Justyna Salamońska

Multiple migration - researching the multiple temporalities and spatialities of migration

Justyna Salamońska, Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, jj.salamonska@uw.edu.pl

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Abstract: This working paper introduces the multiple-migration concept as a tool enabling the study of the multiple temporalities and spatialities of migration. Against a sedentarised understanding of migration, multiple migrants are people who engage in international movements repeatedly and direct this movement at different destination countries. The sequences of these international movements may differ. Multiple migration may involve onward migration from one destination country to another. It can also involve a phase of return to the origin country before going abroad again. Moreover, multiple migration encompasses different geographies (intra- and intercontinental) and temporalities (from temporary to longer-term). In this working paper I position multiple migration within the existing non-permanent migration literature (including incomplete, liquid and step-wise migration and intra-company transfers). The overview of existing studies describing multiple migration (both quantitative and qualitative) provides information about the numbers involved and the social morphology of multiple migrants, and will be used to identify issues to be explored in future studies of multiple migrants.

Key words: multiple migration, mobilities, temporary migration, incomplete migration, liquid migration

Migracje wielokrotne – badanie czasowego i przestrzennego charakteru migracji

Streszczenie: Niniejszy *working paper* wprowadza pojęcie migracji wielokrotnej jako narzędzia do badania czasowego i przestrzennego charakteru migracji. Migracja jest zazwyczaj postrzegana jako zjawisko o charakterze statycznym, ale istnieją także migranci wielokrotni, obierający za cel migracji różne kraje i przemieszczający się w różnych wariantach. Migracje wielokrotne mogą obejmować migracje z jednego kraju docelowego bezpośrednio do drugiego. Migracje wielokrotne mogą również obejmować etap powrotu do kraju pochodzenia przed ponownym wyjazdem za granicę. Co więcej, migracje wielokrotne mogą obejmować różne obszary geograficzne (wewnątrz- i międzykontynentalne) oraz mieć różne ramy czasowe (migracje tymczasowe lub długoterminowe). Praca ta analizuje zjawisko migracji wielokrotnych w kontekście istniejącej literatury dotyczącej migracji tymczasowych (migracji niepełnych, migracji płynnych, migracji *step-wise*, transferów wewnątrz korporacji) oraz zawiera przegląd istniejących badań analizujących migracje wielokrotne (zarówno

ilościowych jak i jakościowych), dostarcza też informacji o ich rozmiarze i strukturyzacji społecznej. Przegląd ten może także pomóc w zidentyfikowaniu problemów badawczych, które warto podjąć w przyszłych badaniach.

Słowa kluczowe: migracje wielokrotne, mobilność, migracje tymczasowe, migracje niepełne, migracje płynne

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1. Introduction

Kuba Błaszczykowski is a player on the Polish national football team, even though he has lived outside Poland for more than a decade. In July 2007 he left Poland to take up a contract in Germany, moving from the Wisła Kraków team to play for Dortmund's local squad, Borussia. He spent eight years with the club, contributing to his team's winning the German championships (2010/2011 and 2011/2012) and the club's run-up to the UEFA Champions League (2012/2013). During the 2015/2016 season he went on loan to Fiorentina, the Italian Serie A club and UEFA Europa League participant. This was not a lucky season for the player, who also spent some time on the bench so, unsurprisingly, in 2016 he moved back to Germany, signing on with the Wolfsburg team. He is still playing for VfL Wolfsburg in this current season.

Błaszczykowski's trajectory is an example of multiple migration starting from Poland and leading to Germany, followed by a move to Italy and then back to Germany. Multiple migration in this working paper will be defined as a migration trajectory involving two or more international movements. Unlike circular migration, these movements are directed at two or more different destination countries. Sequences of moves of multiple migrants may differ. While Błaszczykowski's trajectory is just one example of moving from one destination country to another (onward migration), another example of multiple migration might involve a phase of return to the country of origin in between moving to different destinations. The time frames of migration spells may differ as well, as does the geographical spread of trajectories (intra- vs inter-continental). Moreover, while Błaszczykowski's multiple-migration trajectory takes place in a very mobile sector of the labour market (and on the top of it), this working paper will shed light on a world of both more- and less-visible multiple-migration trajectories involving people possessing different levels of resources and moving between lower and higher segments of the labour market.

In this paper I will use the term 'multiple migration'. My understanding of this concept highlights two features of its being 'multiple'. First, multiple migration is migration involving at least two international moves. Thus migration is not a one-off event in an individual biography, but happens at least twice if not more. Second, multiple migration involves at least two different countries which become destinations for the multiple migrant.

Multiple migration can be juxtaposed against the mainstream migration literature which often describes migration as a permanent move from country of origin to country of

destination (many classic migrant trajectories, as described by Thomas, Znaniecki 1918–1920). Multiple migration also differs from migration followed by return to the country of origin (see, for example, Nowicka, Firouzbakhch 2008). Instead, multiple migration describes sets of international movements to different places over time.[1] Importantly, the definition of multiple migration purposively does not specify the different temporalities involved in international movement, encompassing both short- and long-term migration. What is more, this broad take allows different sequences of multiple migration, which can involve a return migration phase followed by remigration to a different destination country. Multiple migration can also involve a sequence of onward migration directly from one destination country to another (thus onward migration constitutes a sub-set of multiple migration).

The aim of this working paper is threefold: 1) to position the multiple migration concept within the existing conceptual framework on non-permanent migration; 2) to provide an overview of existing analyses of multiple migration; 3) to outline possible developments for multiple migration research. This logics provides a structure for the paper, which is divided into three sections.

First, this paper engages with the existing literature on several fronts. It starts with the distinction between migration and mobility, discussed because multiple migration clearly departs from the thinking of migration as an international move from country of origin to country of destination, usually of a long-term character. While the focus of migration research is on sedentarised migrants (Salazar 2017), multiple migration comes closer to studying the cracks in the sedentary nature of migration, highlighting repeated spatial and temporal changes and thus coming close to the mobilities perspective. Thus I offer a review of the literature on selected non-permanent migration concepts. At the boundaries of migration theory there appeared conceptualisations of non-permanent moves, such as those referring to Central and Eastern European migration patterns post-1989 (incomplete migration, see Okólski 2001) and post-2004 (liquid migration, Engbersen, Snel 2013). The latter are also part of the broader phenomenon of free movement within the European Union (EU) based on the rights to which European citizens are entitled (see, for example, Favell 2008). Individual resources matter as well, and this is perhaps best illustrated by studying examples of stepwise migration and intra-company transfers involving people with different sets of resources.

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[1] With regards to time, multiple migration links to the concept of 'migratory career' proposed by Martiniello, Rea (2014), which involves 'a process that is built over time'. However, the authors' explanation for the temporal character of the migratory career does not explicitly refer to different spatialities that this process may encompass; rather, it remains framed in binary origin–destination lenses.

These various examples of non-permanent migration serve to set up possible broad frames of reference on which the researchers of multiple migration can build.

Second, from this broad set up of the scene, I move the focus to existing studies of multiple migration – the state-of-the-art review – taking stock of quantitative and qualitative studies on the topic and presenting the main arguments that appear in this literature. This is a descriptive account highlighting how different empirical cases shed light on the social morphology of the multiple migration phenomenon. I synthesise this literature in order to gain a sense of the numbers involved, the timings of movements and the resources of movers, as well as of less-quantifiable issues such as the strategies of those who move repeatedly and to different places.

This overview of research on multiple migration is a crucial exercise in order to identify what is already out there and what the research gaps are. Thus the final section takes a step forward by elaborating on research avenues opened up by rethinking the multiple spatialities and temporalities of migration.

2. Setting the scene: what can we learn from existing migration and mobilities research?

Existing academic research, referring to multiple international movements across multiple destinations, uses different terms for this phenomenon, highlighting the plethora of possible focal points in its analysis. Ciobanu (2015) uses precisely this multiple-migration concept to refer to migrants who change destination countries beyond a single migration trajectory from country of origin to destination. Bhachu (1986) highlights a number of consecutive international moves, referring to East African Sikhs who moved from India to Africa and then to Britain as twice migrants. She also writes about thrice and quadruple migrants, interchangeably using these terms with 'multiple migration' (Bhachu 2015). Main (2014) talks about Polish women in Spain and uses the term 'repeat migration' in order to highlight that these female migrants or, as she calls them, 'nomadic women', had already lived in three or more other destinations countries before settling in Spain.

Beyond focusing on the number of moves, Hugo (2008), writing from the perspective of a migrant destination country (Australia), analyses third-country migration as 'remigration' or 'a more or less permanent migration to a third country destination after a period of residence in Australia' (2008: 269). Still writing about migrants to Australia, he distinguishes 'indirect migration' – that is, migration which involves a move from the country of origin to one destination (other than Australia), followed by a move to Australia (in opposition to this,

direct migration would involve a direct international move from a country of origin to Australia as a destination country). Paul (2011) follows the stepwise migration of Filipino workers, highlighting not only the multiple destination countries involved but also their hierarchy; in her research she refers to this as migration progressing from one destination country to another, where the final and preferable destinations are located somewhere in 'the West'.

Other scholars, referring to repeated international migration to different destinations, make use of metaphors. For instance, what Ossman terms 'serial migration' involves trajectories of people who, like herself 'immigrated once, then moved again to a third homeland' (2013: 2). Similarly, 'chronic migrants', according to Newbold (2001: 24) 'have failed to establish roots in any one community over their migration career'. However, since both 'serial' and 'chronic' in everyday language are used in a normative sense, they seem less suited to describe repeated international movement.

2.1. Multiple migration or multiple mobility?

This working paper uses term 'multiple migration' to describe repeated international movement directed at different destinations. Migration (including both immigration and emigration) is one of the forms, a subset of physical mobility, which can be described as a longer-term movement. The statistical eye detecting migration is usually sensitive to long moves lasting a year or more. The UN makes a distinction between long-term immigrants/emigrants for whom the length of the move is 12 months and short-term immigrants/emigrants who stay outside their country of usual residence for at least three months but less than 12 months[2]. This paper utilises the UN definition of migration. Consequently, mobility would involve a stay abroad of less than three months and, as such, would not be counted as part of a multiple migration trajectory.

However, it is worth noting that the migration–mobility terms may play out differently, depending on who wishes to use them – the movers themselves or the general public and international bodies. The term 'migrants' may not necessarily be used to define themselves by persons who cross borders. In one study of immigrant integration in the EU, an association working with Northern Americans in the EU declined to take part in the research on the grounds that the people assisted by this organisation were seeing themselves not as immigrants but as expats (Salamońska, Unterreiner 2017).

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[2] https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/migration/migrmethods.htm

The distinction between migration and mobility is also made implicitly by the general public on the normative level. The migration concept has become heavily charged, compared to the more neutral term 'mobility'. In his *A Short History of Migration*, Livi-Bacci (2012) diagnoses the shift from the constructive potential of migration to its negative perception in contemporary (Western) societies:

> *... of late, the idea that migration serves as a motive force in society has generally been rejected. Instead, migration is seen as an uncontrollable agent of social change, the deformed tile of a mosaic that cannot find its place, a background noise that interferes with the normal hum of social life* (Livi-Bacci 2012: 89).

Clearly Livi-Bacci refers to immigration. Immigration has become one of the most important issues facing the EU, as reported by the European Commission's Eurobarometer survey measuring public opinion[3], which shows that sentiments toward immigration from outside the EU are predominantly negative (Salamońska 2017). Perhaps it should come as no surprise when King and Lulle (2016) speak of how there has been a shift in the terminology used by international bodies such as the European Commission, the International Organization for Migration or the United Nations Development Programme, moving away from using the term 'migration' and focusing more on the term 'mobility'. While migration is seen as a threat when migrants stay put (in Europe and elsewhere), mobility implies, at least in theory, the propensity of migrants to head off again, either back to their countries of origin or onwards to the next destination (a form of multiple migration). Applying the term mobility to immigration suggests that immigration is only temporary and its (negative) consequences can disappear once the migrants leave (King, Lulle, Morosanu, Williams 2016). Importantly, too, the migration and mobility discourses impact on policy proposals (e.g. van Ostaijen 2017).

In academia, migration and mobility are largely parts of different debates. The mobilities turn (Sheller, Urry 2006) has predominantly problematised the static focus of the social sciences. Wickham (2001) distinguishes between strong and weak versions of the 'mobilities turn'. In the weak version, mobility is yet another valid research topic for sociologists, along with gender or ethnicity – yet another aspect of social reality. The strong version goes further, challenging the idea of studying societies in a contemporary world. Since the very nature of social life has evolved, it is instead looking *beyond* societies (Urry

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[3] http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Chart/index

2000), studying mobility, liquidity and the space of flows that will allow us to understand the social world. It is the former version of the 'mobilities turn' on which I draw in this paper. Migration is not seen as static, but as an event that may occur repeatedly (and over different geographical horizons).

Within migration studies scholarship, as Salazar (2017) highlights, the focus of most migration research is on sedentarity rather than movement. Indeed, migration studies, since the publication of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Thomas, Znaniecki 1918–1920), have predominantly involved researching long-term settlement in destination countries rather than following return and onward moves.

In this paper I build on both strands of research. I refer to multiple migration, as I recognise how migration debate offers useful frameworks for thinking about agency and structure, individual life course, the perspective of the country of origin and that of the country of destination. It offers, however, limited tools for thinking about change occurring on a migration trajectory. This is where the mobility concept becomes useful, allowing researchers to describing how migration becomes 'multiple'. Mobility allows us to grasp a broader view of the multiple temporalities and spatialities involved. The focus is on change rather than on stasis, and on analysing how the duration and sequences of international movements matter. There is a very strong emphasis on physical mobility being embedded in new information and communication (ICT) technologies. Importantly, there is a quest to find new methods for following these movements as they happen.

The novelty of this paper lies in building a new concept of 'multiple migration'. As King and his colleagues (2016: 8, emphasis in the original) phrase it: 'Migration is about moving but then *staying put* for a certain length of time'. Thus with multiple migration I refer to sequences of moving and staying put, where different spaces are involved (beyond the destination–origin country dichotomy). Below I describe existing research (referring to non-permanent migration and mobility), which highlights the different aspects of temporary migration.

2.2. Non-permanent migration concepts

While the literature on multiple migration is limited, I offer here an overview of selected forms of temporary migration (for a more comprehensive overview see Górny, Kindler 2016). The following paragraphs focus on temporary movements from different angles. Incomplete and liquid migration highlight the structural features which contribute to the temporariness of

migration. Stepwise migration and movements within transnational companies invite us to think about how international moves to other destinations are shaped by individual resources (or the lack of them).

2.2.1. Incomplete (circular) migrations

Incomplete migration is an example of repeated international mobility of a circular character. Okólski (2001) coined the term 'incomplete migration' to refer to the movement of Poles in the post-transformation period. This phenomenon was embedded in earlier forms of internal movement.

In the context of under-urbanisation in Poland, it was the inhabitants of peripheral and rural areas in particular who were involved in internal mobility, in which they commuted, once a week or every day, to their workplace). Crucially, when the possibilities for crossing Western borders opened post-1989, the new response from the Polish peripheries was of people swinging backwards and forwards between the peripheries and the Western borders. The metaphor explains the main features of 'incomplete migration', which involved a 'temporary move to work abroad but without putting down roots there, linked to residing outside Poland in a different way to that allowed by the receiving country, and taking up employment in the lowest-skilled labour-market segment, usually an "irregular" one' (Okólski 2001: 19; my translation). Incomplete migration took on a massive character once the opportunities in the countries of origin – related to commuting for work – shrunk and the economy could no longer absorb many of the people seeking work. Instead, moving for work abroad provided a person with foreign currency and with a strong exchange rate which translated into good purchasing power in the country of origin. Employment opportunities abroad were initially mainly within petty trade but, with time, they started to include small entrepreneurship and, often, seasonal employment. Incomplete migration was sustained by the migrant networks which had developed since the 1980s (see Okólski 2011). Until the 1990s this migration remained incomplete, meaning that the opportuniy structure for regular stays and regular employment in the long term in the destination country was lacking.

2.2.2. Liquid migration

While incomplete migration described the context of migration in the transition period in Poland, changes in the institutional framework with the new member-states' accession to the

EU brought about yet another shift in migratory movements. Once the mobility barriers within the EU were gradually removed, 'liquid migration' replaced incomplete migration. Engbersen and Snel (2013), drawing on Bauman's work on liquid modernity (1999), list the characteristic features of what this new liquid migration involved. Firstly, the authors describe the temporary nature of liquid migration compared to migrant permanence. This temporary nature brings with it invisibility, described as the limited extent of social and cultural integration. Liquid migrants predominantly arrive with a motivation to work and are able to reside legally (but not necessarily to legally access the labour market). Existing migration theories are barely able to predict the direction taken by these liquid migration flows. The authors also highlight the more individualised nature of liquid migration. Finally, the migratory habitus is also expressed as 'intentional unpredictability' (a term coined by Eade, Garapich, Drinkwater 2007 with reference to Polish migrants in the UK whose migratory plans were intentionally kept open). What clearly separates liquid migration from other and earlier waves of migration is: 'the more individualistic ethos of unmarried labour migrants, who are less bounded by family obligations, borders and local labour markets than previous generations of migrants' (Engbersen, Snel 2013: 35).

The liquidity of this migration refers to the free-movement regime in the EU. Liquid migration came as a response when old migration theories seemed to have failed. Compared, in particular, with previous generations of guestworker migrants facing the 1970s' oil crisis in a similar context of economic bust, 'workers have more opportunities to come and return as they choose' (Engbersen, Snel 2013: 31), although these opportunities still function largely within a binary mind-set between the origin country and that of destination. Once again, like incomplete migration, the emphasis in liquid migration is put on the temporary nature of international movement. Liquid migration adds to it an 'intentional unpredictability'; however, a person having lived in multiple destinations is not its definitional feature.

The concept of liquid migration stops short of putting the emphasis on multiple migration projects. Especially in the European migratory space where free movement is not hampered by visa requirements, migration projects may become more flexible and fluid, requiring less planning and financial resources, with low-cost air connections between the different European cities. In addition, European migration may open up migrants to opportunities that lie further away. These new experiences of mobility are expected to be qualitatively different from migration settlement.

Multiple migration seems to lie closer to the free movement pattern of European citizens from 'old' member-states as described in *Eurostars and Eurocities* (Favell 2008).

Favell shifts between describing mobility, settlement and integration in the book's chapters, often in the respondents' own words: how they made the decision to stay or move and then remade their decision, how they plan to stay or go and how multiple factors are involved which are different for singles, couples and families juggling personal and professional lives. Favell refers to the movers as Eurostars, but Europe may be for them just a part of a global trajectory, whether well planned or just happening on the way. Favell's studies have been among the most intuitive about this new, geographically more open feature of European movement. Two other examples of free movement turning into multiple migration are, for example, Dutch Somalis living in the UK (van Liempt 2011) or Romanians in Portugal (Ciobanu 2015).

2.2.3. Stepwise migration

Trajectories involving spells in intermediate countries before migrants reach the final, preferred destination have been studied as a step-wise migration. Düvell, Molodikova and Collyer (2014) explore how migrants in vulnerable situations who started their journey towards the EU because of restrictive immigration policies end up in third countries, on their way to the EU. Projects like MAFE[4], which studies migration from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe, have developed systematic tools to research step-wise moves, which are understood broadly and mapped in space, on the labour market and also with reference to the individual life course. These studies offer insights into routes to Europe, the sequences of moves and the duration of spells in transit countries. They problematise the notion of 'return', which may be followed by repeat migration to Europe (Flahaux, Beauchemin, Schoumaker 2014).

For many migrants, including those heading to Europe during the current migration crisis, trajectories do not lead directly from the country of origin to the country of destination. Achilli, Fargues, Salamońska, Talò (2016), describing migrant paths to Italy, point out how the geographical trajectory from the origin country to Italy involves much more than a journey – at least, this is the case in some countries through the way in which migrants settle, even if it is only to take up a job to finance a further trip, and then take off again after a while. Crucially, in contrast to the predominant idea of migration as a move from place A to place B, many migrants set off on the journey and, on the way, they make up their mind about the final destination. Others may have initially decided about the final stop but their plans may change on the way. Among those who arrived in Italy, some initially wanted to reach Libya, but

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[4] http://mafeproject.site.ined.fr/en/

changed their mind once they arrived in the country and realised how dramatic the situation was.

2.2.4. Mobility within the internal markets of transnational companies (TNCs)

While the above is an example of moves which are not necessarily voluntary and which, to a large extent, involve people with limited resources, on the other extreme there are global elites moving around. These highly skilled migrants move within the internal labour markets of transnational companies. International mobility within TNC channels is facilitated by the employers. For instance, Beaverstock's studies (e.g. 2002, 2005) illustrate the elite geographical mobility which takes place between global cities, where the labour demand is for the highly skilled and institutional barriers to mobility are minimised. Furthermore, the financial and organisational aspects of relocation are dealt with and facilitated by transnational companies. Assignments abroad, apart from career progress, offer high financial rewards. Importantly, these studies bring recognition that places between which people move may be multiple. They also develop a geography of human migration in relation to how some places open gates to other locations. Beaverstock's studies, although limited to transnational elites, track mobility on maps with the notation pointing to the chronological order of the moves and follow geographical patterns to movers' international careers. However, in their focus on the small numbers involved in the top segments of the labour market, studies on intra-company transfer migration examine transients and frictionless mobility in the predominantly male corporate world of financial and producer services.

2.2.5. From temporary to multiple migration

I argue here that there is a need for a new concept of multiple migration in order to describe the migration of individuals who move repeatedly and to various destinations. This multiple migration concept, although new, will build on the concepts described in this section in several ways. Multiple migration, as in the case of incomplete migration, necessarily recognises the importance of contextual factors. It is not the case that everything flows, because political barriers, the socio-economic situation and migration traditions, among others, shape international movement, also of a multiple nature. In contrast to barriers, freedom of movement in the EU may be seen as a context facilitating the liquidity of movement. Multiple migration differs from liquid migration in the way in which it explicitly adds various destinations. Unlike liquid migration, which was described in the EU context,

multiple migration is not limited to freedom of movement within the EU, but may spread all over the world. Research on stepwise migration suggests taking into account the extent to which the migration trajectories are pre-planned from the beginning, a very valid issue for researchers of multiple migration. Furthermore, stepwise migration is an example of multiple migration, but the latter does not necessarily include a trajectory from one destination country to another. Multiple migration can also involve a move back from the destination country to that of origin, followed by a move to another destination. Finally, intra-company movements within transnational corporations highlight the issue of resources opening gates to international mobility.

3. Multiple migration – what do we know?

Historically speaking, multiple migration is not a new phenomenon. Perhaps now it is taken up on a larger scale, but it has always been part of the biographies of people who crossed national borders. Let us take the classic example of migration in the third volume of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918–20), which sets out Władek Wiśniewski's story of moving from Polish lands (although under Prussian partition at the time) to Germany and then the US. Władek talks about his childhood years in the family of a blacksmith in Lubotyń, in a rural area. He writes about his schooling and working as a baker. Finally, he describes his migration to Germany and then to the US, 'for the sake of bread'.

Turning to the geographies of multiple migration, Thomas and Znaniecki's (1918–1920) focus was not on the migrant trajectory involving several countries but, rather, on settlement in the US. Agrawal (2016), in his paper on twice migrants (a sub-group of multiple migrants) in Canada, identifies research on 'twice migrants' originating from the Caribbean, Fiji and East Africa and residing in Australia, the UK and the US – all traditional migration destinations. Bhachu (2015) claims that, historically, multiple migration experiences describe many of the movements that have taken place worldwide, among which are those of Jews, Chinese Iranians, Indians and others. The following subsections, due to the paucity of the appropriate literature, will mostly describe recent studies of multiple migrants in Europe and the US, Canada and Australia.

3.1. What are the numbers involved?

As described earlier, the existing conceptualisation of migration as a quasi-permanent move is reinforced by the statistical approach to measuring migration which, following the UN-based convention, considers migrants as persons resident in a country different to that of their of birth for a year or more. Data identifying previous migration periods are often not collected. Censuses may ask about the place of residence a year and five years prior to the census date, but these questions only give an indication of the number of recent multiple migrants (who have moved less than a year or less than five years, respectively, prior to census night). Analyses for the EU are not available but, for the US, Takenaka (2007) – based on US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) data, estimates that 12.5% of immigrants (who in 2000 were granted permanent status) were resident in a country which was different to that of their country of birth prior to coming to the US. A similar number is estimated based on US Census data from 2000. These estimates have limitations, based on the datasets used (e.g. the USCIS data do not include temporary migrants and recent arrivals etc.). Similarly, Agrawal (2016) estimates that migrants who moved to Canada from a country other than that of their birth constitute 13% of incoming migrants in the last three decades. These studies do not take into account the length of stay in a former destination(s), only the fact that the person has lived there. Because of the free movement regime in the EU, the numbers involved in multiple mobility may be higher, but there are no existing estimates.

3.2. What are the resources involved?

Bhachu's (1986) work spoke of 'elite' intercontinental migrants possessing high levels of intellectual, social and entrepreneurial capital. Perhaps the scale of the move – between continents – actually required high levels of capital? Some studies corroborate this claim about the positive selectivity of multiple migrants, describing how they seem to be holders of higher levels of human capital (Agrawal 2016; Ahrens, Kelly, Liempt 2014; Takenaka 2007). Agrawal's analysis (2016) of twice migrants in Canada (they had lived in another destination prior to moving to Canada) highlights their greater propensity to speak the official language of the destination country and to arrive in the skilled immigrant category. The improved labour market performance of these migrants can be explained by a mix of variables, including time of arrival, country of birth and previous country of residence (the latter suggesting not only the immigrant-origin effect studied in labour market integration but also the geographic trajectory). However, Agrawal concludes that multiple movers do not fare

much better than those who arrived in Canada directly from their countries of origin. Age may be a factor, but it is not clear.

Multiple migration can be also a strategy for capitalising on those resources that migrants already possess. This is what Tsujimoto notes: 'For migrants, fewer resources may be offered at home than they can find abroad' (2016: 326). Work by Nekby (2006) on the Swedish case suggests that highly skilled migrants, in particular, may be more likely to move again as they may maximise the return on their skills in locations other than the fairly egalitarian Scandinavian context. Some of the French migrants in London interviewed by Ryan and Mulholland (2014) were willing to migrate again in order to take up the opportunity of better career options available elsewhere, although this research demonstrates that onward moves may be more difficult in dual-career couples. Although this points to the crucial importance of the labour market for understanding the phenomenon of multiple migration, those who move again, like other migrants, may be driven by multiple motivations, including (but not limited to) work, education, family and other rationales (for one typology of naturalised EU citizens moving within the EU see Ahrens *et al.* 2014).

Not possessing resources may also shape a person's migration trajectory. It is also migrants without an established socio-economic position in the destination country who may leave in search of a better future elsewhere. Behind the movements of refugees and economic migrants from the Global South, there is a feeling of being compelled to move, by oppression and poor life chances. Multiple migrants may be highly differentiated groups. Migration, even multiple migration, can be taken up as a strategy for social mobility. Hugo (2008), describing Indian and Chinese skilled workers moving onward from Australia, analyses it in terms of 'escalator migration', where moving to the next destination means also moving upwards. Similarly, Paul (2011) shows how onward migration may constitute a path to social mobility.

Legal status is an important resource for multiple migrants. Holding a Western passport can mean the freedom to stay or to go (see Favell 2008). In contrast, Ali (2011) describes multiple migration in the context of 'no choice' that the *kafala* system in Dubai leaves migrants with – they can stay only temporarily until they hold a work permit. Migrants in Dubai juggle between the pull of the place and the uncertainty of obtaining a legal status. Similarly, in Korea, migrants described by Tsujimoto (2016) are limited by one government scheme to just five years of temporary work. As one of Ali's interviewees puts it: 'Listen, this is not your home. Don't get too comfortable here, because there's always the chance that you will have to pick up your bags and leave one day' (2011: 563). Against the threat of

deportation, citizenship acquisition is a game-changer, legalising the stay, introducing a sense of security, an attachment to the place and a willingness to contribute to its wellbeing.

However, new citizenship processes are opening new doors to migrants. Szewczyk (2016), examining Polish migrants in the UK, describes 'go-stop-go' mobility or 'a stepped approach to citizenship' in which the British passport can become a stepping stone to further mobility. In Szewczyk's analysis, nevertheless, there is a clear distinction between the instrumental and the identitarian value of the British passport. Poles in the UK seem to embrace the former (as facilitating access to the Anglosphere) but not the latter (a feeling of attachment to the UK does not come automatically with a British passport).

Van Liempt (2011) studies Somalis who can and do move within the EU, availing themselves of their European passports as EU Somalis (rather than Dutch Somalis). These migrants' approach to their adopted citizenship is instrumental, as in the case of Szewczyk's respondents, although maps of the destinations that the two groups envisage may differ. EU Somalis seem to take advantage of European citizenship as a resource and to 'see their lives in the transnational triangle as full of possibilities, where they can make the best of all three worlds' (2011: 581).

It is worth noting that Szewczyk's interviewees are a rarer example of research on multiple migrants who can be positioned 'in the middle' (being neither transnational elites nor working poor). This 'middle' space of multiple migration seems to be a less-studied phenomenon, perhaps because these are less-visible multiple migration trajectories than, for instance, those of recent refugees and migrants from West Africa to Europe and also less visible than the conspicious mobility of elites.

In addition, if things do not go well, multiple migrants can go back to one of their previous destinations. For IT professionals who left Australia, this intermediary destination works as an 'insurance letter'. They can always go back there, instead of having to move back to their country of origin (Biao 2004). Having lived in a country is thus one of the resources that multiple migrants possess. It adds up to a complex set of resources that may also interact with each other. This reflects also Ciobanu's (2015: 466) understanding of multiple migration with reference to 'a combination of migration policies and social networks, mediated by migrants' level of education and type of occupation at the destination'.

3.3. When is the time to move?

Scott (2006), analysing British migrants in Paris, offers a typology of migrants according to their life-course stage: there are professional British families (with children or with adult children who have already left the household) and 'young British professionals' whose lives in Paris revolve primarily around their careers. 'Graduate lifestyle migrants' are taking time out while, for 'Bohemians', being in Paris is an individualistic choice, with cultural and artistic motivations. The last category of individuals relocated to France to join a partner. While this categorisation refers to one-off migrants, it seems reasonable to assume that it may well reflect how migration is taken up repeatedly over the individual life course. It invites us to think that migration does not happen in a temporal vacuum and that timings are not accidental. Changing countries is more likely to occur at the extremes of the life course (Hall and Williams 2002). For young people, migration may be related to the life transition that they experience (King *et al.* 2016): from school to work, from parental home to independent living etc. Following international moves, especially when taken on for the second or third time, are much easier for those at the particular life stage when they are 'young, single, childless' (Ryan and Mulholland 2014). Migration can also impact on family life decisions. Access to the labour market during a temporary stay may be difficult for trailing partners but this can become a time to plan having a baby (Main 2014).

Importantly, migration decision-making may also change with evolving personal circumstances. As with other migrants, repeat international moves may involve a single individual or a household. In the latter case, the reasoning becomes more complex, with many households' decision-making being based on more than just economic costs and returns and with the relative resources of males and females in the household also impacting on it.

In addition, work by Agrawal (2016) in Canada reports the higher age of twice migrants compared to what he calls 'direct migrants' (who arrived in Canada directly from their country of origin). The older migrants were simply more likely to have had time to move during their life. Some have experiences of migration because they moved with their parents when still children – often experienced by children in mixed families.

3.4. A gendered world of mobility?

While Beaverstock's (2002, 2005) picture of multiple mobility is largely restricted to the male corporate world, Main's (2014) and Piekut's (2013a, b) analyses somehow complement this picture by showing the female's perspective. Migration can be an individual choice but, for

many of Main's and Piekut's female interviewees, migration constituted tied movement – a stay in the destination was tied to their husbands' employment in transnational corporations. This gendered face of mobility is also visible in academia (Ackers 2004).

4. Where to move from here? Inspirations and unresolved questions

First, the literature described above points to the richness of multiple migration. It may involve two or more moves, of different duration and with varying sequences of moving between origin and destinations (possibly also involving a return phase). Geographically they can be intra- or inter-continental. Institutionally, they may happen within free movement regimes (like that represented by the EU) or they can be managed by relevant migration policies. Moreover, multiple migration may be taken up by people with different sets of resources.

How do people become multiple migrants? Many of the migrants who set off for the first time for a foreign destination do not plan to move on from there. Many of them, in fact, have a rather flexible strategy of 'intentional unpredictability' (Eade *et al.* 2007). This 'it depends' approach (Ryan, Mulholland 2014) can be seen as a rational strategy in response to changing personal and broader socio-economic circumstances. It can be easier to make plans 'on the go', to wait and see whether to settle, to move on or to move back within the European free movement space rather than go elsewhere. The Middle East is another migrant destination from where people think of another place to travel to once their visa or permit linked to a job they hold expires and they are cut off from the luxurious life that they have experienced there (Agrawal 2016). Sometimes it is the case that initial plans get altered. Many of the third-country nationals living in Italy described by Achilli *et al.* (2016) initially headed off to Libya as their destination but changed their minds once there and took the Mediterranean route towards Italy.

Another question concerns why people decide to move in the first place. Urry, in *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), used this unconventional lens on tourist mobility as a form of deviance. Migration, especially when taken up repeatedly, could also be perceived as deviant behaviour. After all it is a small minority who decides to change their address and move to another country. Hagerstrand (1970: 8) summarised common yet questionable assumptions about movement thus:

... economists are very quick to suggest that we solve our problems by moving somewhere else. It is convenient in theory and often in reality, but the idea implies two things: first, that there is a worthwhile place to go to; and second, that it is of no relevance that some have to be left behind.

We also know that the neoclassical migrant whose move is an investment increasing productivity, who calculates various costs and returns, does not move as a result of an entirely rational process but, rather, as a consequence of his or her bounded rationality (Simon 1972). The limits to rationality may be multiple: actors operate in a context of risk and uncertainty, possessing limited information about alternatives. Moreover, the complexity of costs and constraints may lead to worse than an optimum choice of action. However, with each migratory move the information stock may be expected to be less limited, as can a migrant's imagination regarding possible consequences. This is precisely the issue to be examined in detail when analysing multiple migrants.

Also, and related to the previous point, the way in which people choose some places over others is constantly surprising. One of the Polish respondents whom I interviewed in Dublin a decade ago, when asked why she had moved to Ireland, replied that she saw *Gone with the Wind* and felt an attraction to a place which was described in such an amazing way. Some people tend to choose certain places over their place of residence inspired by travels that they undertake and by the media that they consume (so-called 'imaginative mobility' – Urry 2000). They engage in the 'travelling-in-dwelling' practices (Clarke 2005) of virtual communication by email or phone, as these are becoming cheaper and more easily accessible (very much like travel), especially when compared with their limited availability for previous generations. In this way, the migrants become part of transnational social networks while building their migration trajectories and keeping in touch with significant others based in different geographical locations. They also become a sort of comparative experts (Favell 2008), using information from their international networks and increasingly making more informed choices about where to live and work. While social networks are crucial for migrants, in the case of multiple migrants, it is possible that their geographical reach is wider or their geographically differentiated pull is stronger. It transpires from research on multiple movers that networks have a strong pull effect and mobility is linked with sociality (Tsujimoto 2016), thus reducing the risks related to international moves. There are, however, still questions which remain unanswered: Is it the case that some places open (or close?) the gates to others? Are there patterns of multiple migration? There are also questions about the

places in which multiple migrants (temporarily) stay, and about the consequences of temporary multiple migration for integration (see, for example, Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2018 for discussion of fluidity and super-diversity in the context of integration).

What is more, I highlighted above the imperfection of the statistical glance on the migration landscape. Multiple migration poses challenges to the way in which we research international movement. King, already in 2002, suggested moving beyond binaries – in Tsujimoto's words: 'moving beyond the duality of home and abroad' (2016: 323). In order to understand multiple migration, we have to challenge the ways we see it: privileging a longitudinal rather than a cross-sectional approach to social reality. However, the question still remains as to how we trace the mobile.

It is very much in relation to the MAFE study that Beauchemin (2014) conceptualises a multi-sited approach in migration studies, against a settlement bias which characterises much of the quantitative migration literature. What is more, South-to-North migration often points to how migrant trajectories increasingly cannot be grasped between the origin and destination country dichotomy, but require broader spatial lenses that examine movement across time and the individual life course. This said, it is difficult to escape methodological nationalism, which is a strong element of sociological research and which is deeply rooted in how people see and experience the world (Fanning 2013).

Multiple migration invites us to think about movement as a part of a person's individual biography. This is a lesson which is well known to geographers. Looking at some of Beaverstock's analyses, and especially his notation of international mobility, invites us to carefully consider the places involved at different time points (although Beaverstock's studies are largely limited to professional moves). This is an idea that dates back to the time geography initially developed by Hagerstrand. Multiple migration can potentially draw on the work of Hagerstrand, for whom every location has space as well as time coordinates. Hagerstrand did not prioritise any given moment in time but a sequence, with each location 'always critically tied to the "somewhere" of a moment earlier' (Hagerstrand 1970: 10). These sequences form life paths, which Hagerstrand also represents graphically. Life paths develop against different sets of constraints which form channels or dams. Our life paths can become geographically wider due to advances in technology. Technologies may enable movement but what really drives much mobility are intentions and ideas (Ellegård, Svedin 2012) or projects. The social dimensions of these life paths are also analysed – a largely understudied element of human mobility in general.

Hagestrand suggests a longitudinal approach to studying mobility, taking account of space and time coordinates. There have been some examples of the longitudinal approach (see, for example, Krings, Moriarty, Wickham, Bobek, Salamońska 2013), but the visualisation method still remains an exception (for one example, see Liversage 2009).

5. Conclusions

Although multiple migration is not a new phenomenon, it is certainly an under-researched one. There may be several reasons for this. Theoretically, macro-, meso- and micro-theories privileged the perspective of one-off international migration followed by settlement and, less often, by return. Migration theories have been relatively static in their focus on how people cross national borders and on the consequences of this sedentarised migration. Even within the recent and just-emerging literature on multiple migration there is little consideration of migration theory that could usefully be applied to different populations in studies of repeat international movement.

Multiple migration as a topic is also challenging on the methods front. The methodological approach in migration studies largely followed theoretical questions about migration stasis. Longitudinal research has been relatively rare and, if applied, often took the destination country as a given (a respondent changing destination country would drop out from the studied sample in traditional panel designs), examining only change in time but not geographical change in the migration trajectory. Thus far, many of the existing analyses of multiple migration come mainly from the small-scale qualitative enquiries which follow various thematic foci. In some of them, multiple migration is an issue which came about only during fieldwork.

Methodologically, researching multiple migration brings the promise of being able to catch a glimpse of the social world as it happens, across time and space. In a way, it provides an opportunity to examine the non-static nature of the social world. Quantitatively, it challenges our established data collection on sedentarised migrants and pushes us towards new areas, like mobile methods to study international flows.

Empirically, there are studies about the different cases of multiple migration, but there is little comparative effort which could push forward the debate on its patterns, determinants and specificities compared to one-off migration. What is clear is that multiple migration is a manifestation of how people move in the contemporary world. As we saw at the beginning of this paper, Kuba Błaszczykowski is one example, but there are many more, involving

different social strata, different durations and sequences of migration, and various places. It is by researching these different spatialities and temporalities of multiple migration that we can push migration theory even further.

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