



Working Papers

Paper 30, March 2011

Cultural and symbolic dimensions of the migration–development nexus

The salience of community

Gabriele Tomei

This paper is published by the International Migration Institute (IMI), Oxford Department of International Development (QEH), University of Oxford, 3 Mansfield Road, Oxford OX1 3TB, UK (www.imi.ox.ac.uk).

IMI does not have an institutional view and does not aim to present one.
The views expressed in this document are those of its independent author.

The IMI Working Papers Series

IMI has been publishing working papers since its foundation in 2006. The series presents current research in the field of international migration. The papers in this series:

- analyse migration as part of broader global change
- contribute to new theoretical approaches
- advance understanding of the multi-level forces driving migration

Abstract

Migration is not a natural phenomenon, completely independent of historical and political contexts on the one hand and individual and collective reactions to them on the other. And development does not appear suddenly, as the result of impersonal forces driving migrants to directly or indirectly support it. Migration can generate development only through intentional actions, with community wellbeing in migrants' home countries acting as the anchor for individuals, associations and governments; and by providing a wider setting in which this 'intention' is played out, revealing the place for cultural, symbolic and moral dimensions of transnational community belonging and membership. Community acts as a cultural 'compass', determining migrants' attitudes towards the development of their home country. Strong communitarian membership is generally associated with real engagement in the development issues of members left behind (as part of the collective self), but varies according to the structural features of the migrants' networks, the way in which migrants define networks as their own communities, the results of past communitarian memories and future communitarian imaginations on actual communitarian experience and perceptions. I discuss these issues in the light of recent theoretical debates on structure–agency dynamics.

Keywords:

Migration and development, community, identity, social theory, structure–agency

Author:

Gabriele Tomei
Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche e Sociali
Università di Pisa
g.tomei@sp.unipi.it

Contents

Introduction	4
1 Migration and development: a nexus requiring better explanation	5
2 How the structure-agency approach reveals the cultural and symbolic dimensions of migrants' practices.....	9
3 Community as cultural compass in migrants' experience	13
3.1 <i>Community as cultural schemas</i>	13
3.2 <i>Community formation and habitus</i>	13
3.3 <i>Community as dialectic between social and personal meanings</i>	14
3.3.1 Social meanings of the communitarian experience	14
3.3.2 Personal meanings of the communitarian experience.....	16
3.4 <i>Community as interplay of different temporal levels of experience</i>	17
4 How community affects the migration-development nexus.....	18
4.1 <i>From socio-economic development to social networks</i>	19
4.2 <i>From social networks to definitions of community (via the personal–social dialectic)</i> .	19
4.3 <i>From social network to definition of community (via temporal–relational dynamics)</i> .	20
4.4 <i>From definition of community to socio-economic development (again)</i>	21
Conclusions	22

Introduction

For a long time, migration flows have been analysed using a materialistic and deterministic framework, in line with the idea that migrants' behaviours are generally caused both by structural constraints (push-pull factors) and self-interested economic practices of social actors who decide to move in order to work and so to save, remit or invest money according to rational choice principles (Carling 2008). Nevertheless, established ideas have been challenged by socio-anthropological studies of the collective and moral dimensions of migrant practices (Lucas and Stark 1985), and by the transnational and communitarian dimensions of social spaces that migration generates and in which migrants are involved (Portes 2000; 2008). The presence of symbolic and moral dimensions and the role of community in migrants' experience are crucial because these elements reveal some hidden factors of their experience that exist within the cultural sphere of social action (Lacroix 2010a). This is the main reason why the migration–development nexus cannot really be understood according to mainstream development theories, which conceive development as economic growth, and so understand migration (mainly) as economic actors' response to economic constraints and opportunities (both at micro and macro levels).

We need to go beyond the orthodoxy for at least three reasons:

1. Development is no longer associated simply with economic growth, but is rather defined as a process empowering people's capability to achieve personal and collective wellbeing, freedom and social inclusion (Sen 1999).
2. Migration cannot continue to be considered as an independent and autonomous variable of development. For this reason there has to be a more intensive engagement with theoretical sociology in providing frameworks and categories to migration and development studies.
3. In order better to understand the migration–development nexus, subjectivity, and not only structural dynamics, are important (although the former can never be considered without the latter).

Understanding the cultural dimension of migration, therefore, means elaborating on these three elements investigating, in particular, the symbolic and moral factors involved in migrants' individual and collective behaviour.

In line with the structure–agency leitmotiv, the paper argues that the idea of *community* the migrants share (and that at the same time their social interactions contribute in developing) plays a crucial role in the emerging migration practices and in their possible trajectories toward developmental goals. Assuming community as a cultural framework both orienting and oriented by migration practices is not normally a starting point in migration studies. It will nonetheless be a necessary one. There are four necessary tasks:

1. to interpret community as social construction, assuming here *social* at the same time as temporal-relational, symbolic and moral;
2. to explore how different definitions of community can be analysed as outcomes emerging in interactions between *personal sense of community* (agency) and *social communitarian meanings* (structure);
3. to understand how different definitions of community can be analysed as 'agentic orientations' emerging from the reflexive and dialectic nature of agency that uses and mixes different levels of *consciousness* and *temporality*;

4. to analyse how this multiple structuration process makes community the emerging cultural framework affecting, and affected by, migrant practices through the several possible balances between references to *community belonging* (traditional identity, ethnicity, memory, etc.), *community construction* (present social relations, networks, interactions, etc.) and the *community project* (future expectations, dreams, imaginations, etc.).

The general hypothesis of the paper is that *community* (both as idea and as social experience) has to be considered as a crucial dimension (a 'compass') to orient migrants' practices toward developmental goals. The structure–agency approach to migration helps us to shed light on the inner dynamics of this complex process.

1 Migration and development: a nexus requiring better explanation

Until recently, migrations have been interpreted as demographic consequences of major structural transformations and pressures: overpopulation, urbanization, modernization (Zelinsky 1971). The migration–development nexus has until now been conceived under the mainstream paradigm that assimilates development to economic growth (Hettne 1990; Rist 1996). Thus, migrants are understood mainly as economic actors who decide to save, remit or invest money according to rational choice principles (Carling 2008) and inspired by hidden market forces, even when their behaviour seems to be different and counter-intuitive with respect to such economic criteria.

During the 1950s and 1960s migration was considered as a positive instrument to accelerate development, whereby overpopulated countries with high unemployment would be given a safety valve, while migrants would remit wages to families left behind. This axiom was theoretically based on the general acceptance of migration theory predicated on the neoclassical economic paradigm. This sees migrations as cumulative flows of individuals who decide to move from countries with low employment opportunities to ones with a labour shortage, based on a personal comparison between emigration costs and immigration benefits. Seen from the perspective of development theory, the general consensus revolved around Keynesian approaches in which development is driven by industry and stimulated by public aid. States promoted emigration of unemployed or underemployed people toward industrialised countries, hoping thereby that exporting labour would facilitate the economic take-off of underdeveloped nations (Massey et al. 1993; Skeldon 1997; Castles 2008). Both scholars and policy-makers interpreted migration and development ties through the following *virtuous cycle*:

Beginning of development in poor countries → Migration → Enhanced development → Trend to income equilibrium and elimination of 'root causes' of migration → Less migration (Castles 2008: 5)

During the 1970s and 1980s, the pendulum of the migration–development consensus shifted from the positive to the negative pole, underlining the negative consequences of migration on sending countries' economies. The main critics focused on the loss of potential

labour force and skills ('brawn'¹ and 'brain' drain), development of inflationary tensions in sending countries and accentuation of the socio-economic divide between migrant and non-migrant households. This analytical view was theoretically based on a structural and neo-Marxist framework of dependency (Frank 1978) and, more specifically, on world system theory (Wallerstein 1979), that emphasizes the new international division of labour and transnational corporations' penetration into less developed economies as the means and – at the same time – the result of exploitative incorporations of the 'periphery' into neo-colonial international relationships. Intensification of the gap between modern and traditional sectors within the same underdeveloped nation-state societies, abandonment of rural areas and massive urbanization, rapid transformations of traditional socio-economical equilibriums, exploitation of salaried workers and more and more intense impoverishment of marginalized groups were the main long-term impacts in sending countries of migration strategies adopted by several states of the global south in former decades. This pessimistic view conceptualized the linkages between migration and development as a *vicious circle*:

Core–periphery division and dependency → Migration → Increased dependency of poor countries → Impoverishment and income gap get worse → Third world labour freely available for capital in core economies (Castles 2008: 6)

Since the beginning of the 1990s, a new enthusiastic spirit has come back, inspiring general reflection about the positive relationship between migration and development. It has been found that migrant remittances have exceeded international public aid, and so it has been argued that in the near future migration could become one of the main drivers of global development. Despite the recent global financial crisis, this trend does not appear to have reversed, but rather seems to be more and more growing and evident (Ratha et al. 2010).

Discursive explanations of this new shift generally underline the necessity to look beyond socioeconomic constraints in migration theories and bring in *transnationalism* and *civil society* as new features make it possible for migration and development to meet each other positively. *Transnationalism*, as a framework concept, explains how the migratory project of people leaving their home country is nowadays based on the availability of social, economic and also cultural networks crossing nation-state boundaries and providing support and orientation through which migrants realize development goals. Households play a pivotal role in sustaining transnational networks, determining and orienting members' migration choices and governing the economic usages of migrant members' remittances.² *Civil society* organizations, from hometown associations to NGOs and non-profit enterprises, also emerged during the 1990s as real innovative actors, not only in policy-making but also in economic development.

If these new paradigmatic keywords undoubtedly reinforce the possibility of overcoming the limits and constraints of the deterministic, mono-causal and univocal approaches of the past, they are still unable to provide an overall understanding of the

¹ Initially referring to the market for foreign student-athletes in American universities (Bale, 1991), the 'brawn drain' has been more widely used to define the exodus of unskilled or semi-skilled labour for a limited period of time (Olimova and Bosc 2003: 9).

² New studies in development have recently rehabilitated domestic consumption to support livelihood as an indirect development strategy, in many cases more efficient than investment-oriented ones, and so conceptualize 'international migration as an integral part of transnational livelihood strategies pursued by households and other social groups' (De Haas 2010: 248).

phenomenon and, overall, they risk being misunderstood or misused to support new geopolitical developments in analysing and managing the migration–development nexus.

This seems to apply to some aspects of the recent and rapid increase in international organizations' level of involvement in the issue, though these organizations also demonstrate different approaches and purposes. In May 2006 the United Nations General Secretariat launched an international debate with a report on *International Migration and Development* that was to constitute the strategic framework in order to orient and stimulate a High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (September 2006) and the subsequent activity of the Global Forum of Migration and Development. Despite the official declaration that 'our destination is a global system of mobility that allows people to move in legal, safe and orderly ways – with full respect for their dignity and for their human rights' (GFMD 2009) and the wide theoretical recognition of the positive aspect of links between migration and development, nevertheless all the recommendations were oriented by a *migration management* paradigm (BI 2005).

Other international organizations in the meantime made the development–migration nexus central to their emerging programmes and projects. Regional multilateral organizations assumed a more pragmatic engagement in the matter. The European Union, for instance, tried to go beyond the *root causes* approach, approaching migration as a comprehensive and integrated issue and suggesting a significant shift from a 'more development for less migration' paradigm to a 'more migration for better development' one (CeSPI 2003). Yet at the same time – both at communitarian and at national member States level – it continued strengthening security measures to control external borders and to oppose spontaneous immigration.

Enthusiastic interpretations of new migration–development findings made several scholars speak of a new possible 'globalization from below' (Portes 2000), emphasizing the autonomy and self-reliance competences of society itself as new developing tools against state corruption and inefficiency. Others, more critical, highlighted the ideological risks of these statements, and denounced the dangers inherent in de-contextualizing them from a more general geopolitical and theoretical context of contemporary social dynamics (Castles 2008; Faist 2008, 2010; Raghuram 2009).

Generally critics agree that after the collapse of communist regimes and the growing influence of the Washington Consensus (Stiglitz 2002) new patterns and stakes of world development seemed to be found in the tenets of the so-called *globalization project*: implementation of the market via restructuring of policies and standards across the state system and enforcing trade liberalization (McMichael 2007: 153). Stephen Castles (2008) considers current theoretical approaches more responsive to complexity than past ones. However, he argues that the continuous shifting of the migration–development debate and, especially, the current insistent emphasis on the autonomy of civil society and its promotion of free temporary circulation, depends on its implicit and ideological links with new globalization ideological stakes. Thomas Faist attributes the new interest in migration theories as functional to globalization, at the same time undermining the role of nation states and enlarging and enforcing global migratory control (Faist 2008). In a later work he shows how keywords and phrases such as *co-development* and *diaspora engagement* can have ambiguous meanings (Faist 2010). Mizanur Raghuram (2009) evokes Foucault's concept of *governability* in order to expose the hidden and pervasive goals of inner control

(the bio-politic) implicated in enthusiastic promotion of migrants' development-oriented moral responsibilities: 'the mobile governable subject of migration-development, in this reading, is both required to move in order to strategise their human capital, but also morally for the collective good of a distant place/community' (Raghuram 2009: 110).

Despite these important critics (who all stress the crucial contradiction between the discursive emphasis on the benefits of circular migration on one hand and the practical control of migration on the other), all the above-mentioned dynamics in any case reveal two key points:

- a) the importance of considering migrant relational spaces (especially at transnational level) as the central analytical units of our concern;
- b) the existence, and power, of informal and often specifically socio-cultural dimensions of the migration experience the role of which in development is still to be fully examined.

Three considerations mark the current debate on the link between migration and development, in each case extending or challenging the theory, thereby preventing the ideological dangers that have just been shown. These three developments push migration theory to move from univocal and simple to global and complex perspectives.

1. Development is no longer associated with economic growth, but is rather defined as the process of empowering people to achieve personal and collective wellbeing, freedom and social inclusion (Sen 1999). The United Nations officially assumed this definition as the new development policy mainstream at the Copenhagen Summit on Social Development (1995) and in the Millennium Goals Declaration (2000). The theoretical shift directly impacts on migration theory, giving us the opportunity to better understand non-economic behaviours and stakes (De Haas 2009).
2. Migration can no longer be considered an independent and autonomous variable of development. It's time to embed 'the study of migration/development relationships in a much broader inter-disciplinary analysis of the development of social structures and relationships in the context of globalisation' (Castles 2008: 12). Here lies the possibility to understand historical and geopolitical peculiarities in migratory dynamics; and here, also, is the reason for more intensive engagement of theoretical sociology in providing frameworks and categories to migration and development studies. One example is represented by social scientists seeking to discuss and describe the relational but also cultural, symbolic and even moral contexts in which economic choices of migrants are embedded.
3. Migration theory needs to realize and to understand the 'heterogeneous nature of migration-development interactions as well as their contingency on spatial and temporal scales of analysis, which should forestall any blanket assertions on this issue' (De Haas 2010: 253). The structure–agency perspective has recently made social sciences able to better understand the complex interconnections that link subjectivity and context constraints and so to interpret more deeply the heterogeneity and reflexive-dependent character of social practices. The recent adoption of the structure–agency perspective by migration and development studies offers the possibility to consider migration practices as at the same time *influenced* by socio-economic and cultural (relational, symbolic and moral) schemes – orienting personal beliefs and behaviours – but also *influencing* them as outcomes of social interactions.

All these three issues imply that migration–development linkages have yet to be better understood and explained. Migration is not a natural phenomenon, completely separate from historical and political contexts on the one hand and individual and collective reactions to them on the other. And development does not appear suddenly, as the result of impersonal forces driving migrants to directly or indirectly support it. Migration can generate development only through intentional actions in which community wellbeing in migrants’ home countries is an important goal for individuals, associations and governments. Here we argue that the broader picture defining ‘intention’, will reveal the place for cultural, symbolic and moral dimensions of *community belonging*.

2 How the structure–agency approach reveals the cultural and symbolic dimensions of migrants’ practices

As we said above, the structure–agency perspective has recently made social sciences able to better understand the complex interconnections that link subjectivity and context constraints and so to interpret more deeply the heterogeneity and reflexive dependent character of social practices (Giddens 1981, 1984; Bourdieu 1984; Sewell 1992; Archer 1995; Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Stone 2005). The recent adoption of the structure–agency perspective in migration studies offers the possibility to consider migrants’ behaviours and acts as emerging social practices, at the same time *influenced* by socio-economic and cultural patterns – orienting personal beliefs and behaviours – but also *influencing* them as outcomes of social interactions (Morawska 2001; De Haas 2009, 2010; Bakewell 2010).

The keystone of this approach is generally recognized in Giddens’ conceptualization of ‘duality of structure’ (Giddens 1981, 1984), that he defines as ‘both the *medium* and the *outcome* of the practices which constitute social systems’ (Giddens 1981: 27). This means taking into account that socio-economical, political, cultural structures undoubtedly enforce and bind subjectivity on the one hand, but – on the other hand – they cannot do so completely because they are at the same time the effect of social practices of actors, whose *reflexive* competence gives them the power (agency) to frame and to transform the former.

The topic has been extensively discussed in recent years, and critics can be divided in two groups. Some contested radically the ‘duality of structure’ approach, proposing to overcome its (supposed) naivety or vagueness by reaffirming a more realistic ‘dualism’ between the ontological dimension of structural constraints and the interactional dimension of transforming agency (Archer 1995). Others focused their critiques on some specific aspects of Giddens’ proposal, such as underestimation of the degree to which rules and resources are differentiated according to class, sex, religion and so on (Thompson 1984: 165), or the shortage of empirical tests of the theoretical hypothesis.

The structure–agency debate helps us to discuss how migrant behaviours and practices are influenced by cultural (structural) frames (in particular by frames of communitarian identity), that are in turn to be understood as influenced by migrants’ subjective agency in which personal biographies, experiences, memories and projects really matter. In order to do this, recent advances in debate help us to better define the cultural and symbolic implications of this perspective, recognizing:

- *habitus* as a background and fundamental recognition of how cultural dynamics must never be separated from structural dynamics, and conflicts, that happen in social space (Bourdieu 1984; Stone 2005)
- *structure* as an immaterial system of pressures and constraints mediated through a cultural orienting scheme (Sewell 1992)
- *agency* as a temporally embedded subjective competence in interpreting and (sometimes) reacting to structural-based symbolic pressures (Emirbayer and Mische 1998).

2.1

Bourdieu (1984) defines *habitus* as a structuring and structured structure,³ thereby considering cultural attitudes as social forces at the same time forging individual practices and forged by structural dynamics. He argues that the division of classes produces (via socialization) distinctions in the *habitus* of different social groups; and that those distinctions therefore generate disparities, not only in the style of living of different social groups but also in their members' personal capability to be conscious of it. This is a very important point of view on the power of community (as cultural structure) to reproduce or abolish class divisions through migrant practices. But this also represents a very important indication of the asymmetry that exists within the two-way structure–agency relationship: when class divisions are really sharp, the possibility for structure to determine agency probably overwhelms the capability of agency to react (and, maybe, also to be conscious of its own capacity for a different self-determination). As Bourdieu wrote: 'what is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups and therefore of their mobilization and demobilisation' (1984: 479).

2.2

Putting Bourdieu's contribution into his *strong* version of structuration theory, Rob Stone (2005) proposes to conceive agency-structure relations as temporal-dynamic and organized into four analytical parts through which it is possible to understand (in the course of the time and through their practical routines) how people generate structures that, once produced, became autonomous and act independently of people's agency. In this approach, Stone proposes to consider the *habitus* as one of the *internal structures* of the structuration process and, more specifically, as 'paradigmatic' and 'transposable dispositions embedded and embodied within an agent as a matrix of perceptual and linguistic schemas, competencies, appreciations, typifications, morals, sentiments, know-how and so on' (Stone 2005: 23). This is an important link between Giddens' original intuitions (stressing, in contrast to macro-deterministic approaches, the role played by social meanings and personal sense in structuration processes) and the necessity to better clarify the very significant conditioning weight of structural differentiations. Individuals always have the capability to adopt alternative behaviours, but are more or less restricted by their consciousness of external structures, their level of personal assimilation of those forces through *habitus*, and their practical position which corresponds to the possibility to mobilize resources, power and knowledge to understand social dynamics.

³ 'The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes' (Bourdieu 1984: 170).

2.3

Sewell (1992) focuses on the cultural nature of structures, interpreting them as basically dependent on a conceptual framework built up collectively by actors during social interaction. Starting from Giddens' definition of structure as both *rules* and *resources* (Giddens 1984: 337), Sewell deepens the intersubjective and symbolic nature of them: a) defining the former as *cultural schemas* having virtual existence and making up structures through their actualization 'in a range of different circumstances' (Sewell 1992: 8); b) specifying that also the latter (and even nonhuman ones) become active in social life and gain value and power depending 'on the cultural schemas that inform their social use' (Sewell 1992: 12).

Culture (and intersubjectivity) thus became the fundamental structural dimension that orients people's behaviours and thoughts and that influences emerging social routines. But unlike the functionalist understanding of the relationship between cultural background and individual behaviours, this approach conceives cultural schemas as flexible and, in a certain way, relationally-dependent: agency makes people competent and sufficiently aware to reproduce, to transform, to transgress or even to mix and to innovate the available cultural schemas, (strategically) interpreting them in different ways or transporting them from one structural complex to another (Sewell 1992: 19–20). However, this does not happen without the contribution of individuals' values, projects, imaginations and aspirations (Sen 1999; De Haas 2009).

2.4

Drawing on Mead's theory of social interactions and Schutz's phenomenological analysis of time and consciousness, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) argue that *agency* is the individual extension of *reflective consciousness* in the social context; but they also specify that consciousness has to be basically understood as the outcome of personal actualization of its own *time experience* on the basis of relational constructed *systems of relevance*. This is the reason for their defining agency as 'the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal-relational context of action'. At the same time this underlines how agency faces problems posed by changing historical situations 'through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment' (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 970), in which the fundamental reasons for the relevance of cultural and symbolic dimensions in structuration processes are embedded.

Borrowing from these authors, I argue that the specific, culturally embedded ways in which people remember their past events, give them sense, interact with others sharing meanings in the present, imagine, talk about, negotiate and make commitments to their future 'influence their degree of freedom and manoeuvrability in relation to existing structures' (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 985).

This analysis is very deeply rooted in the phenomenological perspective, and in particular in Schutz's understanding of time and experience from which we gathered that 'every experience takes its meaning from all the past experiences that relate to it and from all the future experiences that it anticipates' (Muzzetto 2006: 16). Nevertheless, in Schutz's theory of social action the core unifying aspect of the time dynamic is undoubtedly represented by the *present* that represents the 'here and now' from which people can think of the past and of the future, planning their action to perform in the external world, and successively activating the relevant systems (*ibid*: 18).

Referring explicitly to Schutz, Emirbayer and Mische show the three main mechanisms (*iterations, projectivity, practical evaluation*) that reveal how time and consciousness matter in defining present agency competence in order to produce meanings orienting actual individual and collective actions (*agentic orientations*), which in turn ‘constitute different structuring relationships of actors toward their environments’ (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 1007).

1. *Iteration* (that corresponds to the role of *habits* in social actions) refers to ‘the selective reactivation by actors of past patterns of thought and action, as routinely incorporated in practical activity, thereby giving stability and order to social universes and helping to sustain identities, interactions, and institutions over time’;
2. *Projectivity* (that corresponds to the *imagination*) encompasses ‘the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors’ hopes, fears, and desires for the future’;
3. *Practical evaluation* (that corresponds to *judgement* competency) entails ‘the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgments among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations’ (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 971).

From this point, I will apply these remarks of the structure–agency debate to the migrants’ experiences of community as both their symbolic and practical fundamental life space. The foregoing discussions enable us to affirm that, using the focus provided by this perspective, community has to be conceived as *symbolic structure*, having three main characteristics:

- community is a structuring and structured structure which acts as *cultural schema*, providing people with normative, cognitive and symbolic rules and resources (Sewell 1992)
- community is not neutral, because it contains, manages and reproduces structural divisions socializing *distinguishing habitus* (Bourdieu 1984) which constitute one of the main constraints for individual agency (Stone 2005)
- community emerges in social actors’ consciousness as embedded in a temporal-relational dynamic resulting from 1) the *dialectic* between *personal and social meanings* and 2) the interplay of different *temporal levels of social experience*: reference to the *past* experience of community (iteration), imagination of *future* experience of community (projectivity), reflection on *actual* community experienced by actors (practical evaluation) (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Here lies the possibility for agency to challenge, transform and even subvert structural constraints.

In the next paragraphs I will discuss if and how the above mentioned reflections about community as sociological category (that we have discussed from the structure-agency perspective) can now be more specifically applied to better understand the symbolic and cultural role of migrants’ community (as empirical practice) in orienting migrants’ behaviours.

Community as cultural compass in migrants' experience

3.1 Community as cultural schemas

Migrants' practices evoke community as their premise and, at the same time, as their destination. People migrate, aggregate, remit, return on the basis of the experience of community they have, and all these practices are – at the same time – the means whereby they support and/or transform this fundamental experience.

But which and whose community are we speaking about? We believe that community should be considered first of all as a symbolic construction: a cognitive (and at the same time moral) *compass*, generated through the meeting of social interactions and personal biographies, in order to provide members with resources and repositories that make them able to produce meanings orienting their own identities (Cohen 1985), symbolic belongings and moral responsibilities (Lacroix 2010a).

Community has therefore to be understood as a complex symbolic instrument, used at the same time by members to define and to present themselves-as-a-whole to the outside world, and to give sense individually to their own lives and experiences. This is strategic in relation to migrants' experience in the global era, when the 'symbolic role of community and its boundaries increases in importance as the actual geo-social boundaries of the community are undermined, blurred or otherwise weakened. Evidence to substantiate this thesis may be found not only in settled communities, but also among those whose members have been dispersed and for whom rituals provide occasion to reconstitute the community' (Cohen 1985: 50–1).

Assuming community as a symbolic and cultural construct is not, obviously, an expected outcome. We have to abandon the idea that communities are the traces of ancient relational schemas persisting in the modern era, and conceive of them as specific modern social action patterns based on processes of symbolic building produced during social interaction by individuals, and at the same time orienting them.

Structure–agency approaches shed light on the structural-systemic and the subjective dynamics that affect community, considering it at the same time as a cultural framework determining actors' beliefs and behaviours and the aggregate result of their collective actions.

3.2 Community formation and habitus

Undoubtedly, socio-economic and political bonds represent the basic structural dimensions defining the possibilities and degrees of freedom in migrants' communitarian experience. The Marxist sociological tradition in particular marks the role of social relations of production (that is, the power equilibrium emerging from control of the means of production by one social class) in determining the ideological justification for social stratification and also the communitarian symbolic frames orienting social practices (Morin 2010). Recently, world system theory (Wallerstein 1979) argued that geopolitical constraints not only affected nations' position in the worldwide general dependency system, but also determined the collective consciousness of its rightness through arguments like racism and sexism that justify subordination of social groups coming from the outlying regions or from the apartheid enclaves of the capitalist system (Wallerstein 1990). The new forms (post-

statal, flexible, decentralized) of global power and sovereignty distribute different political entitlements to different people according to their position in the globalized market and through ideological labelling, in many cases based on communitarian or ethnic designations. Migration management and forced migration, in this case, could be understood as a generalized process of class selection into the new *imperial* frame of world system (Hardt and Negri 2001), whose impact on individuals' agency is really dependent on their socio-economic position (Cohen 2006).

As we have just seen, Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* reveals how (old and new) class disparities in capital provision forge distinguishing cultural attitudes and consequent social practices in people's everyday life (Bourdieu 1984), perhaps also affecting their communitarian consciousness and experience. Low capital provision and huge subordination within the international class divisions are generally associated with people's strong affection for traditional and undisputed communitarian frames; on the other hand, greater capital provision (economic, but also cultural and social) and a higher position in world class divisions are generally associated with more personal and post-modern attitudes towards community. We have to bear this conclusion in mind when reflecting on migrants' communitarian practices, because people from the under classes generally have at their disposal fewer cultural instruments and capital than people from the upper classes, in the same way as migrants from underdeveloped countries have fewer opportunities than non-migrants from developed countries, and refugees, forced or smuggled migrants have fewer opportunities than other migrant groups.

3.3 Community as dialectic between social and personal meanings

3.3.1 Social meanings of the communitarian experience

Analysing community from the structural point of view mainly gives evidence of its external and coercive nature in respect to the individual, and shows it as a structure that orients the individual's behaviours and thoughts, threatening to deprive him or her of the fundamental legacy of his or her own belonging (Pizzorno 1998). From this point of view, the communitarian experience represents the final output of a complex process of actors' conformity to the symbolic and moral framework of a reference group, through which they can answer their personal request for identity and differentiation. Nowadays the need for communitarian identities seems to revive in migrant groups, especially in those where ethnic belonging constitutes the strongest tool in facing integration difficulties and the other negative aspects of migration.

Durkheim inspired a great deal of twentieth-century sociology with the idea of *collective consciousnesses* overwhelming individual ones in the (archaic) communitarian setting, and still dominating social life in the modern era. This fundamental intuition about the moral and also cognitive weight of community as a 'social fact' has been transposed into the more refined functionalistic sociology approach that studied in depth how tradition and community constitute a sacred area reproduced through socialization processes, and which people confirm through their social action, at the risk of identity betrayal. Although it refuses functionalistic approaches, diffusionist contemporary anthropology explores the fundamental orienting role of community and social identity, showing both as part of an original public experience (the 'village') that provides individuals with 'primordial loyalties': adhesion deriving from the sense of 'givenness' of social experience like speaking a certain

language, professing a certain religious faith, belonging to a certain family, coming from a certain history, living in a certain place (Geertz 1999: 86).

Globalization has not eliminated in any way the weight of communitarian images of social life, which on the contrary maintain an important power to orient individual behaviours and thoughts (Robertson 1992). Recent literature on community in the globalization era in fact covers a very broad range of communitarian patterns that we can assume as cultural schemas orienting social practices (Anderson 1991; Badie 1995; Sennett 1998; Bauman 2001). Using social identity as a mark of structurally-built community, it is possible to distinguish at least four specific (ideal) types of community patterns orienting (as structural push forces) individual behaviours. The first two are characterized by *group closure to others*; the second two, on the contrary, by *group openness*.

1. *Defensive* community pattern: the sense of community emerges as a consequence of collective reaction to external threats and of consequent mobilization in order to face common adversities. This can be the case of ethnic groups' loyalties and constraints described through the concept of 'bonded solidarity' (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). It can be the case of many ethnic or religious enclaves around the world, in general closed to outside society and defensive of their own linguistic and socio-cultural specificity.
2. *Secessionist* community pattern: the sense of community emerges as a consequence of the individual will to separate from similar others, assuming distinctive (but at the same time stereotyped) habits and identity, and so meeting together with other secessionists only as the sum of singularities into an empty and reassuring new (and in some cases also 'virtual') community. This can be the case of new globalized elite clubs or networks described by the concepts of 'dummy' (Bauman 2001) and 'ideological' (Sennett 1998) community. It can be the case of some transnational business elites, such as the Taiwan and Hong Kong entrepreneurs who established businesses in the USA, obtaining permanent residence permits and bringing their families to live in Monterey Park, while they themselves continue to commute across the Pacific as 'astronauts' (Portes 2000; Fong 1994).
3. *Strategic* community pattern: in this type of community people are socialized or otherwise habituated to be in a relationship with others which assumes networking as a strategic dimension of social life, in order to negotiate from heterogeneous perspectives a shared definition of the public sphere (Sennett 1998) or to face common challenges (such as ecological catastrophes, for instance) that threaten people living in the same territory (Badie 1995). This could be the case of the first people that migrated to North America from all around Europe and who were in a certain way compelled by history to create new inter-ethnic procedures to cope with common problems and defend common interests.
4. *Moral* community pattern: there are cases in which the sense of community emerges as a social normative prescription to recognize the stranger and the different one, on the basis of an ideological belief in the commonality of anthropological or socio-economic conditions, interests, strengths and (in a certain way) destiny. Theoretically it is the case of the Marxist concept of self-aware 'class', or (more recently) the idea of 'ethical community' described by Bauman (Bauman 2001). More pragmatically, in the migratory experience, it could represent the case of political exiles or refugees showing solidarity with each other in answering a meta-individual

moral task; or that of people from the same villages who associate with each other to maintain links and demonstrate allegiance to the home community (Lacroix 2010b).

But the meanings expressed in the four community patterns described here cannot cover or completely explain how communitarian patterns join with individual and social behaviour and attitudes. Despite structural pressure (which generally associates positively underprivileged structural conditions with attitudes of community closure), in fact, individual modulations and reactions to them have to be taken into consideration. To do so, it is now necessary to add the agency point of view in reflecting about what community represents in migrants' experience.

3.3.2 Personal meanings of the communitarian experience

Analysing community from an agency point of view gives us evidence of how every social community experience is closely associated with the modern (or post-modern) individualization process and with the search for *personal identity* and *recognition*, which in turn express the intimate individual quest for sense; this happens also in the harshest migrant experiences.

Barry Wellman (2002) argued that in the era of globalization the 'little boxes' of traditional belongings have been almost dissolved and have been generally replaced by multiple sets of individual networks which people use as their own fundamental relational contexts. But community has not been deleted by social networks and people continue to express an intimate need for it, although in inappropriate or contradictory ways (Bauman, 2001). Michael Maffesoli (1997) specifies that communities (in Tönnies' sense (1957) of groups with *Wesenwille*) do not emerge from every system of social interactions, but only from an extraordinary experience of departure from and breaking of everyday institutional routines of social interaction that makes actors able to find (as 'nomads' do with oasis) fragments of real warm-hearted sociality.

As we saw in previous paragraphs, community provides individuals with *social meanings* (embedded in primordial loyalties or socialized through cultural identity formation processes). However, individuals contribute to building their community on the base of *personal claims for identification and recognition*, that cannot in any way be completely reduced to the meanings which are culturally produced and socially made available (Crespi 2004).

The form of community that emerges transcends routines and reveals the possibility for Ego to meet Alter as a concrete and free *Other*. As anthropologists have said, this can happen during specific ritual processes (Turner 1969) but it can happen also through dramatic experiences of social and cultural shock like migration, when individuals find themselves living as strangers in a new social and cultural context, without support or certainty of either the motherland or the arrival society (Sayad 1999). Also in these cases it is possible to distinguish at least four specific (ideal) types of personal communitarian attitudes, deriving from as many specific directions of the individual quest for identification and recognition.

1. *Spiritual harmony*: this is the case described by Tönnies (1957) speaking of *friendship*, in which individuals practise reciprocal spiritual connection and cooperation, emerging from their personal creative and constitutive will

(*Wesenwille*) to experience intimate concord (*cum-cordia*). Community membership, in this case, means being recognized as *friend*, and pragmatically this relationship can be seen at work in transnational migrant networks helping newcomers to arrive and integrate into new, strange and sometimes even hostile societies (Lacroix 2010b).

2. *Heroic sacrifice*: in this case, individuals find the community through their acceptance of being part of a greater *destiny* (i.e. ethnicity, homeland, nation, party) to which everyone must sacrifice themselves – if necessary, to the point of death. Community membership, in this case, means being recognized as a *hero*, and more pragmatically it can justify the social role of young members who decide to migrate abroad alone and as real pioneers in order to provide their family at home with indispensable economic resources (Lucas and Stark 1985).
3. *Sacred union*: this is the case described by Durkheim, and more recently actualized by Maffesoli (1997), in which individuals perceive the ‘we’-dimension as a sacred sphere of their own experience, that provides them collectively and also personally with ‘solidarity’ and ‘intelligence of morality’, that are both crucial antidotes against social disintegration. Community membership, in this case, means being recognized as *devotee* and more pragmatically it can be seen at work as the main attitude characterizing relationships in migrant communities based very deeply on cultural belonging, like the Senegalese Mourides (Grillo and Riccio 2004), whose members really assume community as their own normative framework.
4. *Free responsibility*: this is the case dealt with by Nancy (1986) and Boltanski (1990), although from different perspectives and according to different approaches. They both underline how individuals perceive the sense of community in even fleeting personal relations of mutual recognition and dedication, whose main ingredients consist in absolutely free gifting of time and dialogue and through which people practise free responsible caring for the other. Community membership, in this case, means being recognized as *lover* (obviously not in the sexual meaning) and this special type of attitude can be seen at work in every relation involving migrants on the basis of unselfish mutual help.

3.4 Community as interplay of different temporal levels of experience

Matching community social patterns and personal attitudes represents only the first and (we can say) archetypical way of understanding how communities emerge as orienting ideas and how they really impact on social practices. In researching the actual dynamics of community, we must also consider the reflexive and dialectic nature of agency that uses and combines different layers of *consciousness* and *temporality* (Emirbayer and Mische 2001; Muzzetto 2006). There is thus another level of interaction between personal sense and social meanings of community, embedded in the temporal-relational dynamics of individual and social consciousness.

According to Emirbayer and Mische’s analysis, community emerges as a cultural framework through agents’ reinterpretation of temporal experiences (past, future, present) and structural crystallizing of them into a symbolic pattern (social memory, collective projects, relational frameworks) always affecting-and-affected-by social practices. It is possible to distinguish three different layers of temporal-relational flow that affect community construction as ‘agentic orientation’ formation:

1. *Community belonging*, that corresponds to the social habits embedded in traditional identity, ethnicity, memory, etc. and that becomes actual through selective processes operated in the present by individual agents influenced by culturally constructed systems of relevance.
2. A *community project* that corresponds to the projective capability embedded in future expectations, dreams, imaginings, etc. and that becomes actual (like the previous one) through selective processes operated in the present by individual agents influenced by culturally constructed systems of relevance.
3. A *community network*, that constitutes the present set of social relations, interactions, conflicts and negotiations, in which people recognize, identify and evaluate their own communitarian membership. It is influenced by the two other dimensions of the temporal-relational definition of community, and at the same time influences them. It is crucial to underline how this layer represents the only way in which the imagined past and future of the community create 'agentic orientation' (being equally influenced by it as much as the other two); the reason is easily understood if we remember what Schutz says about 'ego-working' experience and the present-time dependency of significance systems.

4 How community affects the migration–development nexus

Agent-structure approaches make us able to conceive community as a social system emerging from interaction between an institutional complex of communitarian rules and resources (structure) on the one hand – and, on the other hand, actors' personal capabilities to use and modify them in order first of all to answer to their own quest for sense and, consequently, to act in the society (agency). Real community formation and power thus depend on the outputs of dialectics between community as structural construction and as agency creation. And these outputs do influence development (via migrant social and economic behaviours). Our theoretical investigation into the structure–agency approach enables us to select four distinct ideal steps of that dialectic process:

1. The socio-economic structure binds (via habitus formation and socialization) the form, the amplitude and the strength of old and new social networks in which migrants are involved and embedded;
2. Social networks provide migrants with specific resources and roles (cognitive, symbolic and normative) that they use as a system of relevance in recognizing and defining those social spaces as their own community;
3. Personal and social memories of past community (also evoked as a myth) on the one hand and personal/social imagination of the future destiny of the community on the other, impact on the actual definition of the migrants' community and on members' definition of their own position, role, mission, engagement in it;
4. Migrants' communitarian identity acts as their agentic orientation in mobilizing them towards their community development, so also radically transforming both socio-economic structural constraints and their own networks' configurations (and here restarting the process from point 1).

Let us briefly elucidate these four points:

4.1 From socio-economic development to social networks

Since the early 1990s, reflection on dislocated social relations gained theoretical and applied research support provided by a new generation of studies on the translocal and transnational character of migratory processes. These were characterized initially by an anthropological focus on case studies (Glick Schiller et al. 1992), and later by a sociological focus on typification of transnational practices, seeking for a mid-range theory of transnationalism (Portes 2000; Portes et al. 1999) as useful concept both in further contrast to ‘methodological nationalism’ (Beck 2007; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) and in understanding how to include cultural and symbolic dimensions in the migration experience (Vertovec 2004).

Migrants’ relations and networks became new keywords to update sociological reflection on ‘relational spaces’ in the global era (Faist 2000), giving rise to some new analytical categories, such as *transnational communities* (Portes 2000) or *diasporas* (Cohen 2008). Although some critics argue they are not sufficiently precise and thus they remain ambiguous, vague and too generic in many of their applications (Brubaker 2005; Faist 2008), these categories undoubtedly are of importance in representing new and innovative phenomena.

But transnational social networks are not all the same. Their size, heterogeneity, power and also self-awareness (even for their members) are all dependent variables of macro-structural issues such as the geopolitical role of the country of origin, the members’ ethnic identity, their type of insertion into the destination country’s labour markets, and so on. Undoubtedly highly skilled migrants’ social networks will be wider, more heterogeneous, powerful and conscious than those of the unskilled; at the same time regular migrants’ networks will be more integrated, interactive, and interdependent in host spaces than those of irregular or forced or even smuggled or trafficked migrants; and so on.

4.2 From social networks to definitions of community (via the personal–social dialectic)

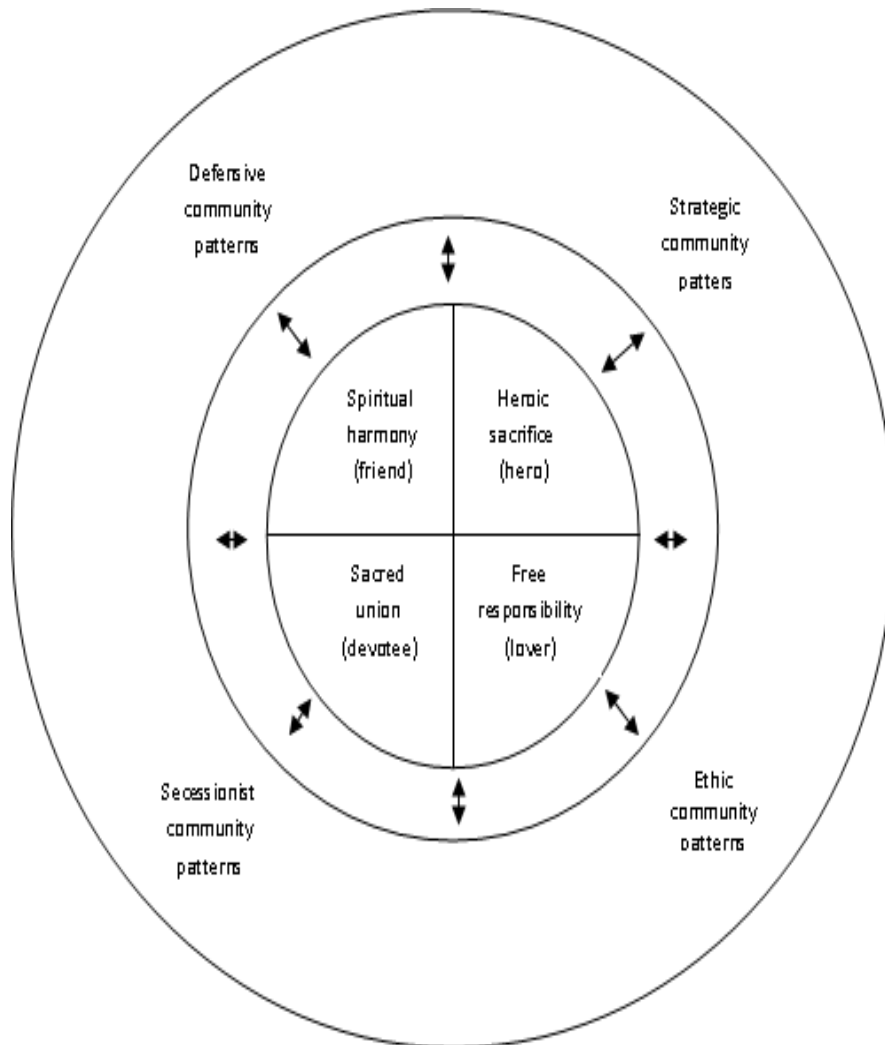
Being a member of a specific social network doesn’t mean recognizing it as one’s own community. It constitutes its necessary premise, but community belonging needs to add personal meaning to this structural evidence.

If we try to operationalize this process, using the eight (ideal) types that have been previously identified, it becomes possible to represent graphically how people’s community ideas and practices individually emerge into a dialectic tension between personal attitudes in defining community belonging (sacrifice, responsibility, union, harmony) and socially constructed and available community patterns (defensive, strategic, ethical, secessionist).

This schema helps us to visualize better how there could be as many different communitarian frameworks as there are possible combinations of structural patterns and personal attitudes (see Figure 1). So we could have situations in which defensive community patterns associate with individual heroic attitudes and – in a certain way – also with devotional ones (in the case of policy-engaged hometown associations, for instance), and others in which strategic communitarian meanings combine with friendship and sacrifice (that is the case of ethics-based solidarity between migrant newcomers), or where

normative openness of relational patterns is associated with a free sense of responsibility between members (as happens in transmigrant households).

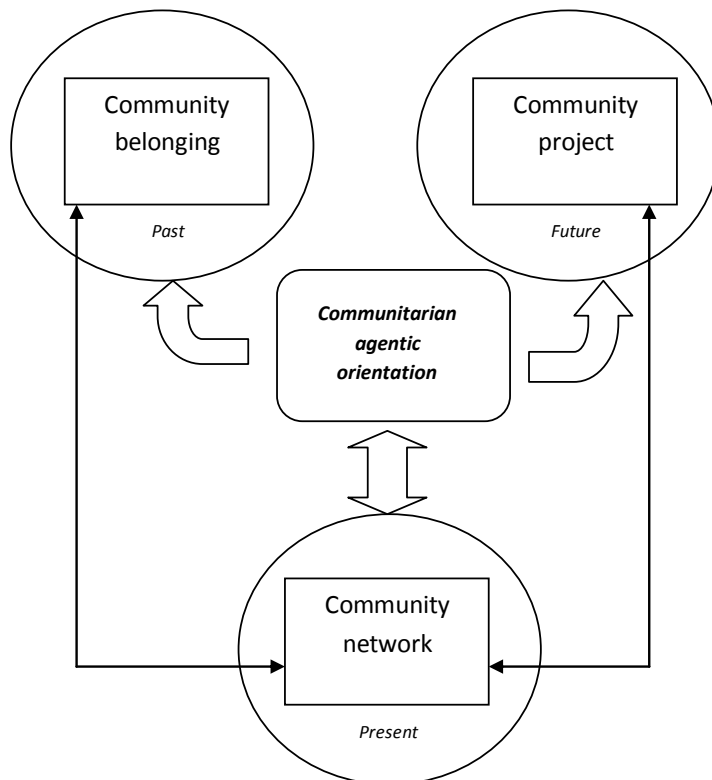
Figure 1: Personal–social dynamics in community emergence (sense-meaning interaction)



4.3 From social network to definition of community (via temporal–relational dynamics)

Each of the three layers that we have described above (community belonging, community projects and community network) each represents an arena, in which lies the *personal–social level* of the dynamics, mixing individual habits with structural patterns of the community. Reciprocal interplay of the three arenas gives form and substance to community-based *agentic orientation* influencing migrants’ practices (and, obviously, being influenced by them).

Figure 2: Temporal-relational dynamics in community emergence



This seems to be an interesting viewpoint from which to analyse migrants' practices, because it focuses on how what we generally identify as a *sense of community* is in reality the outcome of sense-meaning dynamics deeply embedded in the temporal-relational dimension of migrants' experience, in which individual and social perspectives influence each other reciprocally (see Figure 2). But a better understanding of the real complexity of sense of community and of the processes that make it able to orient the agents, at the same time is very useful to better identify which dimensions (like heroic attitudes, defensive social patterns and ethnic openness) and at which levels (like traditional loyalties, future expectations and actual social exclusion), are involved. We can therefore identify specific *cultural schemas* orienting migrant practices and perhaps also provide corresponding fields of policy intervention.

4.4 From definition of community to socio-economic development (again)

All contemporary scholars concur on the concept of transnational communities as a key factor sustaining migratory individual and also collective projects over time (Portes 2008). These act not only at household or strictly kinship level, as initially theorized by the New Economics of Labour Migration (Massey et al. 1993), but also as a vehicle of migrant relational commitment in a broader transnational social space (Faist 2000), in which both those left behind and countrymen abroad, co-ethnic group members and stranger employers, public officers and colleagues take part.

Transnational migrant communities are responsible for the cultural and symbolic transformation of migrants' experience at two levels:

1. They generate, disseminate and reinforce (or distort) collective perceptions about migration stakes. That is what cumulative causation theory highlighted in speaking of the social construction of expectations, and arguing how this rapidly becomes a cultural framework that people (especially youths) assimilate via anticipatory socialization processes.
2. They may generate new transnational organizations, providing members with a new source of belonging and facilities. This is not a direct outcome of transnational communities' institutionalization, and still less an outcome of every established network (migrants' characteristics and local constraints make the difference). However, the duration of migration and migrants' relations with those left behind generally constitute the main conditions for establishing and developing transnational organizations. Transnational migrants' organizations follow a developmental pattern, starting from sharing internal functional relationships but then strengthening their role as communities, providing identity recognition, prestige and also power to their members.

Community belonging acts as a cultural compass in determining migrants' attitudes towards their home country development. Strong communitarian membership is generally associated with real engagement in the development issues of members left behind (as part of the collective self), but varies depending on the migrant networks' structural features, the way in which migrants define networks as their own communities, the effects of past communitarian memories and future communitarian imaginations on actual communitarian experience and perception. Marginal and dependent migrant networks often generate community as enclaves (claiming a nostalgic past or an eschatological future), and so promote development generally as a private affair (at least so far as the enclave doesn't change into a revolutionary elite); on the other hand, well integrated and powerful migrant networks generally generate more easily transnational communities, which can engage in development together with their members left behind and, sometimes, also with home-country institutions.

Conclusions

Migration is a complex social phenomenon in which historical and political contexts impact and interact with individual and collective reactions to them. This is the reason why development does not appear suddenly as the result of impersonal forces driving migrants to directly or indirectly support it. In this paper I have argued that migration can generate development only through intentional actions putting migrant home-countries' community wellbeing at the heart for individual, associational and governmental interventions, thus appreciating the explicit role of cultural, symbolic and moral dimensions of *community belonging*.

As indicated earlier in the paper, the recent debate about structure–agency dynamics reveals three characteristics of the role of community (both ideological and behavioural) in migrants' practices:

- community is a structuring and structured structure which acts as *cultural schema*, giving people normative, cognitive and symbolic rules and resources (Sewell 1992)
- community is not neutral, because it contains, manages and reproduces structural divisions socializing *distinguishing habitus* (Bourdieu 1984), which constitutes one of the main constraints for individual agency (Stone 2005)
- community emerges in social actors' consciousness as embedded in a temporal-relational dynamic resulting from 1) the *dialectic* between *personal and social meanings* and 2) the interplay of different *temporal levels of social experience*. These comprise reference to the *past* experience of community (iteration), imagination of *future* experience of community (projectivity) and reflection on *actual* community experienced by actors (practical evaluation) (Emirbayer and Mische 1998).

Community is a social system emerging from interaction between an institutional complex of communitarian rules and resources (structure) – on the one hand – and, on the other hand, actors' abilities to modify these rules and resources in order to answer their own quest for sense and to act in the society (agency). Real community formation and power depend therefore on the outputs of dialectics between community as structural construction and as agency creation. These outputs influence development (via migrant social and economic behaviours).

As argued earlier, our theoretical investigation into the structure–agency approach allowed us to choose four ideal steps in that dialectic process:

1. The socio-economic structure binds (via habitus formation and socialization) the form, the amplitude and the strength of old and new social networks in which migrants are involved and embedded;
2. Social networks provide migrants with specific resources and roles (both cognitive, symbolic and normative) that they use as a system of relevance in recognizing and defining those social spaces as their own community;
3. Personal and social memories of past community (also evoked as a myth) on the one hand and personal/social imagination of the community's future destiny on the other, impact on the actual definition of migrants' community and on members' definition of their own position, role, mission, and engagement in it;
4. Migrants' communitarian identity acts as their agentic orientation in mobilizing them towards their community development, thus also radically transforming both socio-economic structural constraints and their own networks' configurations (and here restarting the process from point 1).

So, community belonging acts as a cultural compass helping to determine migrants' attitudes towards the development of their home country. It adds its ideological role to other structural factors, but never in a dependent or marginalized way, because structural and subjective factors always dynamically interact. Strong communitarian membership is thus generally associated with real engagement in the development issues of members left behind (as part of the collective self), but varies depending on the migrants' networks structural features, the way in which migrants define networks as their own communities, the results of past communitarian memories and future communitarian imaginations on actual communitarian experience and perceptions.

References

- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Archer, M. S. (1995) *Realist Social Theory: the Morphogenetic Approach*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Badie, B. (1995) *La fin des territoires. Essai sur le desordre international et sur l'utilite sociale du respect*, Paris: Fayard.
- Bakewell, O. (2010) 'Some reflections on structure and agency in migration theory', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(10): 1689–708.
- Bale, J. (1991) *The Brawn Drain: Foreign Student-Athletes in American Universities*, Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2001) *Missing Community*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beck, U. (2007) 'Beyond class and nation: reframing social inequalities in a globalizing world', *The British Journal of Sociology* 58(4): 679–705.
- BI-The Berne initiative (2005) *International Agenda for Migration Management*, Berne.
- Boltanski, L. (1990) *L'Amour et la Justice comme competence. Trois essais de sociologie de l'action*, Paris: Metallie.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, New York and London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (original edition: *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: Minuit, 1979).
- Brubaker, R. W. (2005) 'The "diaspora" diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1): 1–19.
- Carling, J. (2008) 'Interrogating Remittances: Core Questions for Deeper Insight and Better Policies', in S.Castles and R.Delgado-Wise (eds.) *Migration and Development: Perspectives from the South*, Geneva: IOM.
- Castles, S. (2008) 'Development and Migration – Migration and Development: What Comes First?', *SSRC Migration and Development Conference Paper n.2*, Migration and Development: Future Direction for Research and Polity, 28 February – 1 March.
- CeSPI (2003) 'More development for less migration' or 'Better migration for more development'? *Shifting priorities in the European debate*, Migration Research Programme, December.
- Cohen, A. P. (1985) *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Routledge.
- Cohen, R. (2006) *Migration and Its Enemies: Global Capital, Migrant Labour and the Nation-State*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Cohen, R. (2008) *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, London: Routledge.
- Crespi, F. (2004) *Identità e riconoscimento nella sociologia contemporanea*, Bari-Roma: Laterza.
- De Haas, H. (2009) 'Mobility and Human Development', *Human Development Research Papers 2009/01*, UNDP.

- De Haas, H. (2010) 'Migration and development: a theoretical perspective', *International Migration Review* 44(1).
- Emirbayer, M. and A. Mische (1998) 'What is agency?', *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (8).
- Faist, T. (2000) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Faist, T. (2008) 'Migrants as transnational development agents: an inquiry into the newest round of migration–development nexus', *Population, Space and Place* 14: 21–42.
- Faist, T. (2010) 'Academic Knowledge, Policy and the Public Role of Social Scientists. The Case of Migration and Development', *COMCAD Working Papers*, N.71.
- Fong, T. P. (1994) *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Frank, A. G. (1978) *Development Accumulation and Underdevelopment*, London: Macmillan.
- Geertz, C. (1999) *Mondo globale, mondi locali. Cultura e politica alla fine del XXI secolo*, Bologna: Il Mulino.
- GFMD (2009) *Opening address of H.E. Mr. Ban Ki-Moon*, Secretary General of the United Nations, at the Third Global Forum on Migration and Development, Athens, 4-5 november 2009, www.un.org/esa/population/migration/Opening_remarks_SG_Athens.pdf.
- Giddens, A. (1981) *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*, London: Hutchinson.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Glick Schiller, N., L. Basch and C. Blanc-Szanton (1992) 'Toward a transnationalization of migration: race, class, ethnicity and nationalism reconsidered', *The Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 645.
- Grillo, R. and B. Riccio (2004) 'Translocal development: Italy–Senegal', *Population, Space and Place* 10(2): 99–111.
- Hardt M. and A. Negri (2001) *Empire*, Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Hettne, B. (1990) *Developing Theory and the Three Worlds*, Halsted Press.
- Lacroix, T. (2010a) 'Bonding Collective? The Moral Infrastructures of Transnational Hometown Networks', IMI Working Paper 27, Oxford: International Migration Institute.
- Lacroix, T. (2010b) 'Hometown Organizations and Development Practices', IMI Working Paper 28, Oxford: International Migration Institute.
- Lucas, R. E. B. and O. Stark (1985) 'Motivations to remit: evidence from Botswana', *The Journal of Political Economy* 93(5).
- Maffesoli, M. (1997) *Du nomadisme. Vagabondages initiatique*, Paris: Librairie generale francaise.
- Massey, D. S. et al. (1993) 'Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal', *Population and Development Review* 19(3).

- McMichael, P. (2007) *Development and Social Change: a Global Perspective*, Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Morawska, E. (2001) 'Structuring migration: the case of Polish income-seeking travelers to the West', *Theory and Society* 30.
- Morin, E. (2010) *Pro e contro Marx. Ritrovarlo sotto le macerie dei marxismi*, Trento: Erickson.
- Muzzetto, L. (2006) 'Time and meanings in Alfred Schütz', *Time and Society* 15 (1).
- Nancy, J. L. (1986) *La communauté désœuvrée*, Paris: Burgois.
- Olimova, S. and I. Bosc (2003) *Labour Migration from Tajikistan*, Geneva: IOM.
- Pizzorno, A. (1998) *Why pay for petrol? Notes for a theory of social capital*, <http://huss.exeter.ac.uk/politics/research/socialcapital/papers/pizzorno.pdf>.
- Portes, A. (2000) 'Globalization from Below. The Rise of Transnational Communities', in D. Kelb, M. van der Land, R. Staring, B. van Steenberger, and N. Wilterdink (eds.) *The Ends of Globalization: Bringing Society Back In*, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Portes, A. (2008) 'Migration and Development: a Conceptual Review of the Evidence', in S. Castles and R. Delgado-Wise (eds.) *Migration and Development: Perspectives from the South*, Geneva: IOM.
- Portes, A., L. E. Guarnizo and P. Landolt (1999) 'The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(2).
- Portes, A. and J. Sensenbrenner (1993) 'Embeddedness and immigration: notes on the social determinants of economic action', *The American Journal of Sociology* 98(6).
- Raghuram, P. (2009) 'Which migration, what development? Unsetting the edifice of migration and development', *Population Space and Place* 15.
- Ratha, D., S. Mohapatra and A. Silwal (2010) 'Outlook for Remittance Flows 2010-11. Remittance flows to developing countries remained resilient in 2009, expected to recover during 2010-11', *Migration and Development Brief*, n.12, April 23, New York: World Bank.
- Rist, G. (1996) *Le développement. Histoire d'une croyance occidentale*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Politiques.
- Robertson, R. (1992) *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage.
- Sayad, A. (1999) *La double absence: des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré*, Paris: Seuil.
- Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sennett, R. (1998) *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, New York: Norton.
- Sewell, W.H. Jr (1992) 'A theory of structure: duality, agency and transformation', *American Journal of Sociology* 96(1).
- Skeldon, R. (1997) *Migration and Development: A Global Interpretation*, London: Longman.
- Stiglitz, J. E. (2002) *Globalization and Its Discontent*, New York: Norton.
- Stone, R. (2005) *Structuration Theory*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Thompson, J. B. (1984) *Study in Theory of Ideology*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Tönnies, F. (1957) *Community & Society*, East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press (original edition: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1887).
- Turner, V. W. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Vertovec, S. (2004) 'Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation', *International Migration Review* 38(3): 970–1001.
- Wallerstein, I. (1979) *The Capitalist World-Economy*, Cambridge and Paris: Cambridge University Press & Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Wallerstein, I. (1990) 'Culture as the ideological battleground of the modern world-system', *Theory, Culture & Society* 7: 31–55.
- Wellman, B. (2002) 'Little Boxes, Glocalization and Networked Individualism', in M.Tanabe, P.van den Besselaar and T.Ishida (eds.) *Digital Cities II: Computational and Sociological Approaches*, Berlin: Springer.
- Wimmer, A. and N. Glick Schiller (2002) 'Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences', *Global Networks* 2(4): 301–34.
- Zelinsky, W. (1971) 'The hypothesis of the mobility transition', *Geographical Review* 61(2): 219–49.