and adversity through self-reflective narrative (Ellis 1999; Schroeder 2017).

Other proponents of autoethnography such as Wall (2008: 45) also argue that 'headnotes are more important than field notes.' In regard to the benefits of autoethnography, Méndez (2013: 282) writes, 'another advantage [of autoethnography] is the ease of access to data since the researcher calls on his or her own experiences as the source from which to investigate a particular phenomenon.' Therefore, autoethnographic studies rely on remembered past events and important' moments which draw on memory to document past lived experiences (Holman 2005; Méndez 2013; Wall 2008).

As epiphanies or significant remembered moments or events form part of the tenets of autoethnography, writers attempt to reconstruct, shape, assemble, organize and capture past occurrences by accessing their memory data and usually written diaries to recall those details (Andersonc2006; Chang 2008; Couser 1997; Holman 2005; Wall 2008). Therefore, the basis on which autoethnographic research conducted draws on recall in the recording of past lived experiences drawn from one's mental records and sometimes written resources.

It is argued that relying on past lived experiences can only be partially represented and that capturing the messy and nuanced details, features, particularities, attributes and characteristics of the immediate context based on recall within which past experience is framed becomes a challenge. For complex and nuanced past lived experiences of authors to be adequately represented, the standard autoethnography approach needs to be complemented by real-time autoethnography which enables capturing and documenting lived experience as it unfolds. The objective of this paper is to outline the limitations of standard autoethnographic approach and suggest an alternative autoethnography, which I designate 'real time autoethnography'. Through real time autoethnographic methodological framework, the complexities and nuances of past lived experiences can effectively be recorded rather than relying on mental records to capture past experiences.

The next section discusses the nature and scope of autoethnography, then I outline the limitations of the hindsight-based autoethnographic approach through the perspective of 'memory bias' theory. I then share my experiences of how I struggled to fully memorize and document my past experiences with racial classification and xenophobia in South Africa. Following that, I discuss the alternative approach of 'real time' autoethnography that qualitative researchers can use to capture their lived experiences. The last section concludes the article by outlining the scholarly contributions of the paper.

Hindsight based Autoethnographic approach in migration research

Many migrant researchers have used hindsight-based autoethnographic methodological perspective to document and share their own past lived experiences as refugees or immigrants in host societies (e.g., Assil 2021; García-Iglesias 2020; Hauber-Özer 2019; Mario 2020; Muhamed 2022; Run 2012; Vidal-Ortiz 2004; Wake 2018).

Assil (2021), an Afghan refugee in the United States, chronicled his past everyday experiences of adapting and acculturating to the US cultural and educational system by using an autoethnographic qualitative approach based on mental recollection. Hauber-Özer (2019), an American immigrant in Turkey, employed autoethnography to share and report on her struggles with integrating into the host country's socio-cultural life using her recollections of her experiences.

A second-generation female Italian immigrant in Australia, Wake (2018) utilized autoethnography to write about her lived experiences with identificational and cultural adaptation in the host society recalling how social integration was experienced in the past. Fernando (2020), a Sri Lankan non-White migrant in Australia, shared his past lived experiences with the challenges and dynamics of fitting into the Australian socio-cultural identity categories and how he navigated experiences of discrimination and stigmatization by remembering key moments.

In Muhamed and Ahmed's (2022) research article, Muhamed employed autoethnography to reflect on his past lived experiences with educational training at a refugee camp in Ethiopia in which Muhamed recalled how his social category as a non-citizen refugee positioned him to receive inferior education compared to the citizens in the host society.

A non-White Sudanese refugee in Australia, Run (2012), employed a hindsight based autoethnographic narrative to document his everyday encounters with prejudice, discrimination and racism in a White-dominant Australian society due to mainstream media's portrayal of African refugees as criminals. García-Iglesias (2020), a Guatemalan immigrant in the US, shared his autoethnographic perspective to report on how he navigated the American dream in his daily lived experiences drawing on his recollections as qualitative data.

Alatrash (2018), a female Canadian of Syrian origin, used hindsight reflection to share her everyday lived experiences with racialized stigmatization and discrimination due to her immigrant background despite her formal Canadian citizenship. Vidal-Ortiz (2004), a Puerto Rican immigrant in the US, also employed autoethnography to reflect on his past everyday lived experiences with prejudice and discrimination by the White dominant host society owing to his accent and country of origin.

The above studies employed recall or hindsight memory to retroactively write about their various respective past everyday lived experiences in their respective host societies. Even though autoethnographic approach was useful for the migrant writers to reflect on their past experiences, their accounts and stories might not capture the full range of their past experiences as they all relied on their memories and mental recollections to narrate past lived experiences. The next section discusses the theory of 'memory bias'. to suggest how relying on memory produces a narrative characterized by partial recollections, possible altered or reshaped details, incompleteness and selectivity.

The limits of 'hindsight' in recalling autoethnographic experiences: Memory bias theory

In order to make sense of the ways in which recall- or hindsight-based autoethnographic approach harbours limitations due to its reliance on selective recollections, I employ 'memory bias' theory to highlight such problematic. 'Memory bias', as a psychological and socio-psychological concept refers to cognitive bias where memory becomes selective, incomplete, altered and at times misrepresented (Krans 2017; Ross and Wing 2018; Watkins, Martin and Stern 2000).

Scholars and researchers examining the phenomenon of human memory concede that in recalling past experiences, individuals tend to experience memory bias due to the passage of time between the occurrence of an event, action or process and the mind's activity to recall those past experiences (Barry and Wing 2018). This is because, they argue, in recalling past events, the mind might leave out, alter, reform and at times re-configure long-passed occurrences and the details, nuances, structure and complexities of those past occurrences fade or lose their integrity (Du, Zhang, Wang, Luo and Lu 2015; Ross and Wing 2018; Watkins, Martin and Stern 2000).

Psychological, cognitive science and socio-psychological theories of memory bias assert that due to the myriad of informational data which the mind captures and processes, the details, nuances, complexities, accuracies and dimensions of past happenings tend to be affected during moments of recall and reconstruction of those events (Ross and Wing 2018; Watkins, Martin and Stern 2000). Due to such mental interferences and obstacles, recalled events become incomplete and selective (Ross and Wing 2018).

By employing the analytical concept and theoretical perspective of 'memory bias', I highlight the limitations of autoethnographic approach in capturing and documenting past lived experiences by using recall as a technique of collecting past experiential qualitative data. Below, I share my experiences, as an African refugee, of how I struggled to clearly and fully recall or remember my past everyday lived experiences with racial classification and xenophobia in South Africa.

My struggles with recalling my felt-lived experiences with racial classification and xenophobia in South Africa

Struggling to recall how I felt when I was racially classified

Before I arrived in South Africa as a refugee, I did not have a racial identity and instead my self-identification was based on my cultural, ethnic, neighbourhood and national identities. My physical characteristics such as hair texture, eye colour, nose type, skin pigmentation and facial features did not carry any racial meaning. After I arrived in South Africa, a society with high race-consciousness, I started experiencing racial classification in my everyday social interactions. Some South Africans would ask me if I was Coloured¹ due to my physical appearance. At other times, people classified me as Indian² South African. In most cases, South African Coloured people spoke to me in Afrikaans, a South African language generally spoken by Whites and Coloured people, thinking that I was Coloured.

For example, sometime last year, a Coloured woman mistook me for Coloured and spoke to me in Afrikaans but she later realized that I was a non-South African foreigner. I do not exactly remember the details of this particular experience. What I can recall from the interaction was that I was mistaken for a South African Coloured person and the lady afterwards spoke to me in English. I also recall that I felt confused about my supposed racial identity at the moment. Had I captured the actual interaction between the woman and myself I would have a nuanced and complete detail of the conversation and the context of the experiences so that the actual experience of my racial classification could be clearly wholly reported. For example, the Coloured woman asked me something regarding my racial identity but the memory of the interaction has long faded that I can now only recall glimpses and generalities of the selective details of the particular experience.

On another occasion, I was waiting for a bus when a Coloured South African man said something in Afrikaans and since I was unable to understand what he was actually saying, I replied to him in English. Hearing my English accent, the young man said to me that he thought or assumed I was Coloured. We talked about race afterwards until my bus arrived but I cannot actually remember the complete details of what we were discussing about race classification in South Africa and identity categories in my country of origin. We spoke and argued for some minutes about race and racial categories in South Africa. I also remember that I did not feel

¹ The racial category ‘Coloured’ generally refers to individuals understood as having mixed racial ancestry, for example White and Black.

² The racial label ‘Indian’ refers to individuals whose ancestries originate from the Indian sub-continent.

comfortable being ascribed a racial category that was not created for me in the first place. However, I now can only remember parts of the interaction and interpersonal conversations and could not capture all the nuances and details of our conversations about racial classification and the emotional rollercoaster I felt about my racial identity.

A 'Black' South African woman one day told me that she had never dated Indian men in the past thinking that I was Indian South African. When I told her that I was not Indian South African but a non-South African foreigner, she told me that her first impression about my racial identity was Indian due to my looks. I recall being confused about this ascribed racial identity. I can only remember, however, only my being racialized as Indian by the woman and the bewilderment I felt. There were other issues of race and racial classification we spoke about but I can hardly remember what the detailed content of our conversations and the different feelings and emotions I experienced at the moment due to the passage of time.

Ever since I arrived in South Africa, over ten years ago, I had experienced racial classification by South Africans on numerous occasions as Coloured, Indian South African and even occasionally Black South African. The everyday day lived experiences of imposed racial classification occurred in random social encounters with South Africans on the streets, in the malls, on trains, taxis, buses, cafes and other settings. However, except for a very few interactions, I cannot exactly remember the details and contexts of those several experiences of racial classifications by everyday ordinary South Africans and how I felt in those moments.

Struggling to recall how I felt during xenophobic episodes

As a non-South African Black African refugee who has been living among Black South African citizens for over a decade, I have experienced both xenophobic attitudes, prejudice and overt violence. This is not to say that every South African I came into contact with harbors a xenophobic attitude or is violent towards foreigners. I have come across many South Africans who exhibited friendly and welcoming attitude towards me as well. Here, I am focused on incidents of xenophobic comments and behavior exhibited by South Africans in my everyday lived interactions with them in the past.

On numerous occasions, I have encountered anti-foreigner and xenophobic comments by ordinary South Africans that it made me uncomfortable, unwanted and excluded; however, my recollections of such xenophobic dispositions by some South

Africans are selective and partial rather than complete, detailed and nuanced. Even though I often come across some South Africans who openly exhibited their xenophobic attitudes, I could not be able to record the full detail of the xenophobic experiences because I did not document the experience in real time. Even though my experiences with xenophobic comments were numerous, I can now only remember or recall, in hindsight, a few occasions. I now only have unclear memories of the fear, terror and uncertainty I felt whenever xenophobic episodes occurred. I can only remember such felt-emotional experiences through partial ‘emotional recall’ due the lapse of much time.

I recall an occasion in a public taxi when a South African man asked me when I would go back to my country of origin because South Africa was overpopulated with foreigners. I can also remember that he alluded to ‘criminal’ foreigners increasing the crime rate in South Africa and bribing officials to obtain residence papers. However, I cannot remember how the conversation started or within which context such a conversation emerged. I do not also recall how I felt and reacted or how I replied to his comments: the memory of this incident has become unclear and unspecific because it occurred long time ago.

In addition to the above encounter, I also was met by a South African woman who told me that South Africa did not need professionals or educated people because there were enough South Africans who could do the same job that foreigners were doing in the country. I can only recall some of the details of the interaction with the woman where she talked about educated foreigners not being welcome or needed in South Africa. Apart from this recollection, I can hardly remember each detail of the interaction, the context of the conversation and how it made me feel

From many ordinary South Africans, I often encountered xenophobic comments such as ‘When will you go back to your country?’, ‘Why are you here?’, ‘Foreigners are criminals,’ and so on but I cannot recall where, when, how, and why such comments surfaced. Much time has passed between the time when I experienced xenophobic comments and the present day and that due to the lapse of time, I can hardly remember the complexities and nuances of those remembered negative interactions and how they made me feel. Even though I was fully aware of the little details and contexts of the past xenophobic experiences when they occurred, presently and after the incidents have passed, I can only capture and document a few experiences of xenophobia and they are partial and selective at that.

Making sense of recalling my past experiences

I found it difficult to fully capture and document my past lived experiences with racial classification and xenophobia in South Africa due to the time gap between when my experiences occurred and the time I attempted to recall or remember them, a problem captured by memory bias theory (Du, Zhang et al. 2015; Ross and Wing 2018; Watkins et al. 2000). The theoretical perspective of memory bias notes that individuals find it difficult to remember the full details of past events, actions and processes long after they have occurred due to time lapse (Lalande and Bonanno 2011; Ross and Wing 2018). Seeing through memory bias theory, my past experiences with racial classification and xenophobia in South Africa could only be partially and selectively remembered and documented (Ross and Wing 2018).

Reliance on memory or recollection to reconstruct events and occurrences that happened in the past is problematic and difficult as minute details and contextual nitty-gritties of past experiences tend to disappear or unremembered due to the passage of time and the flood of informational data which crowd out the mind and its cognitive functions (Du et al. 2015; Ross and Wing 2018). Even though I attempted to recall the contextual and conversational details of my past experiences with racial classification and xenophobia, I found it difficult to piece together everyday detail of my past experiences thereof (Ross and Wing 2018).

Even though the main proponents of autoethnography approach (e.g., Elis et al. 2010; Méndez 2013; Wall 2008) assert that the methodological perspective is beneficial and significant in allowing researchers and authors to share and document their everyday lived experiences, I found autoethnographic reflection somewhat difficult to actualize as I had difficulty to fully remember, capture and document my past lived experiences with racial classification and xenophobia due to time lapse. I found autoethnographic methodological perspective very useful in allowing me to reflect on how my past experiences with racial classification and xenophobia made me feel, but at the same time, I found the approach challenging as it did not allow me to adequately reconstruct the full details, complexities and contextual basis and nuances of my past lived experiences (Lalande and Bonanno 2011).

Many migration scholars who employed autoethnographic approach have used recall or recollection to document their everyday lived experiences of racism, adaptation, acculturation, stigmatization, prejudice, and so on in their respective host societies (e.g., Alatrash 2018; Assil 2021; [García-Iglesias 2020](#)). However, their

recollections of such past experiences were incomplete and partial as they were not captured and documented in real time. As was also illustrated in my struggles to remember my past everyday lived experiences with racial classification and xenophobia, memorizing migration-related experiences through autoethnography was partial, incomplete and somehow generalist.

Towards 'real-time autoethnography' in migration research

My contribution to qualitative approaches through proposing a conceptual tool which I named 'real-time autoethnography' might benefit individual migrant and migration researchers engaged in documenting and reporting their own lived experiences. In capturing past lived experiences, relying on 'remembered moments' (Ellis et al. 2010: par. 6), 'headnotes' (Wall 2008) or 'recalling' one's experience' (Méndez 2013) might miss nuanced details and complexities of a lived experience. This paper suggests that in order to fill this methodological gap in autoethnographic research and address the problematic of 'memory' and 'head notes', lived experiences and their accompanying emotions and feelings need to be recorded as they unfold or moments after their occurrence. This way of recording or documenting various facets of the lived experiences of migrant authors or researchers enables them to capture the nuances and details of their experiences that could only be partially remembered and documented if they relied on hindsight or headnotes which modes are prone to forgetting or partial reconstruction.

'Real time autoethnography', as a complementary methodological framework to standard autoethnography, in which authors document a particular past experience as it unfolds or moments after the experience occurred, is useful in order to compensate for the loss or distortion of past experiential data. Migrant researchers who plan to document their own experiential data may need to capture their experiences as they unfold and in real-time by providing, in more detail, their feelings, emotions, thoughts and bodily sensations while they are experiencing a topic of interest at hand. I argue that autoethnography's problematic reliance on memory or hindsight appears to leave out some rich and nuanced details of past experiential data. Indeed, it would require the auto-ethnographer to write down the various details and contextual complexities of past lived experience as they occur so that the problematic of missing rich experiential data is minimized.

Employing real-time autoethnography, therefore, can be used by migration researchers as an extension to standard autoethnography by recording the

complexities and nuances of lived experiences as they occur rather than relying on memory, thereby minimizing the risk of missing important details of past experience.

To reiterate, for migration researchers or authors to record own experiences as they occur, it is important for them to keep a pen and a notepad or an electronic device so that they can be able to instantly document any relevant experience. By keeping writing devices at all times, migration writers can be able to recognize and capture relevant experiential data (how they are feeling, thinking and their bodily sensations) and contextual factors that created those experiences. As migration authors document the details of relevant experiences as they occur, readers can be able to understand the nuances and contextual dimensions of experiences.

Real time autoethnography is particularly useful if an experience occurs regularly for the migrant author or a researcher. This is because as the regularities of the migrant researcher's experiences become more predictable and frequent, they can readily transform those lived experiences into a written form in real time. I believe the approach of real-time autoethnography strengthens the standard autoethnographic approach by replacing memory-based account of an experience with documenting an experience as it unfolds or moments after its occurrence.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to provide a methodological tool for migration researchers or authors to document their own past lived experiences in real time as opposed to relying on their memory or mental notes. Migration or migrant authors can, therefore, use real-time autoethnography to capture the nuances and details of their own past lived experiences as they unfold in real time. I employed 'memory bias' theory as an enabling theoretical perspective to highlight the limitations of autoethnographic methodological approach due to its predominant reliance on hindsight memory and proposed an alternative approach to minimize loss of nuanced experiential data. Even though many migration and migrant scholars have used autoethnography to capture and document their lived experiences, such an approach might not have adequate and thorough enough mode of capturing past experiences due to autoethnography's reliance on hindsight memory. Documenting own past experiences in real time can help authors capture rich, detailed, thorough and nuanced experiential data and reduce the probability and tendency to remember past experiences long after they have occurred. Future migration or

migrant researchers can apply real-time autoethnography in documenting and reporting their everyday lived experiences in their host societies.

Conflict of interest statement

The author declares no potential conflict of interest.

References

- Alatrash, G. 2018. On Understanding the Experience of Syrian Refugees Through an Autoethnographic Lens. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 50 (3): 2018: 131-143. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/ces.2018.0026.
- Anderson, L. 2006. Analytic autoethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(4): 373-395. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241605280449>
- Assil, K. 2021. Coming to America: an Autoethnography of A First-Generation Afghan Woman Navigating U.S. Education. Unpublished master's thesis. California State University, Fresno.
- Barry, E. S., Naus, M. J. & Rehm, L. P. 2004. Depression and Implicit Memory: Understanding Mood Congruent Memory Bias. *Cognitive Therapy and Research* 28: 387–414. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:COTR.0000031808.00502.2e>
- Bochner, A. 2000. Criteria Against Ourselves. *Qualitative Inquiry* 6 (2): 266-272. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040000600209>
- Chang, H. 2008. *Autoethnography as Method*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Couser, G. T. 1997. *Recovering bodies: Illness, disability, and life writing*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. 2000. Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp.1-28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Du, X., Zhang, K., Wang, J., Luo, J. & Lu, J. 2015. Can People Recollect Well and Change Their Source Memory Bias of "Aha!" Experiences? *The Journal of Creative Behavior* 51 (1): 45-56. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jocb.85>
- Ellingson, L. & Ellis, C. 2008. Autoethnography as constructionist project. In J. A. Holstein, & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of constructionist research* (pp. 445-465). Guilford.
- Ellis, C. 1991. Sociological Introspection and empirical experience. *Symbolic Interaction* 14 (1): 23-50. DOI:10.1525/si.1991.14.1.23
- Ellis, C. 1999. Heartful ethnography. *Qualitative Health Research* 9(5): 669-683. DOI:10.1177/104973299129122153
- Ellis, C. & Bochner, A. P. 2000. Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp.733-768). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ellis, C & Bochner, A. P. 2006. Analyzing analytic autoethnography: An autopsy. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(4), 429-449. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241606286979>
- Ellis, C., Adams, T. E. & Bochner, A. P. 2010. Autoethnography: An Overview. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12(1): Art. 10. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-12.1.1589>

- Fernando, M., Reveley, J. & Learmonth, M. 2020. Identity work by a non-white immigrant business scholar: Autoethnographic vignettes of covering and accenting. *Faculty of Business - Papers*.1589. <https://ro.uow.edu.au/buspapers/1589>
- García-Iglesias, J. 2020. "My Dream Is My Son": An Autoethnographic Account of the American Dream. *Journal of Autoethnography* (2020) 1 (3): 219–233. <https://doi.org/10.1525/joae.2020.1.3.219>
- Hauber-Özer, M. 2019. Yabancı: An Autoethnography of Migration. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 20 (3): Art. 20. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-20.3.3328>
- Holman, J. S. 2005. Autoethnography: Making the personal political. In Norman K.
- Krans, J. 2017. Autobiographical memory bias in social anxiety. *Memory* 22 (8): 890-897. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2013.844261>
- Lalande, K. M., & Bonanno, G. A. 2011. Retrospective memory bias for the frequency of potentially traumatic events: A prospective study. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 3(2): 165–170. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020847>
- Méndez, M. 2013. Autoethnography as a research method: Advantages, limitations and criticisms. *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal* 15(2): 279–287. <http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/calj/v15n2/v15n2a10.pdf>
- Muhumed, A. & Ahmed, S. 2022. Educational inequality in the Kebribeyah Somali refugee camp in Ethiopia: an autoethnography. *Journal of International Humanitarian Action* 7 (1): 1-13. DOI: [10.1186/s41018-021-00109-4](https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-021-00109-4)
- Ross, K. M. & Wing, Rena, R. 2018. "Memory bias" for recall of experiences during initial weight loss is affected by subsequent weight loss outcome. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 41: 130-137. DOI: [10.1007/s10865-017-9896-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10865-017-9896-1)
- Run, P. 2012. 'Out of place'? An auto-ethnography of refuge and postcolonial exile, *African Identities* 10 (4): 381-390. DOI: [10.1080/14725843.2012.692544](https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2012.692544)
- Schroeder, R. 2017. "Evaluative Criteria for Autoethnographic Research: Who's to Judge?" The Self as Subject: Autoethnographic Research into Identity, Culture, and Academic Librarianship. Deitering, A.M., R. Schroeder & R. Stoddart (Eds.), Chicago, IL: ACRL Publications, Chapter 15. 315-346
- Vidal-Ortiz, S. 2004. On Being a White Person of Color: Using Autoethnography to Understand Puerto Ricans' Racialization. *Qualitative Sociology* 27: 179–203. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:QUAS.0000020692.05355.6e>
- Wall, Sarah. 2008. Easier Said than Done: Writing an Autoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 7(1): 38–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690800700103>
- Wake, R. M. 2018. Unspoken Barriers: An Autoethnographic Study of Frustration, Resistance and Resilience. *The Qualitative Report* 23(12): 2899-2919. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2018.3402>
- Watkins, P. C., Martin, C. K., & Stern, L. D. 2000. Unconscious memory bias in depression: Perceptual and conceptual processes. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 109(2): 282–289. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-843X.109.2.282>

FOCUS: THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON MIGRATION

'Where is my Home?' Czech Migrants' Return during the COVID-19 Pandemic

Lucie MACKOVÁ, Ondřej FILIPEC, Barbora FRLIČKOVÁ

Abstract. This paper explores the realities of returning to the Czech Republic during the recent COVID-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, the transnational migrant networks have been disrupted for many migrants. Some of them had to use the help of the nation-state, such as the information provided by the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs or repatriation flights, to return to the country of origin. Moreover, their migration plans and trajectories might have been cut short and altered during the pandemic. This paper draws on 135 surveys with the returnees who returned to the Czech Republic between February 2020 and May 2021 and discusses their characteristics. It looks at the factors that made migrants return to the Czech Republic, describes their socio-economic situation compared to the previous country of residence, and other aspects of their post-return experience. Finally, it sheds light on the characteristics of those who claim they would have stayed abroad if there had been no pandemic.

Keywords: *return migration, repatriation, migrant networks, COVID-19, Czech Republic*

1. Introduction

Return migration is one of the less understood parts of the migration process, yet for many migrants, return forms an essential step in their migration trajectories. It represents both a temporal and spatial process.¹ The time aspect means that people return after different periods of time spent abroad. It is also worthwhile looking at their trajectories after return and their intentions for staying

¹ Ben Page, Anastasia Christou, and Elizabeth Mavroudi, "Introduction: from time to timespace and forward to time again in migration studies," in *Timespace and international migration*, eds. Ben Page, Anastasia Christou, and Elizabeth Mavroudi (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017).

in their countries of origin. The geographical aspect involves the distance between the country of origin and the previous country of residence. The bigger the distance, we can assume that the more well-thought the return has to be due to the costs of returning. At the same time, we can inquire whether people are willing to return to their 'home' towns or villages or whether they prefer another place of residence after returning to their respective countries of origin. The return motivations also play a role, especially regarding the forced and voluntary dichotomy of migration.² While return can be viewed according to the preferences of individual migrants as a failure or success, it might be too simplistic to view return in those terms.³ The return to the countries of origin can sometimes be seen as a fulfilment of original intentions and sometimes as a consequence of revised intentions.⁴ The return motivations and attitudes towards migration may change over time. Even more so, during the pandemic, previous reasons for staying or leaving might have lost their relevance.

There is an added layer of complexity to return migration caused by the global COVID-19 pandemic, which started in 2020. It has been shown that pandemics such as this one can shift mobility patterns, for example, by increasing cross-border returns.⁵ At the same time, the policies of sending and receiving states have left some migrants stranded, unable to return. Hence, border closures and travel restrictions have left many migrants in a state of uncertainty. Some scholars have even started arguing that the 'age of migration' was starting to be over with the temporary suspension of mobility.⁶ For many returnees, this represented an abrupt shift in their mobility pattern, and the pandemic might have somehow speeded or altered their decision to return.⁷ Return migration has various definitions, but it can mean 'the movement of migrants back to a country

² Hein De Haas, "A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework," *Comparative Migration Studies* 9, no. 1 (2021): 1-35.

³ Hein De Haas, Tineke Fokkema and Mohamed Fassi Fihri, "Return migration as failure or success?," *Journal of international migration and integration* 16, no. 2 (2015): 415-429.

⁴ David Bartram, Maritsa Poros and Pierre Monforte, *Key concepts in migration* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014).

⁵ Susan Martin and Jonas Bergmann, "(Im) mobility in the age of COVID-19," *International Migration Review* 55, no. 3 (2021): 660-687.

⁶ Alan Gamlen, "Migration and mobility after the 2020 pandemic: The end of an age," Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2020.

⁷ Lucie Macková and Ondřej Filipeč, "COVID-19 and return migration to the Czech Republic," *Český lid / Czech ethnological journal* 109, no. 1 (2022): 123-144.

of origin, following an absence of at least one year.’⁸ Return is also important for the receiving states, especially if they have a large migrant population abroad. However, return migration is difficult to quantify as states often do not count citizens returning to their countries of origin.⁹

This paper attempts to address the issue of return migration to the Czech Republic during the COVID-19 pandemic to provide a glimpse into the motivations and realities of return for migrants coming back. We will discuss the Czech returnee characteristics based on the survey and look at the relevance of the overall pandemic situation for their return. To do that, we will use different techniques, including correlation analysis and multivariate regression models. Next, this paper will discuss return migration during times of crises, and then it will focus on return migration to the Czech Republic and its significance, including some information about repatriation flights provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, we will present the methods of this analysis and the results of the survey carried out among the returnees to the Czech Republic, which might give us some insights into the reality of return for many returnees from that period. In the survey, we inquired about the situation connected with COVID-19 and its influence on the decision to return from abroad. However, we also inquired about the broader transnational aspects of the returnees’ situation, the role of mobility and networks and paid particular attention to the individual characteristics of the returnees.

2. Return migration during times of crises

Return migration patterns differ during the COVID-19 pandemic from the ‘normal’ situation. While some migrants might have lost their jobs or revised their migration intentions and plans, others might have been stuck due to border closures despite the wish to leave. Gamlen argues that during crises such as the pandemic, some people may be more prone to move, whereas others may be less likely.¹⁰ It can also lead to a period of unpredictable and fast-changing migration flows, which will also include return migration. Historically, mobility also led to the spread of infectious

⁸Marta Bivand Erdal, "Timespaces of return migration: the interplay of everyday practices and imaginaries of return in transnational social fields," in *Timespace and international migration*, eds. Ben Page, Anastasia Christou, and Elizabeth Mavroudi (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017), 104.

⁹ George Gmelch, "Return migration," *Annual review of anthropology* (1980): 135-159.

¹⁰ Gamlen, "Migration and mobility after the 2020 pandemic: The end of an age."

diseases such as the black plague in the medieval period and cholera pandemics during the nineteenth century.¹¹ More recently, the 2003 SARS-CoV-1 pandemic spread via international air travel, as did the 2009 influenza A(H1N1).¹² Many responses by the states, such as the use of quarantine or border controls, have been used effectively to combat these global threats.

Motivations of return have to do with the circumstances in both home and host countries, reflecting the logic of push and pull factors.¹³ In relation to the time element, some authors have suggested that under 'normal' circumstances, there can be three types of returnees.¹⁴ The first type represents temporary migrants planning to return once they have achieved their objectives. The second type is those planning permanent migration forced to return due to external factors (such as an economic situation or the pandemic). The third type represents those planning permanent migration who choose to return because they can not adjust to the country of destination. Globally, under the circumstances of the pandemic, it seems that the second type of migrants could be overrepresented due to the nature of the situation. Another typology is proposed by Battistella.¹⁵ The first type is the return of achievement (voluntary return). Second, the return of completion is similar to the first type but is not voluntary because the migrant would have liked to stay longer after completing a contract or a secondment. The third type is the return of setback (a hybrid voluntary/forced return). In this case, due to complications, the migrant has to return before the return project is completed. Finally, the return of crisis takes place due to situations such as political upheaval, environmental disaster, or others. Return due to the pandemic could fall into the category of the return of setback or return of crisis.

Decision-making about return on the individual level takes place due to a combination of factors and is influenced by gender, life cycle stage, employment situation, and many others. Some factors that influenced return motivation in a study by

¹¹ Eugenia Tognotti, "Lessons from the history of quarantine, from plague to influenza A," *Emerging infectious diseases* 19, no. 2 (2013): 254.

¹² Richard A. Stein, "Lessons from outbreaks of H1N1 influenza," *Annals of internal medicine* 151, no. 1 (2009): 59-62.

¹³ Everett Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47-57.

¹⁴ Gmelch, "Return migration," 138.

¹⁵ Graziano Battistella, "Return migration: a conceptual and policy framework. *International Migration Policy Report Perspectives on the Content and Implementation of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration*," 3-14. New York: Scalabrini Migration Study Centres, 2018.

Bastia included home ownership, partner's nationality, job stability and savings.¹⁶ Other studies focusing on migrant well-being found that cross-country differences in the intended return rate can be explained by the differences in the life satisfaction gains or losses of returnees.¹⁷ There has been research on lifestyle migration that can also be applied to the life cycle stage of migrants.¹⁸ As with any type of migration, return migration is gendered.¹⁹ Some research has shown that men seem more oriented to return than women.²⁰ However, all of this depends on the geographic context and during a crisis situation, the actual return migration rates might differ from the expectations.

Another important aspect of return migration is the level of skills of migrants. It has been shown that migrants with lower skill levels are disproportionately affected during layoffs during periods of crises such as economic downturns.²¹ Therefore, the role of skill levels or education (which is also connected to the socio-economic situation of the migrants) is especially important to be followed during and after the pandemic. For many migrants, the COVID-19 situation led to temporary or permanent job loss. Hence, many have decided to return to their countries of origin. Nevertheless, the conditions in both former receiving states and the country of origin (e.g. health regulations and precautions at the height of the pandemic) might have been quite similar.

3. Return migration to the Czech Republic during the COVID-19 pandemic

In the Central and Eastern European region, there has been some research on return migration, especially to Poland.²² The interest in this issue has grown after

¹⁶ Tanja Bastia, "Should I stay or should I go? Return migration in times of crises," *Journal of international development* 23, no. 4 (2011): 583-595.

¹⁷ Maximilian Schiele, "Life satisfaction and return migration: analysing the role of life satisfaction for migrant return intentions in Germany," *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 47, no. 1 (2021): 110-129.

¹⁸ Maarja Saar and Ellu Saar, "Can the concept of lifestyle migration be applied to return migration? The case of Estonians in the UK," *International Migration* 58, no. 2 (2020): 52-66.

¹⁹ Katie Kuschminder, "Interrogating the relationship between remigration and sustainable return," *International Migration* 55, no. 6 (2017): 107-121.

²⁰ Russell King and Aija Lulle, "Gendering return migration," in *Handbook of Return Migration*, eds. Russell King and Katie Kuschminder (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022), 53-69.

²¹ Manolo I. Abella and S. K. Sasikumar, "Estimating Earnings Losses of Migrant Workers Due to Covid-19," *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 63, no. 4 (2020): 921-939.

²² Reiner Martin and Dragos Radu, "Return migration: the experience of Eastern Europe," *International Migration* 50, no. 6 (2012): 109-128. Violetta Parutis, "'Economic migrants' or 'middling transnationals'? East European migrants' experiences of work in the UK," *International Migration* 52, no. 1 (2014): 36-55.

Brexit. Apart from Poland, there have been other countries with studies focusing on return migration, such as Lithuania²³ and Estonia.²⁴ Some studies found that 'quality of employment' and job security help to guide people's migration decisions, including the decision to return.²⁵ In the Czech context, return migration occurred at various times during history - after the Second World War, after the end of the communist rule, and recently, after the economic downturn in 2008. However, the current situation during the COVID-19 pandemic might be unprecedented in many ways due to an unpredictable situation at the beginning of the crisis, border closures, and the significant role played by the state to bring the nationals 'home'. It seems that the role of the nation-state has been reinforced by the crisis as for many migrants "stranded" abroad, repatriation flights represented a chance to return to their home countries. Some research in the Czech milieu has focused on the return of compatriots from Ukraine.²⁶ However, there is less research on the current situation of Czechs working abroad and the impact of the pandemic.

There is no official statistic on the total number of Czechs living abroad. The Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated that there are about 2-2,5 million people abroad with 'Czech origin' and about 200-250 thousand Czech passport holders.²⁷ Another estimation is that of economic migration as calculated by the Czech Statistical Office: there are approximately 489 thousand Czechs working abroad, out of which 307 thousand are working in the EU, mainly in Germany (one third), Ireland, Austria and the UK. Outside the EU, about 57 thousand Czechs are working in the USA.²⁸ Approx. 56,600 Czechs cross the border daily, mainly to Germany (37,200) and Austria (12,800). On the other side, there is a limited daily migration to Slovakia (2,300) or Poland (1,000). From the time perspective, we can distinguish 1) short-

²³ Egidijus Barcevičius, "How successful are highly qualified return migrants in the Lithuanian labour market?," *International Migration* 54, no. 3 (2016): 35-47.

²⁴ Maarja Saar and Ellu Saar, "Can the concept of lifestyle migration be applied to return migration? The case of Estonians in the UK."

²⁵ Anna Cieslik, "Where do you prefer to work? How the work environment influences return migration decisions from the United Kingdom to Poland," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37, no. 9 (2011): 1367-1383.

²⁶ Luděk Jirka, "Návratová migrace, reemigrace nebo etnická návratová migrace? Potomci krajanů ze západní Ukrajiny až jižní Moldávie a jejich důvody migrace do České republiky," *Český lid / Czech ethnographic journal* 107, no. 2 (2020): 211-229.

²⁷ "Počet českých krajanů v zahraničí," MZV, accessed July 8, 2022, https://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni_vztahy/vyrocní_zpravy_a_dokumenty/poskytnute_inf_ormace/pocet_ceskych_krajanu_v_zahranici.html.

²⁸ "Češi pracující v zahraničí v číslech," Ekonom, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://ekonom.cz/c1-66625980-cesi-pracujici-za-hranicemi-v-cislech>.

term migration which takes place daily with returns within days, 2) seasonal migration of seasonal workers with lower qualifications (UK, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy or Germany are popular among the Czechs) and 3) long-term migration of qualified labour which is potentially overlapping with our target group of people staying abroad one year or longer, who decided to return.

Table 1: Repatriation flights

Date	Destination(s)	Number of passengers
18.03.2020	Canary Islands (2 flights)	268
22.03.2020	Riga	25
23.03.2020	Rotan, Cancun	169
24.03.2020	Bogota, San Jose	92
24.03.2020	Panama, Havana	118
24.03.2020	Punta Cana	116
24.03.2020	Manila, Cebu	88
24.03.2020	Hurghada	100
25.03.2020	Hanoi	201
28.03.2020	Lima	130
29.03.2020	Bangkok	244
31.03.2020	Chicago	180
31.03.2020	Bangkok	83
03.04.2020	Colombo, Kathmandu	66
07.04.2020	Depensar	90
13.04.2020	Sydney, Auckland, Christchurch	327
	TOTAL	2 435

Source: Data provided by the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) upon request

There are only raw estimates of the numbers of Czechs who have returned during the pandemic; some of them might have even re-migrated. The numbers in

Table 1 only represent a fraction of all realised returns as many returnees used commercial flights, trains or buses or their own means of transport. In our survey sample, only two people used help from the Czech embassy (such as receiving the information), and five (different ones) used repatriation flights provided by the Czech embassy.

4. Survey data and methods

As the primary tool for our analysis, we have carried out a survey of the Czechs that have returned to the Czech Republic since the start of the pandemic. First, we have joined selected Facebook groups where we have shared a link to our survey. Facebook has proven to be a valuable tool in recruiting participants for migration research.²⁹ In total, we have addressed and shared our link to 65 Facebook groups that unite Czechs abroad in different regions or countries. In total, Facebook groups provided us access to 245.1 thousand members of the groups. However, it is important to note that most of the groups were shared with Slovaks (due to language and cultural proximity) and that membership in the groups may overlap. We have also emailed 88 Czech embassies with a request to share our survey through their networks. Within a month, 55 embassies emailed us back. Some of them provided information about the situation in the respective countries and others shared the survey through their networks.

The survey was the primary source of the data. Within a month after publication, the survey identified 135 respondents that matched the criteria. Unfortunately, only 73 respondents (50 women and 23 men) fully completed all questions. The sample selection criteria were as follows: the period of time spent abroad (12 months or more), return to the Czech Republic within the past year (up to April 2021) and current residence in the Czech Republic. The average age of the sample is 31.9 years (30.6 for women, 33.7 for men). A relatively higher average age of the respondents is based on socio-economic factors as migrants require some time to finish schooling and they need some time to settle in the destination country. The average length of their stay abroad prior to return was 49.7 months (54.8 for men, 46.7 for women). Among the respondents, 97 returned to the same place

²⁹ Oleksandr Ryndyk, "The Language-Based Recruitment of Migrants to Online Surveys with Facebook Advertisements: A Comparative Assessment from Three Geographical Contexts," *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* 10, no. 2 (2021): 131-149.

where they had lived prior to migrating, while 19 “returned” to a different one. In our sample, 49 people migrated alone, out of which eight returned with a partner. Furthermore, 24 people migrated with a partner, out of which 12 returned with a partner (it is unknown whether it is the same partner since the time of emigration). Finally, four people migrated with a family and all of them returned with some family members.

Among survey respondents, approximately 25 % of people returned in March and April 2020. Data shows that returns were almost equally distributed in the following months after the coronavirus crisis outbreak, with slight increases in September and October 2020. This might be related to the outbreak of the second wave or the seasonal fluctuations in some industries. In total, four respondents returned before the outbreak of Covid-19 before March 2020. This is due to the fact that they returned back to the Czech Republic for a short stay but were prevented from going back to their destination. The distribution of returns in time is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Number of returns per month among survey respondents



Source: authors

To carry out our analysis, we have used the Pearson correlation coefficient (further as “r”) that measures the strength of linear correlation between two sets of data. We have used different statements from the survey to establish relationships between them and see what factors shape the post-return experience and to what extent this relates to the migrants’ experience prior to returning. The respondents evaluated on a Likert scale to what extent they agreed with a set of 24 statements (apart from other questions).

We have also used multivariate regression models to look at the factors that characterize the returnees who claimed they would not have returned without the pandemic. We have used the following variables: age, gender, education, knowledge of the language of the host country (i.e., knowing the language of the host country at a proficient level), return (i.e., planning to return to the host country once the pandemic is over), lower income (i.e., having a lower income in the Czech Republic than in the host country) and social life (i.e., having a rich social and cultural life in the host country). Our dependent variable indicates whether the returnees would have stayed abroad if there was no pandemic. This variable has 73 observations. The dependent variable contains values from 1 to 5 (1 = do not agree at all; 5 = totally agree). We use seven independent variables. Variables of age (in years), gender (dummy variable), and level of education reflect the basic characteristics of our respondents/returnees. The other four variables - knowledge of the language of the host country, planned return to the host country, lower income in the Czech Republic, and richer social and cultural life in the host country - contain values from 1 to 5 (1 = do not agree at all; 5 = totally agree). The expected relationship between these four variables is positive. These variables have been selected based on previous research and studies.³⁰

While our dependent variable (no_covid_stay_abroad) is an ordinal variable (clear ordering of the categories - 1-5), we decided to apply an ordered logistic regression method. We estimate three regression models. The first model includes only three explanatory variables (language, return, lower_income); the second model is supplemented by the characteristics of returnees (age, sex, education); and we add the variable ‘social_life’ to the third model. We test the statistical significance of the explanatory variables and the direction of their effects on the dependent variable. The number of observations in all the models is 63.

³⁰ For example, Marta Anacka and Aleksandra Wójcicka. *Impacts of return migration in Poland*. No. 727072. Working Paper Horizon 2020 Grant Agreement, 2019.

5. Results

This section will look at the factors that influence the overall return experience. First, we will look at the socio-economic situation of the returnees based on the survey. A return to the Czech Republic had a critical impact on the decrease in income among the respondents. This was the case among 42.6 % of respondents, and about 20 % of respondents indicated that the impact was significant. On top of it, 40 % of respondents declared the return decreased their living standard. Pearson correlation here shows a moderate relationship ($r = 0.65$), and data shows that the economic impact of return is equally divided among men and women. People who reported a decrease in their living standard in the Czech Republic also stressed feeling better in the previous country of residence ($r = 0.44$). Nonetheless, despite the economic aspect being important (those who declared a drop in their income and living standard also claimed that they wanted to go abroad after the easing of restrictions), there might be other factors influencing return.

Friends and social contacts matter; those who claim to have more friends abroad than in the Czech Republic claim to be more likely to migrate again. The relationship between those variables is also moderate, with $r = 0.60$. Moreover, those who had already motivated someone to migrate in the past reported the intention to migrate again ($r = 0.44$). Looking at their previous stay abroad, those who said that they felt better abroad in a foreign country than in the Czech Republic also claimed that they had a much richer social and cultural life in their previous country of residence ($r = 0.63$). Here the nature of the variables is slightly questionable. Are they feeling worse in the Czech Republic because of poor social and cultural life or the opposite; because of having a rich cultural life abroad, do they report less satisfaction with their lives in the Czech Republic? However, from some point of view, the response is very logical, as life in the Czech Republic was marked by a lockdown and restrictions on the public at the time of the survey. People who had more friends abroad than in the Czech Republic reported feeling less safe in the Czech Republic ($r = 0.40$). This can show the importance of networks while migrating and upon subsequent return. Networks are crucial for returnee reintegration. Finally, those who reported a close relationship with a foreigner (partnership or significant friendship) claimed having a richer social and cultural life in their previous country of stay ($r = 0.53$).

The survey revealed differences between genders. Women responded more

often than men that they wanted to go abroad again after releasing COVID-19 restrictions. It seems that women talked about their foreign experiences with family and friends more positively than men, but men more often declared that they had persuaded someone to go abroad. Women were more likely to go back to the Czech Republic for short visits (e. g. during Christmas) while living abroad. Men reportedly made fewer return visits but declared slightly more active political participation while living abroad (e. g. voting at the Czech embassy³¹). Overall, women reported more often than men that they felt better in the previous country of residence than in the Czech Republic.

Those who reported a richer social and cultural life while living abroad also reported being involved in some political activity (e.g. voting) in their previous country of stay ($r = 0.40$). Both of these are connected with knowing the language of the country of residence really well (having a rich social and cultural life at $r = 0.50$ and being politically active at $r = 0.29$). Those who were politically active in the Czech Republic were also more likely to be more politically active abroad ($r = 0.38$) which means that being integrated into the host society (e.g. through participation in the elections) does not exclude being transnational in political activities (i.e., voting in the country of origin). A majority of respondents (69 %) claimed that they experienced discrimination while living abroad (men reported the case slightly more than women). Unfortunately, the data does not distinguish between the instances of positive and negative discrimination.

Now, it is important to look at the differences between those returnees who stated that they would not have returned without the pandemic and those who stated that they would have returned anyway and the global pandemic did not play a major role in their return.

In all of our models, we look at the factors that explain the variable 'no_covid_stay_abroad', meaning that they would not have returned if it was not for the COVID-19 pandemic. In all models, the variables 'language' and 'return' are statistically significant. It means that the returnees who would have stayed in the host country in a non-pandemic situation are those who know the language of the host country well and those who are planning to return after the end of the pandemic. The last variable in the first model means that those returnees whose income levels have lowered in the Czech Republic are those who intended to stay in

³¹ As many respondents had lived abroad for many years, some had the opportunity to participate in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies or in the presidential elections.

the host country longer. This explanatory variable is not statistically significant in any model. However, this can also be caused by a lower number of observations.

Table 2: Regression models

no_covid_stay_abroad	(1)	(2)	(3)
age		-0.008 (0.031)	-0.009 (0.031)
gender		-0.005 (0.460)	-0.009 (0.482)
education		-0.278 (0.252)	-0.232 (0.266)
language	0.435** (0.174)	0.456*** (0.179)	0.330* (0.219)
return	0.814*** (0.230)	0.825*** (0.243)	0.766*** (0.240)
lower_income	0.170 (0.161)	0.141 (0.182)	0.128 (0.173)
social_life			0.288 (0.263)
Number of observations	63	63	63
Wald chi2	21.84***	26.51***	27.16***

Source: Authors' calculations. ***Significant at the 1% significance level. **Significant at the 5% significance level. *Significant at the 10% significance level. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.

The second model also adds age, sex and education, and while these variables are insignificant, they nevertheless show the direction of the model. The variables age, sex and education influence our dependent variable negatively. It shows that women, older respondents and less educated returnees are more likely to return to the host country after the COVID-19 pandemic. This might point to the fact that younger and more educated respondents might be faster at finding a job in the Czech Republic or it might be easier for them to get accustomed to the new environment.

The third model adds the 'social_life' variable that influences our explanatory variable positively. Returnees with rich social and cultural life in the host country are more likely to return after the pandemic. This variable is also statistically insignificant.

6. Conclusion

This paper has discussed the issue of return migration to the Czech Republic during the COVID-19 pandemic. It looked at the individual characteristics of the returnees and revealed various factors that were connected with the pandemic and their perception of the situation. For many returnees, returning to the Czech Republic decreased their incomes and standard of living compared to their previous country of residence. Our findings show the importance of networks for migrants' well-being. Having more friends abroad than in the Czech Republic correlated with the intention to re-migrate and a rich social and cultural life in the host country. Moreover, people who had more friends abroad than in the Czech Republic reported feeling less safe in the Czech Republic. This can show the importance of networks while migrating and upon subsequent return. The COVID-19 pandemic also had an important impact on partnerships. Those who claim that they felt better abroad also claim to have had a relationship with a foreigner, including strong friendship or partnership, which is also linked to rich social and cultural life.

In our models, we look at the characteristics of returnees who would have normally stayed abroad without the pandemic. It seems that for many of them, re-migration still represents a plausible future migration trajectory. This can be even more likely for women, older returnees, and returnees with lower skill levels. Knowing the language of the host country at a proficient level is also linked with the likelihood of preferring to stay in the host country rather than migrating. Furthermore, the returnees who now have lower levels of income are those who would have liked to remain in the host country.

It would be interesting to compare our findings with the characteristics of those migrants who decided not to return to the Czech Republic and stayed abroad or carry out a more extensive longitudinal study that would select the returnees who have re-migrated since the time of our research. Return migration may not be seen as permanent and some scholars prefer the notion of open-ended return.³² The time will show how permanent the return might be for some, but certainly, the pandemic situation created an environment that altered many migrants' life trajectories and migration journeys. The pandemic situation represents a new status quo and it might be interesting to map further how the situation evolves for migrants, returnees and those who stay behind.

³² Selma Porobić, "Daring 'life-return projects' to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina," *International Migration* 55, no. 5 (2017): 192-204.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our survey respondents and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic for providing valuable help and answers.

References

- Abella, Manolo I. and S. K. Sasikumar. "Estimating Earnings Losses of Migrant Workers Due to Covid-19," *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 63, no. 4 (2020): 921-939.
- Anacka, Marta and Aleksandra Wójcicka. *Impacts of return migration in Poland*. No. 727072. Working Paper Horizon 2020 Grant Agreement, 2019.
- Barcevičius, Egidijus. "How successful are highly qualified return migrants in the Lithuanian labour market?," *International Migration* 54, no. 3 (2016): 35-47.
- Bartram, David, Maritsa Poros and Pierre Monforte. *Key concepts in migration* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014).
- Battistella, Graziano. "Return migration: a conceptual and policy framework. *International Migration Policy Report Perspectives on the Content and Implementation of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration*," 3-14. New York: Scalabrini Migration Study Centres, 2018.
- Cieslik, Anna. "Where do you prefer to work? How the work environment influences return migration decisions from the United Kingdom to Poland," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37, no. 9 (2011): 1367-1383.
- "Češi pracující v zahraničí v číslech," *Ekonom*, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://ekonom.cz/c1-66625980-cesi-pracujici-za-hranicemi-v-cislech>.
- De Haas, Hein. "A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework," *Comparative Migration Studies* 9, no. 1 (2021): 1-35.
- De Haas, Hein, Tineke Fokkema and Mohamed Fassi Fihri. "Return migration as failure or success?," *Journal of international migration and integration* 16, no. 2 (2015): 415-429.
- Erdal, Marta Bivand. "Timespaces of return migration: the interplay of everyday practices and imaginaries of return in transnational social fields," in *Timespace and international migration*, eds. Ben Page, Anastasia Christou, and Elizabeth Mavroudi (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017), 104.
- Gamlen, Alan. "Migration and mobility after the 2020 pandemic: The end of an age," Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2020.
- Gmelch, George. "Return migration," *Annual review of anthropology* (1980): 135-159.
- Jirka, Luděk. "Návratová migrace, reemigrace nebo etnická návratová migrace? Potomci krajanů ze západní Ukrajiny a jižní Moldávie a jejich důvody migrace do České republiky," *Český lid / Czech ethnographic journal* 107, no. 2 (2020): 211-229.
- King, Russell and Aija Lulle. "Gendering return migration," in *Handbook of Return Migration*, eds. Russell King and Katie Kuschminder (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022), 53-69.
- Kuschminder, Katie. "Interrogating the relationship between remigration and sustainable return," *International Migration* 55, no. 6 (2017): 107-121.
- Lee, Everett. "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47-57.
- Macková, Lucie and Ondřej Filipec. "COVID-19 and return migration to the Czech Republic," *Český lid / Czech ethnological journal* 109, no. 1 (2022): 123-144.

- Martin, Reiner and Dragos Radu. "Return migration: the experience of Eastern Europe," *International Migration* 50, no. 6 (2012): 109-128. Violetta Parutis, "'Economic migrants' or 'middling transnationals'? East European migrants' experiences of work in the UK," *International Migration* 52, no. 1 (2014): 36-55.
- Martin, Susan and Jonas Bergmann. "(Im) mobility in the age of COVID-19," *International Migration Review* 55, no. 3 (2021): 660-687.
- Page, Ben, Anastasia Christou, and Elizabeth Mavroudi. "Introduction: from time to timespace and forward to time again in migration studies," in *Timespace and international migration*, eds. Ben Page, Anastasia Christou, and Elizabeth Mavroudi (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017).
- "Počet českých krajanů v zahraničí," MZV, accessed July 8, 2022, https://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni_vztahy/vyrocní_zpravy_a_dokumenty/poskytnute_informace/pocet_ceskych_krajanu_v_zahranici.html.
- Porobić, Selma. "Daring 'life-return projects' to post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina," *International Migration* 55, no. 5 (2017): 192-204.
- Ryndyk, Oleksandr. "The Language-Based Recruitment of Migrants to Online Surveys with Facebook Advertisements: A Comparative Assessment from Three Geographical Contexts," *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* 10, no. 2 (2021): 131-149.
- Saar, Maarja and Ellu Saar. "Can the concept of lifestyle migration be applied to return migration? The case of Estonians in the UK," *International Migration* 58, no. 2 (2020): 52-66.
- Schiele, Maximilian. "Life satisfaction and return migration: analysing the role of life satisfaction for migrant return intentions in Germany," *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 47, no. 1 (2021): 110-129.
- Stein, Richard A. "Lessons from outbreaks of H1N1 influenza," *Annals of internal medicine* 151, no. 1 (2009): 59-62.
- Tognotti, Eugenia. "Lessons from the history of quarantine, from plague to influenza A," *Emerging infectious diseases* 19, no. 2 (2013): 254.

BOOK REVIEWS

Marius I. Tătar (2022): *Democracy without Engagement? Understanding Political Participation in Post-Communist Romania*, Lexington Book, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, ISBN 978-1-4985-3524-3, 237 p.

Review by Irina POP

On the author Marius Tătar

Marius Tătar is an author with an academic career established on a remarkable professional deontology in doing research and in his academic development for being well qualified for producing innovative and substantial works. He graduated in Political Science at the University of Oradea as the first in his promotion; he followed a professional development focused, both, on a specific niche of research - political participation - and open to the related academic disciplines – Political Geography, Sociology (methods and techniques of the empirical research) and Law.

Interested in an academic career, Marius Tătar became twice an MA' graduated a) in Political Science and b) in Euro-regional Studies. In 2011, he got his doctoral degree, Ph.D. in Political Sociology (with distinction). His Ph.D. thesis topic was *Political Participation and Democracy in Romania after 1989*.

He developed his academic competencies at the international level too, by accomplishing formative activities in other European universities: Sept. 2015 - August 2016 Postdoctoral Research Fellow, the University of Lausanne, Institute for Political Science, Switzerland; 2014 (January-June) Postdoctoral Research Fellow, University of Debrecen, Hungary; 2013 (July-December); Robert Bosch

Visiting Fellow, Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna, Austria; 2006, Certificate in Comparative European Politics, Central European University, Political Science Department, Budapest, Hungary. Numerous pieces of training are added to his academic development.

For more than 20 years, his focus is on political participation and democratization in Central and Eastern European. He is approaching the issue with high skills for political science research competencies in comparative politics accomplished and attested in academic *Diplomas* and related skills as Analyst-Programmer, (certified 1997); very good command of statistical analysis software, Microsoft Office tools, Multilingualism - academic competencies in English, Italian, French, Hungarian). He started with studies on electoral participation, later he oriented his academic interests largely to political participation. Many articles on the topic, published mainly in *JIMS*, *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* - [Journal of Identity and Migration Studies - JIMS \(e-migration.ro\)](#), and also in other academic periodicals, show the academic route that he followed. Among his studies we choose as samples and reading's recommendations TĂTAR (2019): '*Are the Balkans Different? Mapping Protest Politics in Post-Communist Southeast Europe*' in Florian Bieber (2019), (ed.) *Rebellion and Protest from Maribor to Taksim: Social Movements in the Balkans*, London, Routledge; TĂTAR (2016): '*Democratization and Political Alienation: The Legacies of Post-Communist Transition in Romania*', *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, vol. 10, no.2, 2016, pp. 85-108; TĂTAR (2013) '*Searching for 'another Democracy'? Changing Patterns of Political Participation in Romania during the Economic Crisis*' or the article. *Multiple Exclusions: Civic and Political Disengagements of vulnerable Youth in European Union*; TĂTAR (2005): '*Consolidating Democracy by International Assistance for Civil Society in Romania*' in Lia Pop, Cristina Matiuta (eds.), *European Identity and Free Movement of Persons*, Oradea: Editura Universitatii din Oradea, pp. 87-100.

His international recognition is easy to be accessed on Google Scholars and summarized as Citations 194, h-index 9, 5 I 10-index.

The book *Democracy without Engagement?* authored by an academic with such a serious formation, could be nothing else, then a book for that to enter the classical bibliography of the topic of participation.

Describing the book Marius I. Tătar (2022): *Democracy without Engagement?*

Marius Tătar is proposing an analysis of a nowadays very hot political topic: democracy and its contemporary fate. He is among those, who see democracy development as an assumed political participation.

The methodology applied is consisting of a) a careful presentation and review of the political participation's theoretical frameworks: and b) an empirical analysis of the participation. Here the author, innovatively appeals more to the longitudinal and dynamic analysis, than to the static perspective, focused hic et hoc.

The specialized literature's accomplishments are succinctly presented and assessed according to their relevance for political participation in Central and Eastern Europe, specifically in Romania.

The book structure is a sample of a text done in an elegant classic style. The text is organized into seven chapters, preceded by an *Introduction*, and finalized in short *Conclusions*. (Simple, *Conclusions*. Not *Conclusions and Recommendations* as the contemporary texts in political science use to propose.) The book is accompanied by a *Technical Appendix*, a *Bibliography* (large and focused), and an Index. Each of them is thoroughly conceived and accomplished.

The *Introduction* opens the question of political participation and its relationship with democracy progress.

Chapter I is considering four models of democracy, namely, the minimalist electoral model, democratic responsiveness, deliberative, and participatory. The author proposes four ways of conceptualizing citizens' participation in political life: participation equated with voting in elections, participation as attempts to influence political authorities, participation as cognitive engagement in politics, and participation as direct involvement in the local decisions making process.

Chapter II is about the socio-economic context of citizens' political participation.

The third chapter analyses the citizens' electoral behavior in Post-Communist Romania and tries to find explanations for its constant decline in electoral participation, after the 90s, in West and East Europe, typologies the voters, and identified the most important predictor in the parliamentary elections: partisanship. (Tătar, M. 2022, p. 86.)

The fourth chapter is analyzing citizens' political participation as attempts to influence governmental decisions in the cases of conventional participation, in

Romania and other 14 countries from eastern and central Europe. It also goes on to examine the participation in protests in the same areas. The chapter is substantially innovative by introducing the author's patterns of analysis, related to all four types of political participation.

Let's insist that such a pattern is easy to be taken over by other researchers and easy to be read as a set of ways to see systematically the electorate's political participation. That is why we take them as highly contributive to understanding political participation. The chapter is also comprising an interesting typology of participants based on citizens' engagement in conventional participation as well as in the protests. Namely the inactive, conformists, contesters, reformists, and absolute activists. (Tătar, M. 2022, pp. 107-125.)

Chapter V analyzes the Romanians' political participation based on cognitive involvement. This participation is defined as an interest in seeking information on political issues, political discussions, and political knowledge. The result is that the most important predictor of participation is political interest.

Chapter VI approaches the engagement at the local level. The concept of participation is structured into two parts information and consultations.

Chapter VII focuses on the economic crisis's effects on citizens' political engagement, specifically in 2012. The analysis concludes that the economic crisis has made the citizens more attentive to politics, to the incumbents' abuse of power, and to governmental corruption. People perceived the governmental corruption and its members' limited capacity, as in the case of restructuring of the hospitals with limited efficiency “, ...as a threat to their lives” (Tătar, M. 2022, p. 193) It results in more and better-organized protests asking the parties' elites for another type of democratic government: no arrogant, more open, better qualified, more efficient, and transparent.

Conclusions' part of the book *Democracy without Engagement?* underlines the peculiarities of the Romanians citizens' engagements in politics in their congruence with other Central and East Europeans. These engagements are characterized by a higher turnout after the economic crisis and by more protests. In brief, by an increased political engagement. According to the author's implicit suggestion, the mapping, and analyses of the Romanians citizens' engagements - compared with those of other Central and Eastern European citizens - represents the novelty proposed by the book.

***Democracy without Engagement?* as a contributive book for developing innovative research**

To conclude, it is to affirm that the book is innovative and inspirational, and it represents a brand.

From our point of view, it is innovative because it proposed two types of novelties a) peculiarities of the Romanians citizens' engagements in politics – as the author pointed out in his Conclusions; b) structural novelties. They are about the concepts proposed, about predictors identified, and about the perspective proposed.

The book *Democracy without Engagement?* of Marius Tătar is also inspirational. From a political communication perspective, it invites us to think from a broader perspective in conceiving the political participation of the citizens. It inspires us to understand the elites and the incumbents as citizens, as they surely are. Analyzing their political participation and opening the question of their accountability is a significant key to democracy. The book inspires us to extend the analysis to the political participation of the non-eligible candidates - "the rabbits, as they are known in the electoral committees of the political parties - of the eligible candidates and of political elites as individual actors. The book invites too, to include in the future analysis the political parties, pressures groups, and civic organizations participation. A next book? We wait for it!

It is a brand, for the Romanian New Generation of Researchers in Political Sciences, and for Oradea University too. It is to be known - well advertised - and not to be let covered by the multitude of products issued only for academic promotion.

To purchase the book *Democracy without Engagement?* or, at least, to read it carefully, is highly profitable. It is profitable for getting a standard of serious academic writing; for learning from an expert what it is the political engagement and what it means for democracy progress; for a direct access to useful concepts and patterns (where the theoretical concepts were turned into operative ones, measurable) in approaching the field of citizens political participation.

Diego Bastianutti, *Finding my shadow: A Journey of Self-Discovery* & Rosanna Turcinovich Giuricin *In the Maelstrom of History. A Conversation with Miriam, Club Giuliano Dalmato di Toronto, 2022, Arpa D'Or Series Edited by Konrad Eisenbichler*

Review by Dan APĂTEANU

Recently, I had the pleasure to review two titles from Arpa D'Or Series, published by Club Giuliano Dalmato di Toronto, 2022, Series Edited by Konrad Eisenbichler. The first title, "Finding my shadow: A Journey of Self-Discovery" by Diego Bastianutti, is a captivating memoir that takes readers on a personal journey of experiences of the author living in different countries, including Canada, Italy and the United States. Through his vivid descriptions and personal reflections, the author offers insights into the challenges faced by immigrants in adapting to new cultures, the complexities of cultural identity and the search for a sense of belonging.

The first chapter is a brief account of the author's experiences living in Kingston, Ontario and traveling to Venice, Italy. The author describes feeling emotionally, culturally, and socially disconnected during his time in Kingston, but being inspired by the visits to Venice. He mentions developing a computer program and researching the history of Venezia Giulia and Dalmatia to learn more about his own roots. The author also touches on the dramatic exodus of 350,000 emigrants to post-war Italy and shows his interest in telling the human story of emigration. The author's account is engaging and provides insight into his personal experiences and interests. The brief mention of the Sicilian welcome and hospitality is a nice touch, adding a human element to the story. Overall, the text leaves the reader with a sense of the author's curiosity and drive to explore new ideas and experiences.

The second chapter is a personal reflection on the author's experience of living in Cefalu, Sicily, and the challenges that immigrants face in terms of identity and belonging. The author's vivid descriptions of Cefalu create a picturesque setting for his reflections. He captures the beauty of the sea and the town, and conveys a sense of longing to hold on to his memories of this place. However, the author's

experience also brings to light the challenges that immigrants face in adapting to a new country and culture.

The concept of "Civiltà Cattolica" is an interesting observation made by the author, which highlights the influence of religion on the civic culture of Sicily. The author's account of his own feelings of sadness at leaving Sicily is relatable and poignant. His description of the "phantom limb" syndrome that many immigrants experience underscores the depth of the trauma caused by uprooting oneself from one's homeland and culture.

The author's reflection on the identity crisis faced by Italian writers in Canada is thought-provoking. His question of when immigrants cease to be immigrants and when he feels more at home in his adopted country is a pertinent one. This raises larger questions about the nature of identity and belonging in a globalized world.

Overall, the author's personal reflections offer valuable insights into the challenges faced by immigrants in adapting to a new country and culture, and the complex issues of identity and belonging that arise as a result.

The final chapter starts by posing questions about cultural identity and how it evolves over time. The author shares his experience of receiving the "Premio Sezione Giuliani del Mondo" award and being invited to Trieste for the ceremony. The author's poetry is described as the work of a traveller and a nomad, which suggests that he has crossed multiple cultural borders.

In 2013, the author received an invitation to participate in the "Always Fiumano" World Congress. Trieste is described as a unique bridgehead projecting itself into European culture and the cultures of the Northeast. The author and his companions also decided to visit the capitals of the old Republic of Venice, which had once been his "mother."

The author also mentions his weekend visits to the Downtown Eastside (DTES) community, where he was moved by the suffering and misery he witnessed. This experience inspired him to write a collection of poems titled "The Lotus Eaters," which was published in 2019. The chapter ends with the author reflecting on his realization that people who have known exile, discrimination, and prejudice in new host countries can serve as a bridge between affluent societies and marginalized people.

Overall, this chapter explores the theme of cultural identity and the experience of crossing multiple borders. The author shares his personal experiences and reflections, offering insight into the complexity of cultural identity and the

potential for those who have experienced marginalization to act as bridges between different cultures.

In the second book, "In the Maelstrom of History. A Conversation with Miriam," Rosanna Turcinovich Giuricin tells the powerful and moving story of Miriam, a Holocaust survivor, and her experiences growing up in Trieste, Italy during the 1930s. Through a series of conversations with Miriam, the author provides a glimpse into the life of a young Jewish girl, who, like many others, witness the rise of Mussolini's fascist regime and was forced to endure the horrors of concentration camps.

The first chapter of the book introduces Miriam and her background, including her birth in Czechoslovakia and her upbringing in Trieste. The author highlights the influx of refugees from Italian lands ceded to Yugoslavia after 1947 and how this shaped Miriam's experiences in Trieste. Miriam's survival of the concentration camps and her tireless efforts to ensure that the atrocities of the Holocaust are never forgotten are also discussed in this chapter.

In the second chapter, Miriam's childhood in Trieste is explored; memories of her childhood, including her parents' ownership of two guesthouses, one in Trieste and the other in Grado, and summers spent at the beach, resurface when she returns to Trieste years later. The rise of fascism and Mussolini's arrival in Trieste are also discussed, along with the discrimination and persecution that Jews faced during this time.

Chapter three delves into the journey of a letter addressed to Chaim Grunglass, asking for help to emigrate to America. The letter is intercepted by a postal worker, who hides it from the authorities. Also, Miriam and her family would see their hopes of going to America disappearing, as one day, plainclothes police agents arrive and took them to the train station, signaling the beginning of their journey to the concentration camps.

Chapter four describes the family's return to Tyachiv, their place of origin in Czechoslovakia, where they faced the anti-Semitic measures imposed by the First Slovak Republic. In chapter five, the family is escorted to the overcrowded ghetto and later taken on a terrible journey by train to Auschwitz, where they faced extreme conditions. The chapter ends with their eventual freedom when American soldiers arrived.

Chapter six brings us memories from Wietzendorf, where Italian prisoners arrived in the dead of winter. There, faith is shown as a support and reason to live.

The seventh chapter describes the Miriam's arrival in Prague after the war, where she found it hard to believe she was free. The search for her family was in vain, and Miriam departs for Canada in 1948 to start anew. The final chapter deals with the aftermath of the Holocaust and the difficulties of rebuilding one's life.

Overall, "In the Maelstrom of History" is a moving and powerful book that captures the horrors of the Holocaust and the resilience of the human spirit. The book is a testament to the human will to survive and the importance of never forgetting the atrocities committed during the Holocaust.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Dan Apăteanu, PhD, is lecturer at the University of Oradea, Department of Political Science and Communication. Email: danapateanu@yahoo.com .

Kandemir Atçeken, PhD, is lecturer at the Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Mersin University, Mersin, Türkiye. Contact: kandemira@mersin.edu.tr.

Giuseppe De Corso is Professor of economic and global history in the Universidad Central de Venezuela, Universidad del Norte, and Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, Bogotá. Colombia. Contact: gdecorso@hotmail.com .

Esra Dik is Associate Profesor at the Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Mersin University, Mersin, Türkiye. Contact: esradik@mersin.edu.tr.

Ondřej Filipec, Ph.D., is a senior lecturer in EU studies at the Faculty of Law, Palacký University Olomouc. He also taught at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Slovakia. He completed his master studies in Political science (M.A., 2010) and European studies and European Law (M.A., 2011); his Ph.D. in EU studies (Ph.D., 2015) at the Faculty of Arts of Palacký University Olomouc.

Barbora Frličková is a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Development and Environmental Studies, Palacký University Olomouc. She mainly focuses on pro-poor growth, migration, and brain drain. Her dissertation and research topic is the relations between economic growth, poverty, and inequality in income and non-income dimensions.

Abinet Fulasa Chinkilo is currently a fourth year PhD student at the Center for Food Security Studies, College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. He is a certified management consultant, an author, and senior researcher. Currently, his work has targeted to determinants of cross-border migration and

return migration decision, primarily on linking return migration with the livelihood strategies and food security situations of international returnees.

Lucie Macková, Ph.D., is an assistant professor at the Department of Development and Environmental Studies, Palacký University Olomouc (Czech Republic). Previously, she studied at the University of St Andrews and Central European University. She has researched the themes of return migration, migration and development, and skilled migration. Contact: lucie.mackova@upol.cz .

Teferee Mekonnen Kassa, PhD, is an Associate Professor at the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. He served in various universities as a lecturer, program and center coordinator, department head, and advisor of many undergraduate post graduate university students. Amongst others, his research has focused on *the causes, patterns and policy responses of Illicit Cross-border Migration in Ethiopia*.

Marcelo Alejandro Piffaut Gálvez is Doctor of Philosophy, Educational Studies at Kyoto University (2021 to present), under Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. Contact: marcelopiffautgalvez@gmail.com .

Irina Pop, PhD, is a Lecturer at the Department of Political Science and Communication Sciences at the University of Oradea. Her main research interest revolves around xenophobia <https://www.comxen.ro/proiect> legal and illegal migration, and identity. She currently works on EU founded research project Sliding Doors <https://slidomigration.eu/en/activities-calendar/training/> concerning migration in the EU. Contact: popirinamihaela@gmail.com.

Amanuel Isak Tewolde, PhD, is Senior Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Centre for Social development in Africa, University of Johannesburg, The Republic of South Africa. Contact: amanisak@gmail.com .

Temesgen Tilahun Teshome, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at the Center for Food Security Studies, College of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. His research has focused on livelihoods, food security, vulnerability, and other associated areas just to mention a few. He served as university lecturer, center coordinator, supervisor and advisor of many undergraduate and post graduate university students.

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Manuscripts will be accepted with the understanding that their content is unpublished previously. If any part of an article or essay has already been published, or is to be published elsewhere, the author must inform the Journal at the time of submission. Please find below the standard requirements that have to be fulfilled so that your material can be accepted for publication in JIMS:

- The ideal length of an article (written in English) is from 4 000 to 8 000 words, including a 200-word abstract in English, keywords, and a very brief autobiographical note or resume of the author(s)
- The number of bibliographic references should be within reasonable limits
- The inclusion of tables, charts or figures is welcome in support of the scientific argumentation
- All articles should be presented in Microsoft Office Word format, Times New Roman, 12, at 1.5 lines, and will be sent to the e-mail address jims@e-migration.ro and a copy to contact@e-migration.ro mentioning "Manuscript Submission: [TITLE OF ARTICLE]"
- Book reviews are welcomed to be published in JIMS, but no longer than 2000 words
- Contributions are welcomed at any time of the year and will be considered for the next issues
- The editors reserve the right to edit the articles or to modify/eliminate some fragments, observing the original sense.
- The extensive use of a too technical language or mathematic formulae should be avoided
- Footnotes (no endnotes);
- References and bibliography (Chicago Style of Citation).

For more details please visit the Guidelines for Authors page on the website of JIMS at: <http://jims.e-migration.ro/Guidelines-for-authors.php>

