

A 70TH BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE
TO
RUSSELL KING

Compiled and edited

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Russell King: The Great Unwritten Chapter in the History of Migration Studies
Michael Collyer and Julie Vullnetari

CHARACTER APPRECIATION

- Russell: The Man, The Scholar
Peggy Levitt
- Russell: Scholar, Teacher, Team Player
Rinus Penninx
- Mass Migration: From Intuition to Reality
Armando Montanari

ISLANDS

- One Man and the Islands
John Connell
- Islands, Migration and Imagination
Robin Cohen

RETURN MIGRATION

- Russell King: Back to Bernalda
Anthony Fielding
- To Return or Not to Return: That is the Question
Richard Black
- Africa Calling Russell King
Maria Abranches

COUNTER-DIASPORIC RETURN

- Reflections on a Joint Research Monograph
Anastasia Christou
- Russell King: A Designer of Reversible Figures
Rainer Bauböck
- A Pioneer's World and Beyond: Exploring New Territories, Expanding Knowledge
Nilay Kılinc
- A Narrative from Just One More Counter-Diasporic Migrant
João Sardinha
- Return Migration: Still Neglected?
Jade Cemre Erciyes

AGEING, GENERATIONS AND MIGRATION

- The Age Extremes: Theorising Age in Migration Research
Zana Vathi
- Sunset Lives: Research at the Interface of Migration, Tourism and Social Gerontology
Allan Williams

- The Entwined Processes of Human Experience: Russell King's Approach to Ageing and Migration
Aija Lulle

AGE, GENDER, INTERSECTIONALITY, INNOVATION

- Gender, Age and Generations: A State-of-the-Art Report
Nahwembe Binaisa
- The Innovation and Interdisciplinarity of Russell King
Lena Näre and Janine Teerling
- Life Has Come Full Circle: Leicester to Dublin and Back, *Not* by Way of New York!
Henrietta O'Connor
- Why Studying Transient Invisible Migrants is Important
Allan Findlay
- Understanding European Onward Migration
Jill Ahrens

GEOGRAPHY, PLACE, SPACE AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

- The Three Faces of Social Inequality: State Domination, Economic Exploitation, Cultural Binaries. A Short Essay in Honour of Russell King
Thomas Faist
- Mobile People Looking for a Place to Stop: Geography and Migration Studies
Stephen Castles
- Tribute to Russell King on *The Atlas of Human Migration*
Özge Aktaş
- Migration as Engagement with Place
Jørgen Carling
- Moving out of Geography or Practising it in a Contemporary Way? Russell King's Perspectives on Society and Space
Pierre Sintès
- Out of Albania
Nick Mai

LINKING INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION WITH DEVELOPMENT

- On Writing with Russell in the Gaps of Migration
Ronald Skeldon
- Revisiting 'Population Movement: Emigration, Return Migration and Internal Migration', 31 Years Later
Maria Lucinda Fonseca
- Is core-periphery still a useful way to understand European migration?
Ian Shuttleworth

CELEBRATING IN THE LABORATORY

- Celebrating in the Laboratory: The Unashamed Use of Ideology in Migration Studies
Michael Collyer

Russell King: The Great Unwritten Chapter in the History of Migration Studies

Michael Collyer and Julie Vullnetari

Raw statistics are no way to understand a complex phenomenon. If we have learned anything from Russell over the years it is surely that. And Russell is definitely a complex phenomenon. So 70 years? Just a number, an accident of the calendar that we really should not be making any fuss about. Some 45 years in Geography Departments, 43 PhD students supervised to completion, 13 research monographs, 19 edited books, way more than 400 chapters, articles, reviews, reports? We're obviously not even getting close to the contours of an academic career that has touched so many, inspired a generation (maybe two) of geographers of migration and influenced the way in which migration is researched and studied across Europe and well beyond.

So how about the migration history? Undergraduate and graduate studies in London (1966–70), post-doctoral work in Durham (1970–71), Lecturer and Reader in Geography in Leicester (1971–87), Professor of Geography at Trinity College, Dublin (1987–93), and Professor of Geography at the University of Sussex since 1993, including the founding and directing of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research. But, again, we miss the *experience* of migration; this is not nearly fine-grained enough. The headline attachments tell us nothing about the long research trips to Southern Italy, Albania and Greece, visiting fellowships in Malta, Ben Gurion, Cornell, Trieste and Malmö, detailed contributions to PhD summer and winter schools and short courses all over Europe that could each fill entire research notebooks.

And life cannot be measured in physical changes of location. The distance from the 1967 MSc in Economics at the LSE to the literary analysis of *Writing Across Worlds* (King *et al.* 1995) also represents a significant journey. The gulf that had to be crossed from the writing of entire manuscripts by hand to taking up an iPad for all correspondence, aged 67, is a similar transformation of approach. At 70, most people are comfortably settled in their ways, repeating what has worked and reluctant to try much that is new. Russell has never been content to stick with the comfortable, in regions, subjects, methods or approaches. For many people, retiring from 'retirement migration' would mean not migrating. Russell's latest project is on youth mobility. Not all journeys can be mapped...

As we learn in *Writing Across Worlds*, we must turn to the literature for a fuller understanding, and there we have plenty of material. Russell's PhD and early publications concerned land reform in Southern Italy. By our reckoning, the first article that Russell wrote on migration was published in March 1972 (before either of us were born!). The relatively few European geographers writing on migration in the early 1970s were concerned principally with issues of European migration policy, a particularly relevant focus given the dramatically significant freeze on primary labour migration to Europe. It should therefore come as no surprise that Russell's first migration-related publication was on..... 'The Pilgrimage to Mecca'. The migration-related aspects of Islamic religious observance occupied Russell's professional life for another few publications. He then turned to methods of assessment in British Geography Departments and it was only in 1976 (six years after completing his PhD) that he was to settle on the subject that was to make his reputation – European migration and, particularly, in 1978 the study of return migration (King 1978). Return migration, which he famously labelled 'the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration', was to provide a consistent point of return, linking to much later work on 'counter-diasporic return'.

Another consistent theme has been Italy. Although he quickly moved away from the subject of agricultural reform, and he has not (yet) returned to it, Italy has provided the setting for a very wide range of research topics, mostly migration-focused – from Italians returning from Britain (King 1977) to his part in *Sunset Lives* (King *et al.* 2000) interviewing British retirement migrants in Italy. In 1988 he was awarded honorary life membership of the Società Geografica Italiana in recognition of his contributions to the understanding of the geography of Italy. Italy provided the base for a more general vision of the Mediterranean, which led to a range of pan-Mediterranean publications, mainly on migration (eg. King 2001) but also on development and economic geography. Italy also provided the base for work in Malta, more recent forays into research on Albanian migration patterns which has proved to be one of his most fruitful subjects (King and Mai 2008; Vullnetari and King 2011) and his most recent monograph, coming out of work with Anastasia Christou on Greece (Christou and King 2014).

This array of publications covers a very broad range of mostly migration-related topics. The research themes which surface consistently for a period of 30 years or more are return migration and the influence of gender on the migration process (eg. King *et al.* 1985). These are joined by the periodic focus on the migration of particular groups of people, such as retirees (King *et al.* 2000) or students (King and Raghuram 2013), as well as significant topics in relation to migration – such as migration and tourism, migration and geopolitics, diaspora, and migration and development (Black and King 2004). There are occasional explorations of non-migration-related topics; questions of assessment in geography, land use or economic geography resurface periodically but, with time, and certainly since the 1997 founding of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, there is almost nothing that is not related to migration in one way or another.

A final key characteristic of Russell's work over the years, which this brief review highlights, is the huge number of collaborations. We have both co-authored with Russell on more than one occasion, and we hope to do so again. It is an enjoyable process, full of insightful comments, but one cannot help but be impressed at the intensely productive approach Russell takes to writing. A free weekend is the chance to write an entire article, on occasions, and contributions to the work of others come thick and fast. Although there are plenty of single-authored works in his bibliography, a rough count of his collaborators easily brings us to more than 50 different people, with many of whom he has co-authored on more than one occasion. And of course many have generously provided short pieces for this publication, which has grown and grown...

The present collection only scrapes the surface of Russell's voluminous work in Migration Studies. The contributors were asked to choose one of Russell's publications, especially if they had co-authored one with him, write a short appreciation of it, and draw links to Russell's broader academic output and the research he was involved in at the time. The result is a wonderful mix of contributions from colleagues based at Sussex, at other academic institutions in the UK and around the world, including several of his former PhD students, who bring to life key periods in Russell's prolific career, and also inspire us to critically examine the ways in which we study migration. Several of these contributions emphasise Russell's truly interdisciplinary approach to understanding migration, crossing the confines of categories and labels. We wanted to emulate this in ordering the contributions for this collection, hence the resulting temporal and thematic mixture.

The collection kicks off with three contributions from Levitt, Penninx and Montanari, with whom Russell has collaborated on large EU-funded research and dissemination projects, notably Regional and Urban Restructuring in Europe (RURE), International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe (IMISCOE) and, more recently, YMOBILITY. These provide interesting insights into how the funding (land)scape has changed over the last

two decades in European academe. Having experienced primarily the neoliberal managerial and policy-driven agendas for research in current academic UK environments, we find ourselves admiring the past, when the research drove the funding instead. No wonder, then, that research on islands flourished. Connell's writing takes us back to the 1970s and Russell's work on the geography of islands – Sicily, Sardinia, Salina – and how migration was experienced by the islanders. 'Academic castaways' no more – in Connell's words; his joint work with Russell contributed to this. Cohen's love for typologies and islands has clearly influenced his choice of *'Desert Island Discs'* for this collection, namely Russell's most recent (2009) article on islands in an era of global mobility and their seven-fold typology.

The work on islands has been decidedly connected with Russell's continued affection for the Mediterranean, Italy being at the heart of it. This is where much of Russell's influential work on migration and development and, more specifically, return migration has its roots. Both Fielding and Black comment on the rigour and insightfulness of two particular papers published in the 1980s on return migration and their impact on the development of rural areas of origin. Indeed, Black worked closely with Russell on a DFID-funded project to examine some of these relations between return migration, transnationalism and development in the context of West Africa. Abranches comments on Russell's only publication on Africa resulting from this research project, a special issue of *Population, Space and Place* (co-authored with Black) published in 2004. The DFID-funded Development Research Centre on Migration (DRC), Globalisation and Poverty, set up in 2003 and hosted by the SCMR, became a hotbed of cutting-edge research and thinking on issues of migration and development in the world. While transnationalism has dominated the last two decades of Migration Studies, including those concerned with the migration–development nexus, return remains a salient issue to this day. Russell's seminal article (King 1978) remains as topical as ever. The question of what impact return has on areas of origin is especially pertinent following the devastating consequences of the recent global economic crisis for many countries – such as Greece – hosting large migrant communities.

It is work on Greece, and the notion of 'counter-diasporic return', that the next set of contributions refers to. A three-year AHRC-funded study of the 'Greek diaspora', jointly conducted with Christou, compared the return of Greek-Americans and Greek-Germans to their ancestral home in Greece. In her contribution to this volume, Christou reflects on the project, which built on her doctoral work on Greek-American second-generation return to Greece, and their forthcoming co-authored book with Harvard University Press (Christou and King 2014). This work is groundbreaking in Bauböck's consideration, which follows Christou's contribution, as the authors' analysis of 'second-generation return' requires the reader to *'simultaneously'* engage with two concepts/phenomena which have thus far been considered as alternatives in Migration Studies: 'origin *is* destination, return *is* first-time immigration, the co-ethnic *is* the foreigner' (emphasis in the original). The work has inspired subsequent research, such as that which Russell has conducted with Kılinc on similar return to Turkey, as Kılinc explains in her piece. Counter-diasporic return has also been picked up by other researchers and developed in other contexts, including Sardinha's study of second-generation return to Portugal and Erciyes' PhD thesis on the return of Adygan-Abkhazians from Turkey to the Caucasus. Both of these former PhD students of Russell highlight the influence of his work, and guidance, on their research. Erciyes appraises a 'return of return' in Migration Studies, emphasising the diversity of approaches and concepts within this field.

Vathi's contribution that follows links to this theme of return and the second generation, albeit in a different geographical context and theoretical framework. Return of the second-generation, yes, but not quite counter-diasporic as discussed above. The distinguishing feature is the returnees' age: they are young. Vathi's PhD, which was supervised by Russell, considered the transnational practices of second-generation Albanians in Europe, with

subsequent joint-authored work on the return visits of these younger cohorts. As Vathi emphasises, Russell's attention to theorising the ways in which age, ageing and migration shape, and themselves change, through migration, makes him yet again an exception to the mainstream trend, which has been to focus on the working-age migrant. Russell's work on the young second generation at one age extreme is complemented by his research on older end ageing migrants at the other. In the following contribution, from Allan Williams, we read about another path-breaking research project – this time on international retirement migration. *Sunset Lives* (King *et al.* 2000) – the book that resulted from Williams' (and Warnes') joint research with Russell on British retirement migration to the Mediterranean – is about the multitude of stories and trajectories of later-life migration. Indeed, in the next piece, Lulle testifies to Russell's multidimensional approach to researching age and ageing as a process by 'unpacking' socially and culturally constructed concepts of both. Critiquing the 'objectification of the "ageing migrant"' in the mainstream literature, she underscores Russell's contribution to understanding the 'wide range of realities that older age may bring'.

A moving piece by Binaisa next highlights Russell's key role in arguing for an intersectionality approach to Migration Studies that recognises the ways in which age, generations and gender intersect. The IMISCOE State-of-the-Art Report on this topic (King *et al.* 2004), which Binaisa chooses to focus on, has been an influential publication that has inspired early-career researchers as well as more established ones, as Castles writes later in this collection. Appreciation of interdisciplinarity and subsequent innovation are the focus of the following joint contribution by Näre and Teerling, who both comment on Russell's influential article 'Towards a new map of European migration' (King 2002). Bridging artificial dichotomies such as 'here' and 'there', 'us' and 'them', that flow through a multidimensional and interdisciplinary approach, is at the heart of Teerling's PhD research on the return of the Greek-Cypriot second generation to Cyprus, part of Russell's original AHRC-funded project. For Näre, the problematisation of binaries in the article was crucial in encouraging her to adopt a similar approach in her PhD research on migrant domestic and care work in Italy. The appreciation of innovation in Russell's thinking continues with the contributions by O'Connor and Findlay, who discuss their collaboration with Russell on migration and gender in the Irish context, and international student mobility, respectively. Once again, path-breaking and inspiring work on both accounts.

The next set of writings in this collection, by Faist, Castles, Aktas, Carling, Sintès and Mai, unpacks Russell's contribution to geography and the importance of place and space in understanding migration. And, of course, what is geography without maps? Aktas points out how the difficult task of mapping mobility has been successfully accomplished by Russell and his co-authors of the *Atlas of Human Migration* (King *et al.* 2010). Similar to the preceding discussion, the contributors here underscore Russell's interdisciplinary and multi-method approach to migration, his appreciation of the complex relationship between migration and development, and some of the ways in which regional and global inequalities channel migratory movements. Once again, the 'fertile soils' of the Mediterranean – and more specifically of Italy and Albania – and the peoples living in and moving across these transnational and translocal spaces, provide the context for Russell's research and thinking. Albania features possibly only second to Italy in Russell's wide-ranging research repertoire – a true laboratory for the study of migration and development, as he has coined it. It is here where he investigates – together with other colleagues – a number of his research interests, such as the return of second-generation migrants (as mentioned earlier), the links between migration and development, and between internal and international migration, 'care drain' and the fate of older people 'left behind', and the gendered aspects of Albanian migration, especially his path-breaking work on the gendering of remittances (see, *inter alia*, Vullnetari

and King 2011). Over 15 years of prolific and elucidating writing which forms the spine of extant literature on Albanian migration to date.

Russell's erstwhile and more recent research and theorisations on migration and development are brought together in the penultimate section of this collection. Skeldon discusses a landmark article (King and Skeldon 2010) which he published jointly with Russell, where they unpack the ways in which internal and international migration are linked. Lucinda Fonseca follows by revisiting a (King 1984) book chapter about the relation between these migration types and processes of social change in the context of Southern Europe. Shuttleworth then questions the 'core-periphery' framework as he discusses how Russell's work on migration and development in Southern Europe influenced his own research on similar questions in Europe's other periphery, Ireland (see King 1982).

The concluding article by Collyer teases out how Russell's work on, and approach to, migration, not only inspires us to celebrate human experiences in all their richness and diversity, but also encourages us to be engaged researchers lest we become 'social-injustice blind'.

There are, of course, omissions from this collection, those we would have loved to include but which, for various reasons, we were unable to. The most serious omission is Jenny Money; probably Russell's most consistent collaborator over the last few decades, she characteristically preferred to keep her contribution out of the limelight. Yet, just as in Russell's many books and articles on which she has worked, as well as the years managing *JEMS*, it is Jenny's essential work in the background that has assembled such a fantastic collection of tributes to Russell, and her world-class editing is the secret ingredient of this flawless text. Many thanks to her.

Throughout this piece, we have tried to avoid using the past tense. This is not a commemoration of retirement. If anything, turning 70 appears to be ushering in a new, and particularly productive, professional period. Russell is co-directing YMOBILITY, a new multi-million-euro HORIZON 2020 grant that is just starting (on youth mobility!), he continues to take on new PhD students and he has detailed plans for at least a further three new monographs.

The best may yet be to come!

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CHARACTER APPRECIATION

Russell: The Man, The Scholar

Peggy Levitt

I am so pleased to be asked to be among the many who want to honour and celebrate Russell as a scholar, colleague and friend. As I write these remarks, we are teaching together at an IMISCOE winter school for PhD students, so I have been reminded daily of Russell's considerable gifts.

The first that comes to mind is humility. For a man of such considerable accomplishments, Russell is remarkably modest. He treats everyone with whom he interacts with equal kindness and respect. I have never seen him pull rank. That, I think, is due to his deep integrity. This is a man guided by moral principles. He has a clear sense of what is right and wrong and tries to live by it. No just talking with the other faculty for Russell. Instead, he shares his time and interests equally with everyone.

This explains the remarkable scope of his scholarly production. Russell has taken on a range of questions in a range of places in ways that transcend numerous kinds of boundary – across Southern and Eastern Europe, across the life span and across sexualities. He has done this so successfully because he employs a model of scholarship that is what we need in today's world – what I think of as accompaniment. 'In music', write Barbara Tomlinson and George Lipsitz (2013: 12), 'to accompany other players entails more than simply adding new sounds to the mix. Accompaniment requires attention, communication, and cooperation. It means augmenting, accenting, or countering one music voice with another' (FitzGerald 2012; FitzGerald also stresses the importance of collaboration in comparative studies of migration). Russell has supervised almost 50 PhD students and co-authored pieces with over 100 colleagues. When he describes these collaborative encounters, it is evident that the learning and creativity clearly went both ways.

Russell's scholarly contributions are many. One I am particularly grateful for is the idea of 'second-generation' return. How can the children of immigrants, born in their family's 'new' place, 'return' to a place that was never their home? In today's world, in which travel and technology compress space and time, Russell finds that young people from a host of different countries, be they Albania, Greece or Turkey, to name but a few, take a stab at 'return'. Some find what they are looking for and more, while others come scrambling back to the countries of their birth. Either way, Russell's work elucidates clear patterns across countries and across generations to this somewhat counter-intuitive and, therefore, extremely interesting puzzle. It is a major contribution to our evolving understanding of how social life is constituted across borders in sometimes very unexpected ways.

In short, Russell's hard work, generosity, creativity and humanity are models we should all emulate. I am grateful to know him.

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Russell: Scholar, Teacher, Team Player

Rinus Penninx

In a way, Russell's career as a social scientist specialised in migration and my own career have run parallel during a lifetime. In the 1970s, we both started to study the causes and effects of emigration to Europe. He, a geographer by training, did that in Southern Italy and Malta; I, trained as an anthropologist, did it in Tunisia and Turkey, working in a multidisciplinary team. The Migration and Development theme was our common frame, long before this topic (re-) gained momentum again in the late 1990s from a rather different (neo-liberal) perspective.

We knew each other's work, but had never met at that time. That occasion came in the early 2000s, when I was preparing the IMISCOE Network of Excellence project, the aim of which was to promote cooperation between migration researchers of all disciplines in Europe and to initiate cross-national comparative research projects, thereby trying to defeat the 'methodological nationalism' that was endemic in most of the institutes which had their roots (and funding) in national contexts.

Who else should I approach in the UK as an experienced and reliable partner for such an endeavour? Of course: Russell King, the man who had shown himself in his work to be a social scientist (yes, on the strong basis of his disciplinary background as a geographer), had initiated many cross-national comparative projects, and had attracted the best young researchers with whom he continuously explored new themes. Yes, he was the man to get as cluster leader within IMISCOE for the most innovative cluster called 'Gender, Age and Generations'.

So, from the beginning of the IMISCOE Network of Excellence we have worked together intensively. Russell not only brought his broad theoretical and field knowledge to IMISCOE, he also connected his whole SCMR institute – staff and students – to IMISCOE. Apart from being an excellent scientist, he also was a stimulating leader who was able to get the best out of young researchers. It is not by chance that two of his PhD students have received the Maria Baganha Award for the best dissertation.

It was such a pleasure to continue my cooperation with Russell after I retired as coordinator of IMISCOE in 2014: I invited him to write a chapter for a state-of-the-art book on research on migration and integration in Europe. I challenged him to return to the topic that we shared at the beginning of our careers: the Migration and Development theme. And, typical of Russell, he accepted – after some insistence from my side – but proposed to do this together with his colleague Mike Collyer. It was a week ago that he sent me the final version of the chapter (which was evaluated as being one of the best chapters of the book by the Editorial Committee of the IMISCOE series). So, dear reader, there is still more of his scientific work to come and to read.

Did someone suggest that Russell would retire? What should that mean in Russell's case? I guess that – here again – we have something in common: we will find ways to continue the things that we want to do, and maybe we will find each other again in some new endeavour, retirement or not.

Thanks Russell!

Rinus Penninx is Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Amsterdam, where he founded in 1993 and then directed the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies until 2005. In April 2004, he became Coordinator of the EC-funded Network of Excellence IMISCOE, and, in April 2009, founded its independent follow-up: the IMISCOE Research Network for which he continues to work as Coordinator. Email: M.J.A.Penninx@uva.nl

Mass Migration: From Intuition to Reality

Armando Montanari

This brief note allows me to examine an occasion on which projects and ideas took shape. The manner in which this situation is presented does not necessarily follow the standard scientific narrative, in that it does not refer to what has been published but, rather, and above all, to the ideas and intense reciprocal collaboration which, in many cases, subsequently bore fruit in various ways over the following years. Twenty years after the fact, memories of the events have become imprecise and subjective but, at the same time, this distance has calmed the emotions and made it possible for everything to be viewed with great reflection and detachment, therefore allowing for a better understanding of what happened in the past.

The environment in which I first had the opportunity to collaborate with Russell was the Regional and Urban Restructuring in Europe (RURE) project, promoted by the European Science Foundation (ESF) from 1988–93. This timeframe represents a concentrated period of events in the field of human mobility, in part due to the break-up of the Soviet Union and the different relationships which the EU member-nations had begun to establish with the countries that had formerly had planned economies. The changes were rapid and, in part, unexpected and ended up overlapping with the motivations of RURE, which was mainly interested in understanding the consequences of the introduction of ICT on the regional and urban make-up. In this project I represented a research institute of the Naples-based National Research Council of Italy (CNR) and was the co-ordinator of the research group on ‘Population Processes in the Urban and Regional System (RURE/POP)’, which Russell had also joined. I was therefore responsible for organising the first meeting to clarify the previously defined programmes. The RURE project was organised as a large network, with around forty participating research institutes. The results of the research, financed by national research institutes, were collated and compared in the course of several meetings. The ESF paid travel and accommodation expenses, and the costs of co-ordinating the entire initiative. It was, therefore, a very different research activity from that of the Framework Research Programme (FP), which was financed by the European Commission until 2013 and will be financed through the HORIZON 2020 programme from 2014. This clarification is to remind the reader that RURE did not have a programme that was as well defined as the projects financed by the European Commission. Rather than a programme, researchers had been selected on the recommendation of their national research structures; they then organised their own work on the basis of a general programme. The meetings, therefore, served not only to present the research performed on the basis of a common programme of comparative analysis, but were actually necessary to draw up that general programme and incorporate each person’s research in a logical manner.

I was to have organised a RURE/POP meeting in Naples at the headquarters of the CNR Institute that I represented, but I feared that there was a risk of participants dispersing because of the multiple attractions the city has to offer. So I decided to use the available funds to organise the meeting in a smaller location in a bid to encourage a more intensive exchange of ideas between the participants. I found the island of Capri to be the ideal solution from this point of view. Besides, I had found a hotel of a high standard that would also fit the budget I had been allocated, as the meeting was being held in the low season. I mention this aspect because it had a positive impact on the scientific results. The early sessions were somewhat laborious, as each participant tended to lead the discussion towards the topics with which they

were the most familiar. We kept retracing established scientific itineraries; there was none of the meeting and clashing of different stories and personalities that would create the added value we needed. So, to stimulate our minds and our thoughts, we organised an outdoor meeting, talking as we toured Villa Jovis, once occupied by the Roman emperor Tiberius, on a splendid, sunny, autumn day. Russell decided not to go on the trip; he stayed on the shore, contemplating the island's magical sea stacks with one of our colleagues, Sture Öberg. Ever since, I have mentally assimilated those rock columns of Capri – and maybe many others who participated in that meeting have done so, too – with a 'scientific' gaze, which brings me back to the concept of mass migration and all that this term has meant in the following decades.

At the next session, Russell returned with a work proposal that contained a series of elements indicating the need to reflect on topics that did not seem terribly relevant at the time because they were not quantitatively significant, but to which Russell had attributed the original definition of 'mass migration'. The contents of those reflections were then published in the volume edited by Russell – *Mass Migrations in Europe: The Legacy and the Future* (1993) to which the research of fifteen national groups contributed. I do not intend to dwell on the individual contributions; I merely wish to remind the reader that, although Russell figures in that volume as the editor, he was actually the initiator, the instigator and, indeed, the *soul* of the entire work. We used our experiences and abilities to complete the picture that Russell had traced out for us. Russell himself had connected that idea to the magic of Capri, its cultural and natural heritage. Indeed, in the preface to his volume (King and Öberg 1993), he recalls that this formulation had been the result of a 'waterside conversation' between two migrants: at the time, Russell was resident in Dublin and Sture in Vienna. They were both personally living the migratory phenomenon through the experience of their day-to-day lives, even before any scientific reflection and analysis.

When that proposal was referred by Russell to the RURE Managing Committee, of which I was a member, it triggered a reaction in our colleagues, who considered the term 'mass' as a mystification of a phenomenon which, at that time, in the various aspects which had been studied, actually presented very small numbers. In effect, the term 'mass migration' indicates a large number of people moving from one part of the planet to another. In the work performed with Russell, we referred to phenomena which were not of significant size in those years but which indicated the process, and the prerequisites, for population flows that would subsequently take on large dimensions and have a long-lasting influence on the life and politics of European countries. For this reason, when the volume was published in 1993, it was considered to be the work of researchers who must have been hallucinating, inasmuch as they considered to be true things which did not correspond to reality. Over the last twenty years, many of the colleagues who criticised us at the time have been forced to admit that it was a work which provided important insights into an interpretation of signs which subsequently turned into significant population flows – precisely, 'mass migration'.

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ISLANDS

One Man and the Islands

John Connell

‘An island always pleases my imagination; even the smallest, as a small continent and integral part of the globe’ (Henry David Thoreau)

Favouritism and fascination began early. By 1975, Russell King had already written two island books, *Sicily* (1973) and *Sardinia* (1975) but, as much as anything else, these were somewhat formulaic overviews. Nonetheless the seeds were there; Sardinia was ‘an island where history lives’ and so a ‘natural museum’ (1975: 9). Colonial history suffused the pages, while D.H. Lawrence was brought in to summarise the drama of the local landscape. Remittances proved to be ‘an important factor in keeping “post-peasant” families going’ (1975: 119). Three years later, Russell wrote a short, and almost entirely unknown, study of Salina (King 1978) – part of the Aeolian archipelago north of Sicily and an old volcanic island where just a few hot springs remained – of some 27 square kilometres and not many more than 2,000 people (King 1978). What interested him on Salina we do not know. It was unlikely to have been land reform, his abiding but receding interest at the time. Distance and volcanicity helped. Its Aeolian food and wine week had yet to begin, although it might well have been Malvasia, a white wine produced only on that island; after all Salina was the Aeolian wine island. Tourism was barely in its infancy. Salina’s contemporary website says it is ‘easy to fall in love with’. Perhaps it was then, too. But most probably it was because Salina was an island of emigration, vulnerability and uncertainty – themes that were to recur again and again – and its small scale was part of that attraction. Whatever it was, it resulted, for Russell, in a long and productive love affair with islands.

Part of the fascination of islands was that they represented an alternative to the dour austerity of 1970s’ England, where unemployment was growing and the Thatcherite revolution was wreaking havoc. Moreover the quantitative revolution in geography had swept too much before it, and a focus on the decaying ventures of the industrial revolution was yet to give way to service industries and creativity. A few of those who had flirted with quantitative approaches, that briefly diverted Russell (King and Strachan 1980a), had soon seen the light, and returned to process rather than abstruse differentiation though, for some time, perceiving themselves as ‘outside men’ (Brookfield 1984) detached from the mainstream. Times were bleak. The islands and tides of the Mediterranean were not.

Like Harold Brookfield, Russell pursued the then man-environment paradigm, and its interdisciplinary pleasures, rather than be seduced by the dark side, even if islands, like the remote eastern islands of Fiji for Brookfield, might have smacked of dilettantism and seemed ‘too exotic for the modern hard-nosed geographer’ (King 1993: 14). It was some time before such deviants came even close to the mainstream. For a long time they were marginal and decidedly outside: ‘academic castaways’.

The Salina study was a small part of UNESCO’s Man and the Biosphere (MAB) programme that covered islands across the world, and was designed to link people, culture and nature, a direction centred on interdisciplinarity that made the ‘geographical’ in Russell’s later ‘fascination’ (King 1993) strangely redundant. The best MAB studies represented an early flowering of the interdisciplinary studies that were often only reluctantly accepted elsewhere (Lipton 1970) but, again, were essential to thinking about islands (as should also have been true elsewhere).

In the Mediterranean, at least, the MAB programme appeared to draw intellectual sustenance from the incomparable Fernand Braudel, whose magisterial account of the

mediaeval Mediterranean exemplified a holism where the sea and its islands were at the cross-currents of history and where culture and the environment – marine and terrestrial – had long played a part in difference, design and destiny. Beyond that, MAB might even have been nurtured from a reading of early-twentieth-century geographers, such as Jean Brunhes and Ellen Churchill Semple. Indeed Braudel was decidedly not ‘indifferent to the discoveries of geography’ (1972: 19).

History could scarcely be ignored, whether physical or human, cultural or economic – what Semple had called a ‘shuttlecock history’ – as the islands were battered back and forth by environmental influences and the sweep of economic and political change. In the Mediterranean more than elsewhere, islands were palimpsests of the past. Salina was one such island – small, marginal to some currents of history but central to others, decidedly influenced by its environment (though not as much as Semple would have argued), where livelihoods fluctuated and the agency of insiders was not to be denied.

But Salina faced problems – the vines were withering from disease and, after a century of migration, the population was declining, resulting in what Russell described as a ‘demultiplier effect’, although remittances helped out. Part of Braudel’s Mediterranean ‘sea of vineyards and olive trees’ was drying out and the island faced an uncertain future. Salina may not have been bleak but it was evident that even improved livelihoods failed to meet rising expectations. Migration emphasised that, just as in other centuries, Salina was no minute, isolated piece of a mosaic but one part of a complex and fluctuating world.

From the Aeolian Islands to the eastern Islands of Fiji, gloom and despond prevailed, rather more from the vantage point of outsiders: population decline in the Aeolian islands marked ‘the gradual necrosis of a formerly florid and distinct landscape’ as terraces disappeared under weeds and houses crumbled waiting ‘for an emigrant return that may never happen’ (King and Young 1979: 196–7). So pervasive and substantial was that dismay that, in a range of contexts, government planners actively encouraged and planned depopulation (Connell and King 1999: 12). The margins were contracting and fading. A degree of pessimism was attached to signs of dependence and the resort to migration. The sense of both resilience and vulnerability was evident – long before those words were common currency – but on a small scale, with dimensions that could perhaps be comprehended, if not necessarily remedied, but underpinned by hopes that real tolerable solutions, underpinned by social justice, might at least be contemplated. Many of the themes that were to occupy Russell for the next four decades were thus already in place – writ small and seen without rose-coloured lenses, in the subtleties of Salina life and its multiple transformations and linkages.

To the Archipelago

Contemplating Salina necessarily led to pondering on the fate of the Aeolian Island archipelago, a perception that then centred on migration or tourism, both with aesthetic consequences. As Russell’s focus on migration strengthened, the turn to history was evident. Semple had argued that ‘Insular populations tend to outgrow the means of subsistence procurable from their narrow base. Hence islanders are prone to emigrate and colonize ... In small islands ... emigration becomes habitual, a gradual spilling over of the redundant population’ (1911: 459), a situation that she found particularly true of the Pacific islands but which could as easily be observed in the Mediterranean. Environmental determinism was too obvious, and ‘redundant’ populations had unfortunate connotations. Brunhes similarly saw islands as ‘little geographical worlds’, early intimations of the laboratory perspective, but enmeshed in the currents of the sea, and the tidal waves of commerce and investment: ‘The roads of the sea are the natural roads of approach and expansion for their little cities and

gardens' (1920: 504). But underpinning all of this was the work of Braudel and what, for Russell, was, in effect, part of the transplanting of the very English tradition of the historical geography of landscapes into more complex cultural realms, tied in to long-term social, economic, political and diplomatic history.

Braudel's Mediterranean was centred on the sea, and on a unity and coherence far beyond individual islands, but he recognised that even large islands such as Corsica survived by migration: 'The commonest ways in which the islands entered the life of the outside world was by emigration' (Braudel 1972: 158). He realised that islands had a 'precarious, restricted, and threatened life' (1972: 154), from which sea routes offered alternatives and solutions, as long as islands were not 'ravaged by monoculture' and excessive trade. Russell took up such themes: 'Contact with outside breaks down their equilibrium of self-sufficiency' (King and Young 1979: 195). The Mediterranean was thus a sea of islands interconnected and linked by journeys and migration, homes and kinship ties, long before those practices and sentiments were recognised in other island realms.

At every scale and in every historical epoch, islands were rarely even temporarily isolated but lived (and sometimes died) through connectivities, where waves of history at different scales resulted in capitalism taking local forms, and tyrannies of distance were sometimes all too close for comfort. Yet Braudel, the Annales School and the early geographers occupied a literary world – the 'real' world viewed from a distance – despite the emphasis on quantitative data, seen as the key to unlocking all of social history, in a vastly different way from that of the quantitative revolution; a light and shade and sense of place that locational analysis had all but eroded. Distant perceptions of islands were rarely aligned to the interests, ideas and interpretations of the islanders. Local knowledge came from the dusty sandals of geographers.

It all came together in Salina, where Russell was returning a sense of culture and history to geography, strengthening interdisciplinary studies, especially by re-placing the environment and its management, and reflecting on migration and its relationship to development. Beyond this, islands could be studied in their own right, a direction that Russell helped to consolidate, but linked into the sweep of history, and the interplay between seas, coasts and peninsulas, that created local and global senses of place. The MAB study lay some of the ground roots for what was becoming seen as cultural ecology.

From the Aeolian Islands, Russell was ready to generalise:

Small islands form an attractive focus for geographical study. Quite apart from their undoubted fascination and mystique, they act as small-scale models where the man–nature interaction can be analysed almost as in a laboratory. In a sense their isolation is absolute; there are no problems of regional definition; they form 'closed' as opposed to 'open' systems. The abundant ecological work on small islands is a recognition of these properties. Two features, isolation and small size, are basic to insularity. Smallness implies acute spatial constraints on islanders' attempts to increase production in the face of development needs or population pressure ... Isolation, the second characteristic of insularity, means that islands generally suffer from the economic problems of a marginal location. Islands also tend to be cultural backwaters. They often survive as little ethnographic museums, for here traditions survive whereas elsewhere they have been swept away (King and Young 1979: 194).

In most respects, the idea of islands as laboratories was mere cliché and self-justification – but islands so often seemed to be on the edge, even the seemingly 'closed' indigenous peripheries of the distant Western cores that concerned most geographers, and therefore whose present and future provided measures of global well-being (just as coral atolls are currently seen as the 'canaries in the coal mine' of climate change and sea-level rise).

The theme of laboratories never faded, although it was readily apparent that islands were in no way closed – isolated often, cut off at times, but linked in so many ways to the

currents of history. Migration constantly emphasised that island lives and identities had much to do with both isolation and obvious physical separation, but were sustained by migration and mobility (Connell and King 1999: 2): paradoxical spaces of insularity and openness – the simultaneous embodiment of closure and vulnerability, even as difference in some quarters was celebrated through post-modern delight in liminality entrenched in notions of alterity and crossing beaches, far beyond their metaphoric origins (Denning 1980). Mobility and migration fused differences and entangled past and present.

Such discourses, part of a tempest that, blowing through studies in ‘developing’ areas that created the seeds of a cultural ecology and, more overtly, political ecology, recognised agency, ecology, history and sociology, thrived in New Guinea, Nicaragua and elsewhere, but never quite returned to what should have been its heartland – the Mediterranean. With more focus on the Mediterranean, this early work, which examined sustainability before the word took its place in the lexicon, might so easily have generated an ‘Aeolian syndrome’ – a tribute to Braudel – rather than the ‘New Guinea syndrome’ (Mikesell 1978) that so influenced cultural geography.

Moving Away

Another year on and Russell was writing about Gozo – three times the size of Salina and with nearly ten times the population. Yet Gozo was another island of emigration, another group of villages where remittances kept households afloat, another island where agriculture was struggling, another place where migration and return migration were written into the landscape. New mansions were crowned with stone eagles or kangaroos – carved from local stone – according to the former destination, and houses were named ‘Maple Leaf House’, ‘Australia House’, ‘Tottenham Hotspur’, ‘God Bless America’ – nostalgia and memories that reflected the economics, culture, sentiments and, above all, the ever-fascinating diversity of migration. Islands both contained the symbols of decline – crumbling, padlocked houses and abandoned fields – and the ebullient symbols of success – the triumph of proud return. A cliché certainly – but phases of history were etched in the landscape.

Somewhat later Russell moved to Ireland, and Salina and Gozo were revisited from afar. By focusing on outlying Atlantic islands like Achill – ‘the emigration isle’ (King and McGrath 1993) – the similarities with and differences from the Mediterranean became almost eerie – classic contexts for ‘compare and contrast’ – though, in the Celtic periphery, the tides of history were a little less complex. By then it was more than evident that ‘the geographical fascination of islands’ imbued in the central Mediterranean had spread northwards and become an abiding interest.

It was also apparent that migration was no symbol of failure but a reflection of the ability of islanders to survive through diversity, albeit at some human cost and emotional stress. Choices and decisions were necessary: households were assuredly translocal and transnational, with migration partly calibrated by booms and busts in the local, national and international economy. Migration was ever uncertain – beachheads had to be established, families split, new languages and customs learned and tensions defused. Through seasonal or more long-term migration, households established what, in another hemisphere, came to be called transnational corporations of kin (Marcus 1981), crucial elements that anchored Aeolian, Gozitan, Irish and other diasporas. Extended communities were emerging where people had ‘gone away without leaving’ and were ‘leaving in order to stay’ (Nietschmann 1973). Despite the historical evidence of migration, it could still be seen as ‘defection’ (King and McGrath 1993: 23). For too long, as in other parts of the world, islanders were expected

to be on islands, where their identities were defined. Exactly who were ‘proper’ migrants was never clear.

Islanders often both expressed the same sentiments while recognising successful migrants – public servants and entrepreneurs – who had ‘conquered the outside world’ (Godelier 1986: 218), simultaneously encouraging the migration of the best and the brightest, and educating them for that. Achill brought a deeper understanding of the culture of migration, and the inherent duality that went far beyond even Nietschmann’s observations. Migration reduced population pressures, and directed remittances into the appropriate welfare, while return migration brought small-business development, sometimes of questionable ‘aesthetic appeal’ (King and McGrath 1993: 24), just as the houses of return migrants in Gozo appeared as ‘alien intrusions in the village (King and Strachan 1980b: 178), ‘costs’ of modernity that were probably lost amidst the creativity of Achill and Gozitan residents!

As families fragmented and spread, emotions affected and were influenced by the rationale and outcomes of migration. In the Aeolian Islands ‘the hardship of split families’ (King and Young 1979: 203) was evident while, on Achill, ‘An ingrained sense of apathy and disillusionment has been produced by generations of emigration and decades of reliance on remittances and welfare payments’ (King and McGrath 1993: 25); but that was then and the culture of migration is now less bleak and one-sided. Gozo, where Russell’s emphasis was on return migration, fared better. Migration was invested with emotion, and emotion was embedded in the literature, songs and music that emanated from the islands, and seemingly inevitably reiterated the persistent dualisms of difficult local environments, nostalgia and triumphant homecomings, and the persistent ‘ambiguity of the Irish culture of migration (Boyle *et al.* 1998). The home grass appeared always greener, yet that literature was often far from idyllic – a counterpoint to myths of islands as paradises, offering further intimations of the experience and centrality of emotion in migration, in contrast to some abstract calculus of conscious choice. Literature thus became another means of explicating island lives, provoking a focus on literature and migration (King *et al.* 1995), conceived, as it happens, on water, on the Gozo ferry – for there are few more obvious places to ponder on mobility, migration, crossings and emotion.

And Ireland, Malta and Italy were steeped with the impress of distinct cultures and colonial histories – and a literature of small islands that pointed to the erosion of locality, the early tentacles of globalisation, the environmental threats, challenges and constraints of limited ecologies, sometimes simply the bleakness of small and lonely lives – that necessitated migration – the fate and choice of small islands and their people everywhere (Connell 2013). Yet, as this globalisation from below proceeded, a belated move away from despond followed, as islanders obviously achieved successful transnational lives, increasingly better connected through the wonders of radio, telephony and electronics.

The perspectives inculcated through MAB and the broad sweep of Mediterranean histories and geographies encompassed interdisciplinary endeavours to pursue a way of thinking about islands that could no longer be mono-disciplinary – poets and painters had as much validity as anthropologists or historians. Fiction and ‘non-fiction’ were not necessarily distinguishable. Geographers might be polymaths if they could avoid being marooned ‘academic castaways’. It was, in part, a reaction to the procrustean bed of quantitative geography, a recognition that islands and islanders valued and required flexibility – as livelihoods enjoined migration and remittances with subsistence diversity and, perhaps, quite simply, that islands in the end were more fun....

The End Far From Nigh

In the dark days of the 1970s and 1980s, academic interest in islands was regarded with suspicion or contempt, academic silos were impervious to change, and islands were being written off and, for the smallest, the end seemed ‘ever nigh’ (Connell 1988), as migration denuded human landscapes. St Kilda had gone. Achill was poised on the edge of a ‘new cycle of abandonment and landscape decay’ (King and McGrath 1993: 25) while the Aeolian Islands seemed on the brink – part of a ‘geographical cycle – the creation and decline of the human landscape’ (King and Young 1979: 194). Less than half a century ago, such islands appeared to have no future. Constant fears existed of a rump ageing population, in an ‘enchanted if primitive group of islands’ (1979: 203). Language, perception and analysis have all moved on.

Just as islands had once been seen as marginal, distant, silent lands, more-detailed work recognised islands as centres – homes and heartlands not destined to disappear or be depopulated – so that predictions of demise proved wrong. Pitcairn, despite its travails, survived. Since the nineteenth century, few islands were ever wholly abandoned by their occupants. Islands and islanders were no longer to be written off. That recognition coincided with ‘reclaiming the sea’, where the oceans offered routes and connections rather than barriers (D’Arcy 2006; Hau’ofa 1994). Migration could then be seen as a new way of thinking of both roots and routes – that linked nearby islands and crossed oceans. Amidst the ferment of work on trans-Atlantic, Oceanic and global trajectories, Braudel and the Mediterranean were unacknowledged and forgotten.

Migration was a global requirement for sustainability, to be seen where possible as ‘migration with dignity’ (Connell 2013) developed through the agency of islanders – without imposition or assistance from beyond. This was not the fatalism that had alarmed many, including Hau’ofa and initially Russell, but contemporary, decidedly modern versions of past journeys, which often constituted ingenuity in the face of (in)decisions at the centre that militated against local interests. Islands were, in fact, places to live – though not all could prosper. Extreme isolation could be disabling, where ‘outer islands’ – a new concept in the second half of the twentieth century – were ignored and let down by a centre that no longer thought to pamper the margins. The margins still contract but the agency of islanders has delayed, postponed or removed threats of doom; in some, like Salina, a population turnaround has occurred. They were neither ‘cultural backwaters’ nor ‘little museums’ but places of hybridity, which delicately balanced old and new into multiple versions of modernity. Land was there no mere rhetorical device but the basis for security. Viability and holding on to home meant nurturing both roots and routes.

Nearly forty years after Russell described the economy of Salina, and pointed to the necessary choices that islanders must make, the island appears to be thriving. The population has doubled, tourism supports the economy, and multiplier effects extend to fisheries and agriculture. Development is multi-faceted. Demultipliers have been vanquished. Perhaps Salina has benefited from old resources – capers, olives and volcanic landscapes – and islanders have been creative, using remittances wisely, achieving a degree of empowerment or simply stubbornly holding onto land, home and cultural heritage that offer emotional security in the face of a modern world that may offer little. Sadly, in our time, a different kind of fascination with islands exists, as many have become associated with sea-level rise, cyclones, tsunamis, and the frontlines of international engagement and border tensions (Mountz 2015). All that requires interdisciplinary approaches and both old and new ways of engaging with debates about islands and seas, discussion of resilience and cultural ecology, and rather less pleasant laboratories.

Before I wrote this short piece, duty called and I read a student’s draft thesis chapter on internal migration from the tiny island of Paama to the capital city of Vanuatu, Port Vila. Russell had never been there, perhaps did not even know where Vanuatu was – but sure

enough he was there (King and Christou 2010), without my bidding or suggestion – not quite larger than life, but with valuable insights on diaspora and return – that could translate from the United States and Greece to a small island in the Vanuatu archipelago. Astute generalisations about islands have had resonance elsewhere, but in an improbable retirement, it is surely time for Russell to take a tropical trip, explore the warmer waves of history and agency, contribute to new ways of thinking about these islands, too, and see how tides that began in the old world have washed up in the new: entangling oceans and suggesting new intellectual and practical routes.

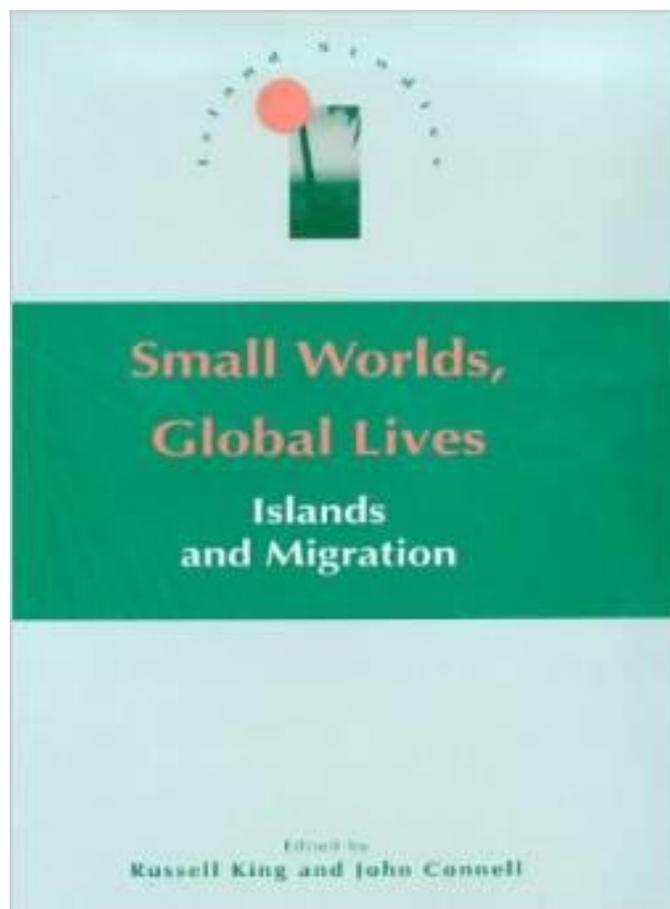
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Islands, Migration and Imagination

Robin Cohen

Islands are often in our imagination. In the tourist brochures they are ‘romantic’, ‘sunny’, ‘far-away’ places where, for two weeks, we can leave behind our stressful, humdrum metropolitan lives. In the colonial imaginary, islands could be rather more threatening. In certain South Pacific islands, the Caribbean, New Guinea and the Solomons, it was firmly averred that cannibalism was widely practised (contemporary scholars doubt the extent of this phenomenon). A popular radio show (*Desert Island Discs*) supposes that participants are exiled to a remote island. They can select a few pieces of music and a luxury they can take with them. They are then asked, ‘How would you manage?’ We immediately recognise the trope; it refers to the character and activities of Defoe’s enduring fictional character, Robinson Crusoe, who was washed up on a desert island for 28 years.

Through the fictitious Crusoe, islands were also important in the origins of social science, providing the foundation of much economic theory. Robinson Crusoe became the prototype of *homo oeconomicus* (economic man), an agent who makes rational calculations about survival and scarcity. Marxists can expound their theories of primitive accumulation and use-value. Anti-colonial and anti-racist discourses can be grounded in the persona of Man Friday, a Carib (by inference), who also gets stranded on the island. Crusoe reduces him to the status of a servant, cures his cannibalistic urges and persuades him to become a Christian. Not to be outdone, feminists have wondered whether Robyn Crusoe might have done it better or more co-operatively than Robinson. I like to think she would.

This is fertile territory for a certain human geographer with a large measure of imagination. I refer, naturally, to Russell King, who does not disappoint. In his creative essay on islands and migration (King 2009)¹ he talks, for example, of the geo-historian, Braudel, who wrote so incisively on Mediterranean islands, and the early environmental determinist, Semple, who explained the high rates of emigration from islands through her adage ‘a small cup soon overflows’. King then runs through the many ways in which islands have been seen as prismatic. They are about scale (small/large), they are microcosms, spatial laboratories and identity containers. They are points of isolation, points of focus, above all theatres where big processes – slavery, indenture, colonialism, settlement, emigration and depopulation – are played out in bite-sized portions.

King is not content to draw on existing ideas of insularity and islandness and is generally wary of seeing islands merely as small-scale versions of the larger world. Instead he adapts and extends a seven-fold topology of islands. These are:

- *Superordinate islands* (I have rejected the expression ‘islands of civilisation’), namely Japan and Britain which, through trade and conquest, have enjoyed regional hegemony, escaping the vulnerability so common in small islands. They are marked by emigration for colonisation, and immigration from former colonies (particularly in Britain’s case).
- *Islands of settlement* (New Zealand, for example) are the recipients of the superordinate islands’ emigration.
- *Plantation islands* are characterised by a history of imported slave and indentured labour.
- *Fiefs*, like Haiti, Sicily and pre-1921 Ireland, are marked by Mafia-like governments and large-scale emigration.

- *Island fortresses*, like Malta and Hong Kong before the retrocession to China, exhibit military and financial in-migration to protect the fortress, and rapid emigration when the fortress collapses.
- *Entrepôt islands*, like Singapore and the Channel islands, sat across trade routes and have now become financial centres. Some plantation islands (Barbados, Bermuda, Mauritius, to name but a few) are seeking to become entrepôt islands, their in-migration thus moving from compradors and forced labourers to tax exiles and entrepreneurs.
- Finally, *islands of refuge* like Taiwan (King adds Cuba, though I am doubtful about that), are marked by escapees from the mainland.

Not everyone likes typologies and many are, no doubt, indifferent to the charms of island studies. I love both. Of course, as I have already intimated, one can have doubts about this or that category or which example fits into what category. Without such arguments we would not know that a whale is a mammal not a fish, a classification that usefully disturbs a conventional view. Typologies are the beginning of science, not the end, but they do provide unexpected connections, insightful contrasts and disturbing paradoxes from which wider generalisations emerge. Without them, we are often stuck with the disturbing irrationality of postmodernism, thankfully now on the wane.² I exempt from this charge Deleuze and Guattari (1987), who saw knowledge as a reiterative multiplicity of loose connections being made between meaning, social relations and power, without definite origin or teleology. Like the shoots of rhizomes, they argued that knowledge has a nomadic character, growing from near random wanderings, rather than from a single rootstock.

This latter theoretical starting point is very congenial to migration studies – where the nomadic wanderings of people and knowledge may profitably be compared. These intersections, links, branches and disconnections happen at certain spatial nodes and at certain historical moments. Where better to study them than on islands? And who better to cogitate upon them than Robyn Crusoe, Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari and Russell King meeting on a romantic deserted island. Imagine these four sharing a conch of coconut milk and talking of islands and migration. I shall be eavesdropping from behind the coconut tree.

Notes

- [1] A decade earlier Russell had worked with John Connell on islands and migration, work I would like to acknowledge but do not allude to here.
- [2] It is worth remembering that post-modernism has intellectual roots in fascism, a point well-made in Wolin (2006).

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RETURN MIGRATION

Russell King: Back to Bernalda

Anthony Fielding

In September 1983, Russell King's paper entitled 'Back to Bernalda: the dynamics of return migration to a South Italian agro-town' (written with three co-authors from his home Department of Geography in Leicester) was presented at the British–Dutch Symposium on Population Geography in Soesterberg, near Utrecht. I immediately incorporated it into my teaching at Sussex University, and it has appeared on many of my migration-related course reading lists since then.

I re-read it recently to decide what it was that I liked about it first time round, and whether or not I still liked it today. The reason why I liked it was, first, that it was very informative – it contained masses of facts about the town and its surroundings, about the lives of the people who lived there and, above all, about its migrants (this latter information gained through an interview survey). Is it something to do with our lack of confidence as researchers that we seem today to be inclined to steer away from facts (sometimes so far away as to deny their very existence)? It is almost as though the well-learned lessons that we should be critically aware of how facts are generated, and that many facts are contested, have led us to drastically over-react and hence to become reluctant to use them at all. Well no such lack of confidence in this paper; it is brim-full of facts – and is all the better for it!

Secondly, I liked the paper because it made lots of judgments. Not, mind you, out of the blue, but on the basis of all those facts already mentioned, and also on the basis of good sense, reasoned argument and command of the relevant literature. It was, and remains, a paper that is full of wise statements about migration, its causes (there's a good word you don't hear as often as one should these days – *rerum cognoscere causas* – what a magnificent motto for a university!), its characteristics and its consequences. In order to make these sensible judgments, it had to ignore disciplinary boundaries – the paper is clearly in the tradition (except that it was not the tradition at that time – and still isn't for many economists) of interdisciplinary social science; the only way to get a rounded understanding of migration is through combining the knowledges of several social sciences – geography, anthropology, sociology, political science, cultural studies, economics and demography, to name just the most obvious ones. This paper meets that standard.

Finally, I liked the paper because it contained surprises. To discover things that are unexpected and important makes research ... *fun*. Perhaps the biggest surprise in this paper, and this needs to be taken on board by those misguided people who think that migration is a 'win-win-win' process, is how little economic and social effect the returnees really had on Bernalda. I quote '(r)eturn migration has for many decades been a fundamental part of Bernalda life. With their improved standards of living and, above all, their new and refurbished homes, returnees are a prominent part of the local scene. But, although migrants return with industrial work experience, altered social perspectives and some new ideas, these are not always relevant to the home context. To regard return migration as an exogenous force stimulating economic development in the locality is an overstatement. We have to conclude that return migration has had only a limited impact in the field of economic innovation in Bernalda' (1983: 169).

Oh, and incidentally, as I am sure you can tell – I still like the paper!

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To Return or Not to Return: That is the Question...

Richard Black

Thinking through over twenty years of highly productive collaboration – a period during which Russell wrote six books and edited ten more, as well as countless book chapters and journal articles – it was not at first sight easy to pick a single volume or paper that stands out from the rest. Part of the reason is that, although we have written and edited together on occasion, that was not the key strength of our collaboration – our energies together were really focused on building the Sussex Centre for Migration Research as the world's leading research centre on migration. Indeed, I'm sure that, for both of us, our core writing involved work done separately, often with other co-authors, rather than together.

But there is one piece that had a significant impact on my own writing, thought and approach, well beyond our joint work. It is an edited volume that I read way before I ever met Russell, which I referred to in my PhD thesis, and which set the theme not only for some of the key publications that Russell and I did write together, but also for a surprising amount of my own subsequent research. That book was *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems* (King 1986) – published in the year that I graduated from university.

In fact *Return Migration* was not the only, or indeed the first piece by Russell that I referred to in my PhD thesis. Before coming to the issue of return migration, the thesis, and subsequent book (Black 1992) dealt with questions of land fragmentation and small farm size in the small, isolated mountain communities of the Serra do Alvão in Northern Portugal that I imagine bore some resemblance (socio-economically at least) to the rural communities of Southern Italy in which Russell did some of his earliest work. Here, the argument set out in King and Burton (1983) helped to frame my approach to the problem, and provided an important context in which to think about matters of inheritance, risk and the relationship between the physical landscape and household behaviour.

But moving on to *Return Migration*, here the issues were different, and ultimately more significant for my own subsequent work, and indeed for Russell's. In considering return migration, I was already moving on from a theoretical narrative – that of the incorporation of rural areas into the global economy, leading to the 'marginalisation' of those areas and many of their inhabitants – that had steered the initial choice of my PhD topic. Conducting extensive fieldwork in four mountain villages, theory was confronted with the reality that some migrants had clearly done very well from migration, and that globalisation for them and some of their relatives and neighbours meant access to the elements of 'modern' life that I took for granted (piped water, inside lavatories, TV, for example). In contrast, for those who had stayed behind, not only had they failed to obtain these things but they had suffered under a further decade of dictatorship at the tail end of the Salazar regime.

Reading Russell's *Return Migration* helped me to come to terms with this apparent mismatch between theory and reality. For a start, it showed that things are not black and white – the return of migrants brings both opportunities for development and personal advancement, but also problems and new risks. It also suggested hypotheses that I have worked with through many subsequent years. For example, the suggestion (King 1986: 22) that return migration might catalyse development in more undeveloped regions but have a negligible impact in more developed areas made the broader point that the *context* of return matters, not just the characteristics or experiences of the individual or the wider structural conditions. This is an idea that has featured in some of my more recent work as part of the MAFE project,

which seeks to deal with both context and individual factors in a quantitative way through 'multi-level' modelling.

Another contribution was to introduce me to the work of the Italian author, Francesco Cerase, whose classification of return migrants as 'failed', 'retired', 'conservative' or 'innovative' I have returned to again and again. This notion of the capacity of return migrants to effect wider societal or economic change being based, amongst other things, on the time spent abroad and the experiences they have obtained, informed another important project – the 'TRANSREDE' project, which I undertook with Russell and with Savina Ammassari, one of several co-supervised PhD students who have gone on to great careers both inside and outside academia.

It is no surprise, in fact, that, where Russell and I have worked together on externally funded projects, and written together, this has predominantly focused on return migration (Black and King 2004; Black *et al.* 2003; King *et al.* 1997). What is more surprising to me is the extent to which, in an age of 'transnationalism' where mobility is assumed to be the 'norm', the notion of a relationship between a migrant and his or her original 'home', to which s/he may return (and often does) has retained such salience.

Russell's work has been at the core of why this focus on return has continued to have academic traction for nearly three decades. The hyperbole around return is less today, but the practical examples of where it has started to work for development – not least in China – provide evidence of its continued significance. And whether it is the return of workers, of students, of the elderly, or of the second generation, I fully expect to hear more about it, in the decades to come, from Russell and others who were – like me – influenced by him.

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Africa Calling Russell King

Maria Abranches

Migration Studies owe much to Russell King's work, as do the generations of migration scholars whom he inspired, many of them migrants themselves – me included. From children to youth and ageing, from islands to continents, from student to return migration, Russell's research has spread over the years across different times, spaces and forms of mobile people's life-cycles. Regionally, Russell's seminal contributions have mostly been in Southern Europe, socialist and post-socialist societies and the Mediterranean. Out of his more than three hundred publications, only *one* has Africa in the title. This does not mean that much of Russell's more conceptual and theoretical work on migration cannot be applied – it in fact is – to Africa, or that his work on countries of migrant destination in Europe does not include African immigrants. His years of research in Italy have given him extensive knowledge of Senegalese migration – one of Italy's most significant migrant origins.

I first met Russell in his office in January 2009, when I arrived at Sussex for the start of my PhD. I had come there wanting to study migration from Guinea-Bissau to Portugal and, encouraged by Russell, to compare it with Senegalese migrants in Italy. I quickly dropped the comparative dimension of my research though, and went back to my initial idea of focusing on Guinean migrants. Russell was supportive of my decision, and encouraged me then to follow a research path that I became, and still am, fascinated with – multi-sited migration research in home and host countries. Looking at the relationships established between migrants and their home societies can be much better understood, I think, if examining both sending and receiving contexts. And for helping me to set off in this direction, I am grateful to Russell.

Russell's one publication with Africa in the title – 'Migration, return and development in West Africa – is the introduction to a special issue of *Population, Space and Place* (King and Black 2004). It draws on a DfID-funded project entitled *Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa* (although the special issue includes papers deriving from parallel research), where transnational networks, amongst other issues, were analysed by conducting surveys and interviews in sending and receiving countries: Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, the UK and France. In this introduction, the coordinators of the research project examine the relationship between migration and development, in particular the role which return migrants can play in this relationship. With a transnational multi-sited approach, they conclude that Ghanaian and Ivorian returnees continue to value their networks abroad, and are therefore able to use them in sustainable ways for the development of their home countries.

I have worked in a Development department since my PhD, and have recently revisited this publication while planning my lectures on West African migration. I chose to write about this article precisely because it is the only one directly on Africa amongst Russell's endless list of publications. Richard Black and Russell start their editorial introduction by saying that 'Despite its diversity of types of migration, West Africa remains an underresearched region in migration studies'. A lot of good research has been done on West African migration since then, but a lot still remains to be done. I know this is not Russell's privileged regional area of research but, if ever he decides to take on a new geographical angle in Migration Studies, West Africa will certainly welcome him back!

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COUNTER-DIASPORIC RETURN

Reflections on a Joint Research Monograph

Anastasia Christou

It was two days before Russell's birthday in 2013, with an extensive snowstorm engulfing the South-East of the UK, that the Editor of *Harvard University Press* emailed to say that, following the final reviewer's very positive report, he was delighted to publish our book manuscript.

The bitter blizzard had placed East Sussex in the freezer at the time, grounding everything to a halt, but a permanently fixed smile on my face felt like a ray of sunshine, no doubt in reaction to those colleagues who had politely insinuated, 'When hell freezes over...' (you will get a book published by HUP!). Not that one's inner critics have not often stifled one's potential ... and I have stories to share ... but, as Sylvia Plath wrote in her journal, 'The worst enemy of creativity is *self-doubt*' – she could not have been more accurate. After all, our manuscript reviewer, in an overwhelmingly positive and lengthy report, had generously commented that it was

The first of its kind, [one that would make] an original and timely contribution... Methodologically scrupulous, the book is also perfectly organized, written with lucidity, it will not be Greeks alone that [*sic*] find its substance compelling. ... I wouldn't insist that the book be revised in any way. It's mature and polished as it stands. ... I very much look forward to seeing this book in print.

Receiving a review that mirrors such a careful, close and constructive reading of our manuscript is, indeed, an increasingly infrequent occurrence in contemporary academic life, where both time and constructive peer-review feedback are close to extinction.

Our book is the main output, the 'book of the project', showcasing our findings from a three-year AHRC-funded large, comparative, multi-method ethnographic study of the 'Greek diaspora'. Grounded in my doctoral studies and key theorisations, while extending the analytical and empirical angles to new translocal cultural geographies and a range of fascinating transnational mobilities, this was the final milestone on a long journey. At the same time, our HUP jointly authored research monograph marks the end of my fieldworkings and journeyings as part of such diasporic research themes, which involved fruitful and inspiring collaboration with Russell over the past 13 years. At that time, my migration to the UK and subsequent immersion into Migration Studies happened precisely because Russell, as Co-Founder and -Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR) and Editor of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* at the time, had created a vibrant intellectual hub for cutting-edge, radical and interdisciplinary research at Sussex. The SCMR was a magnet for scholarship, and the welcoming embrace into that 'community' of knowledge production was a catalyst for my trajectory. Although I am no longer based at the University of Sussex, I continue to maintain thriving collaborations with colleagues there and will always be grateful for the opportunities and experiences I had during my time at Sussex.

Russell has been instrumental in nurturing creativity and original thought. Above all, it is Russell's openness for truly interdisciplinary, alternative and radical thought that gives his collaborators the audacity of insight and vision into the unknown of critical social-science research. Words are not enough to underscore his contributions to frontier research and compelling publications that will no doubt train, entertain and sustain generations of migration scholars in academe. Thank you Russell for embracing and supporting my work; it has been a memorable 13 years and, against all Greek superstition, tremendously productive and enjoyable!

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Russell King: A Designer of Reversible Figures

Rainer Bauböck

When European Migration Studies began to boom in the 1980s, many of its protagonists stylised themselves as if they were themselves migrants straddling the boundaries of academic disciplines, suffering from a lack of recognition and being at home in none of them. Today, Migration Studies have arrived in the middle of the mainstream in anthropology, history, sociology, political science and even economics and demography. Maybe human geography – because of its attention to time–space relations – is an exception and has put migration at the centre of its concern already much earlier than other disciplines. In any case, it is certainly impossible to portray Russell King, the social geographer who has done so much to promote Migration Studies, as a ‘marginal man’ within his discipline or the social sciences at large. There is not only the counter-evidence that, for thirteen years, he led a *Centre* for Migration Studies at the University of Sussex that has truly lived up to its name. There are also his academic contributions, which have inspired several generations of young and no-longer-so-young scholars.

I count myself among the latter group. Shortly after moving to the EUI in Florence, I organised an IMISCOE-sponsored conference there in collaboration with Thomas Faist. In 2010 we published a co-edited volume on Diaspora and Transnationalism, based on the conference papers (Bauböck and Faist 2010). One of the chapters was co-authored by Russell and Anastasia Christou. Their topic was the phenomenon of ‘second-generation return’ and I have just learned from Russell’s CV that there is a forthcoming book with Harvard University Press on this topic (Christou and King 2014).

In their short essay, Russell and Anastasia compare three cases of second-generation returnees: Japanese Brazilians, British-born Caribbeans and Greek Americans. Thomas and I puzzled for a while into which of the three thematic sections of our book we should put this chapter, the headers of which were: Concepts, Theories, and Methods. However, in the end, it was clear that the most original contribution of the essay was to theory.

Russell and Anastasia noted that the phenomenon of second-generation return ‘seems to slip into the interstices between [the] literatures [on second-generation, return migration, transnationalism and diaspora]’ (King and Christou 2010: 170). But they did not merely approach it as a concept waiting to be coined or a gap waiting to be filled with empirical evidence. Instead, they used it rather subversively for questioning the boundaries between ‘here and there, homeland and hostland, indigenusness and foreignness’ that pervade everyday perceptions as much as the academic study of migration: ‘Second-generation return demonstrates the blurring that exists over these dualities and even challenges how they should be framed’ (2010: 181). Indeed, for the children of migrants born abroad who return to their parents’ country of birth, and especially for those who do so as adults leaving their parents behind, it is no longer obvious – either subjectively or objectively – which country is origin and which is destination, where they feel and are treated as being at home or foreign. Even more perplexing is that the very concepts of return and second-generation lose their intuitive meaning if applied to someone born abroad who moves to a country where s/he has not lived before.

Yet what does pointing out these conceptual puzzles contribute to migration theory? The answer which Russell and Anastasia suggest in their essay is: reflective ambiguity (2010: 168). This is indeed not only a desirable feature of migration theory itself, but also one of its main contributions to the social sciences. The latter seem to be eternally stuck with alternative perspectives that are variously identified as macro or structure vs agency. All good social theories try to combine both perspectives but they always reproduce the boundaries between them, too, by considering the macro level or social structure as a given when discussing micro-level agency.

In migration theory this means that we take countries and their borders as quasi-naturally given units of observation and register the movements of individuals in time and space as migration if they cross the borders of territorial jurisdictions and result in taking up residence on the other side.

I have, for some time, been obsessed by the idea that we need to complement this macro perspective, which allows us to observe, count and analyse certain spatial movements as migration, with an equally analytical micro perspective that considers the lives of migrants as units of analysis. In a nutshell, from the perspective of states and sedentary populations, migrants are those who enter or leave their territories and these movements can be statistically counted and analysed because they are structured through territorial boundaries. From the perspective of individual migrants, however, we might just as well say that states have entered or left their lives. Life-course analysis, which is one of Russell's research areas, thus provides potentially fertile ground for Migration Studies if it combines analysis of age-related life events and stages with that of migration itineraries.

Since my own field of research is citizenship, I have used this idea for proposing a 'citizenship constellations' approach that considers how the allocation of citizenship, residence status and mobility rights by origin and destination states structures migrants' freedom of movement and bundle of rights, while also reversing this macro perspective by looking at the sequence of legal-status transitions across individual migrants' lives (Bauböck 2012). The point of the exercise is to try to overcome a rather stale opposition in Migration Studies where macro and structural theory occupies the high ground of academic priesthood while micro-level analyses confine themselves to thick descriptions that do not lend themselves to analytic generalisation. One might describe this as a 'reversible figures' approach. We should be able to look at the same migration pattern and see the rabbit as well as the duck or the chalice as well as the two facial profiles.

Russell has been a designer of such reversible figures in Migration Studies. And his analysis of second-generation return suggests a further twist that adds another layer of complexity. Instead of *alternating* between the perspectives, which most human brains are able to do after some training, we are asked see both images *simultaneously*. Origin *is* destination, return *is* first-time immigration, the co-ethnic *is* the foreigner.

Unlike many postmodern theorists, Russell is not a magician who wants to confuse and distract his audience while he is pulling off some conceptual tricks. Second-generation return is not a figment of his fantasy, but an empirical phenomenon and a lived experience and Russell shows how to understand it from both emic and etic perspectives. His work tackles complexity through sober and solid scholarship. And his own persona and profile in Migration Studies is anything but a reversible figure.

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A Pioneer's World and Beyond: Exploring New Territories, Expanding Knowledge

Nilay Kılınç

The Working Paper '*Euro-Turks' Return: The Counterdiasporic Migration of Germany-born Turks to Turkey* (King and Kılınç 2013) grew out of the collaboration I had with Russell King during his Willy Brandt Guest Professorship at Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Welfare and Diversity (MIM), Malmö University, Sweden. At the time of this joint effort, the 'Euro-Turks' phenomenon was a resurgent topic and yet Kaya and Kentel's (2005) Working Paper *Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach between Turkey and the European Union* was the only recent and comprehensive research in the field. Scholars from different disciplines have long been dealing with the various aspects of Turkish settlement in Germany, which transformed from a guestworker migration to a diaspora, now constituting several generations. Integration/assimilation politics and policies being the dominant theme, a growing body of literature has tackled the issues of homeland–hostland orientations, ethnic (immigrant) entrepreneurship and education/career paths. However, the migration research has steadily disregarded the flows of relocation to their parents' country of origin of second-generation 'Euro-Turks'.

In the summer of 2012, Professor King and I discussed the possibility of launching a research project that would focus on this counter-diasporic migration to Turkey. At the time, he already had several publications on second-generation 'return' which were eye-openers for me. One of these, a Working Paper entitled *Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns 'Home'* (King and Christou 2008) helped us to build the backbone of our research design. The existing typologies of return were mostly based on the first generation and were inadequate to cover the extending debate on the second generation's 'revitalisation of the myth of return'. In that sense, Professor King not only anticipated counter-diasporic migration to Turkey as the next 'hot topic', but also set up a conceptual framework which is applicable specifically to the second generation.

Our own Working Paper (King and Kılınç 2013), like his other papers on return migration, problematises the notions of 'home' and 'belonging' for a *post-immigrant* group – the second generation. Professor King's state-of-the-art aim has been to *prioritise human agency*, often neglected due to an obsession with 'objective' data in migration and human-geography research. Employing qualitative methods, he encourages the migrants/returnees to be the narrators of their experiences. Exploring and understanding rigid cognitive artefacts such as identity and belonging through qualitative methods, he has managed to problematise the notion of 'return' for the second generation, although the term is somewhat of an oxymoron for the second generation, as they cannot 'return' to a country in which they were not born and raised!

Secondly, Professor King's abductive reasoning enables his research projects to contribute both to the theory and to the case studies. The concept of 'counter-diasporic migration' is the fruit of such reasoning, and opened a new page for both theories of return migration and the specific cases of Greek-Germans and Greek-Americans. As in the case of the second-generation Germany-born Turks, we have managed to develop the concept further with a typology of counter-diasporic migrants in Turkey. When we started this project, return migration to Turkey was mostly a subject for newspaper articles, with Eurostat and Federal Statistics of Germany being the only sources for the relevant numerical data. Since then, we have met several PhD researchers who work not only on the Turkish-German case but also on

the Turkish-Belgian, Turkish-Dutch and Turkish-French cases. In addition, academic institutions and journals have been showing an increasing interest in counter-diaspora in the Turkish-European context. From that summer in Sweden, when we started to think about this, to today, we have managed to broaden the scope of our framework, focusing on the gender aspect (my MA thesis and forthcoming work) and hybrid identities (King and Kılinc 2014). We have carried out fieldwork in the southern and eastern regions of Turkey. I believe that the outcome of our further investigations will expand our knowledge of this topic.

When I conducted the fieldwork for the research project, I was a first-year MA student working at MIM as an intern. One year later, I was holding the hard copy of our Working Paper in my hands, and preparing to give a joint seminar. A further period of fieldwork, two more articles and my acceptance as a PhD researcher at the University of Surrey followed these events. Today, I am given the privilege to write about a scholar who developed social theories and contributed a great deal to empirical research. Furthermore, his interdisciplinary approach to social phenomena has enabled him to assemble an academic portfolio and network composed of scholars from different fields. His multi-dimensional perspective has served as a bridge between several disciplines that would normally have little interaction with each other. In addition, he has been able to express these layers of interconnectedness to his readership without rendering the already complex concepts in any way ambiguous. And I believe that Professor King's open-mindedness and encouragement for promising researchers have been at the core of all the creative and pioneering work that he has produced. In that sense, he has not only built a dialogue between fields but also a strong one between researchers with diverse interests.

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A Narrative From Just One More Counter-Diasporic Migrant

João Sardinha

There are times in one's life when change is welcomed with open arms. Upon completing my PhD at the University of Sussex under the supervision of Russell King, I was ready to do exactly that. After nearly eight years of researching immigrant associations in Portugal for my MA and PhD theses, it was time to change my research focus.

I remember the day I sat down with Russell, shortly after having defended my PhD thesis, to have him tell me about the exciting project he had recently commenced alongside fellow SCMR colleague Anastasia Christou and Ivor Goodson from the University of Brighton, on the return of second-generation Greek-Americans, Greek-Germans and British-born Greek Cypriots to their land of ancestry (project title: *Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns 'Home'*). Building on Anastasia Christou's previous work on Greek-American second-generation return, the comparative approach and the topics which the project aimed to study were not only intriguing to me, the topic was also something that, as a 1.5-generation returnee from Canada back to Portugal, I could truly relate to. I walked out of Russell's office that day thinking that, for me, that change in research focus was about to begin.

Seven months later, in January of 1998, I commenced my post-doctoral studies at the University of Coimbra, applying the same basic research frameworks as those utilised in the 'Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration' project to my own project, which was looking at second-generation return to Portugal. That same month, Sussex Migration Working Paper No. 45 entitled *Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns 'Home'*, authored by Russell King and Anastasia Christou, was put online (<https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=mwp45.pdf&site=252>). Setting forth a review and critical analysis of the three key literatures that frame the return-migration process – on the second generation, on diasporas and on return migration – the paper reveals that all of them say very little about the transnational links and return movements of this migrant generation. This was the start of a line of research that, in the years to come, would change this omission, and bring new light to the links between emigrant second-generation ancestral-homeland return and transnational links, sense of belonging, identification and negotiations within established transnational fields.

Interwoven by an empirical thread relating to research on the return of second-generation Greek-Americans and Greek-Germans to their ancestral home in Greece, Sussex Migration Working Paper No. 45 is divided into four parts. The paper sets out, first, to discuss counter-diasporic migration and to frame this conceptualisation within the broader context of ongoing debates about the nature of diaspora and typologies of orientation and movement to an imagined or actual ancestral home. Second, the paper focuses on the definition and problematisation of the second generation, including a review of how the established literature views the second generation largely in terms of integration and assimilation processes in the host society. In conjunction with this, the authors highlight that, whilst the transnational paradigm in Migration Studies has opened up a debate on the links to the countries and societies of origin, relatively little of this is specifically concerned with the return movements of the second generation. King and Christou here make new inroads into these very issues. Furthermore, Sussex Migration Working Paper No. 45 introduces a new perspective which addresses important dimensions of second-generation mobility and 'return'. This leads to the third section of the study, which examines the literature on return migration and its applicability to the second generation. Finally the paper explores some cultural-geographic

implications of second-generation return, particularly as it affects questions of ‘home’, ‘belonging’ and ‘identity’.

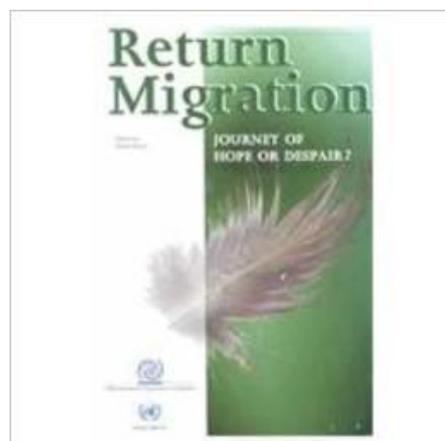
Many have been the outputs deriving from the Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration Project. In the case of the *Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns ‘Home’* Working Paper, however, I here acknowledge its importance due to the fact that the paper encased a series of important and thought-provoking questions that set a precedent for what was to come, setting up a theoretical base applicable to future research. As the first published product of the Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration Project, I highlight the importance of the paper on my own work, having brought to the table an important review of the literature and theory discussion that I have drawn from and applied it to my research work on Portuguese second-generation return to Portugal.

Lastly, although I have here discussed a particular piece of work that looks at second-generation return to the land of ancestry, I also wish to add that one does not have to look hard into Russell’s long list of publications to find out that he is an absolute specialist on the theme of return migration. It is a topic that has intrigued him since the 1970s, and to which he has contributed a considerable amount of work. If, in his 2000 article ‘Generalizations from the history of return migration’, Russell King argued that return migrants are the voices we never hear from in migration history, surely today, if anyone has contributed significantly to changing that, it has been Russell King. Through these writings, not only are we much richer for having among us the wealth of knowledge he has garnered through years of research but, in addition, he has also passed on to other researchers an interest in and curiosity for this very topic within the broader discipline of Migration Studies. This researcher included.

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Return Migration: Still Neglected?

Jade Cemre Erciyas

I first encountered Russell King's work when I came across his paper, co-authored with Anastasia Christou, listed among the Forced Migration Discussion List¹ free-access publications (King and Christou 2008). It was an SCMR Working Paper entitled *Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns 'Home'*. As a young scholar looking for a way to approach the ancestral return migration of Adyge-Abkhaz people from Turkey to the Caucasus, it was the first spark I saw in my five years of interest in the topic. Living in the partly recognised Republic of Abkhazia had certain negative implications – for example, no access to academic resources, limited mobility opportunities and rejection from international academic conferences. However, I insisted on attending one such conference and asked to meet with Russell King during my visit to the UK. He responded positively and that started my Sussex journey with him and Anastasia as my PhD supervisors (2010–14), and completely changed my life and academic career.

It is, for this reason, a very exciting opportunity for me to be writing a contribution for this collection of work in honour of Russell King. I decided to go beyond my own life period and go back to Russell King's 1978 publication 'Return migration: a neglected aspect of population geography' in order to discuss where it brings us today. During my PhD writing-up period, Russell King was always asking me to keep up with the literature, making use of recent publications and the latest editions. This makes this task even more challenging for me as I am going back to one of his earliest publications on return migration. In this regard and in an effort to bring the discussion to more recent periods I will also make use of his review article 'Generalizations from the history of return migration' (King 2000).

Russell King's main argument in the 1978 article, as is obvious from the title, concerns the lack of studies on 'patterns and problems of *return* migration' (1978: 175) in the field of human geography. He focuses on the international scale of return migration in Europe. Recognising the importance of return migration on repeat and chain migration, he argues that the 'economic evaluations of the effects of migration frequently proceed as if there were no return flows' (1978: 175). In his 2000 article, on the other hand, he states that, despite the 'growing volume of literature on the consequences of return migration for the economic development... Yet there is little agreement on the balance of positive and negative effects of return' (King 2000: 23).

More recent work on return migration argues that 'The general phenomenon of return remains under-researched and under-theorised in migration studies' (Christou 2006: 59). A simple research of the keyword 'migration' (in Social Sciences and Arts Humanities) returns over 100,000 articles in the 'Web of Science Bibliographic Database', while the keywords 'return migration' numbered slightly over 5,000. The articles with the keywords 'return migration' in the research area of Geography, on the other hand, show only slightly over 500 articles and half of these publications are from after 2010. Google Scholar, on the other hand, lists almost 200 publications on 'return migration' in the first month of 2015, and another 35 new articles on the topic in the first half of February 2015. The majority of these contain the keyword 'geography', with fifteen of them citing Russell King's work, two of them the 1978 article and two others the 2000 article. It also caught my attention that one of the most recent publications to appear (Vathi and Duci 2015) is by an ex-student of Russell King's, Zana Vathi, with whom I was lucky enough to share office space during my first year at Sussex. For a proper systematic review of the return-migration literature (and the contributions of Russell King) we would need to use multiple databases and check all the publication abstracts

and bibliographies, but the above gives us a rough idea of the situation. So it could be argued that return migration is a neglected aspect of Migration Studies/geography no more, and that Russell King's even earlier publications are still part of current discussions. It would also be true to say that people who have had the chance to work with him are leading the research on return migration in a variety of contexts (*inter alia*, Christou 2006; Vathi and Duci 2015).

However, it should also be noted that most of these recent publications are based on small-scale research projects. A recent research project on migration lists 29 large-scale research projects around the world dealing with the topic of migration and, of these, only three deal with return migration as a key topic of interest: PREMIG,² MIREM³ and CRIS⁴ (RMV 2012). One of King's arguments in his 1978 paper is that there are not enough statistics on the phenomenon of return; this argument is still valid after almost four decades! Though there are recent efforts to either organise large-scale surveys to collect data on return and to record national data for return migration (eg., the PREMIG makes use of Norwegian population register data and MIREM makes use of national migration statistics from four countries), the international comparative data on return migration are still very limited. The problem of definition of 'return' and 'migration' is just increasing the 'difficulties in measurement and the lack of comparative data' (OECD 2008). And 'Many countries fail even to record returning migrants, let alone monitor their characteristics' (King 2000: 9).

In my very recent role on the project 'Strategic Plan for Abkhazia 2025', for which I am to write the strategic policy for 'return', I realised that, even in a small-scale country like Abkhazia, where there is a State Committee of Return Migration that registers all ancestral returnees, it is not easy to obtain the relevant statistical data, as the reality and policy contradict in terms of definition. For example, every diasporic visitor to Abkhazia can ask for recognition of their birth right as a citizen of Abkhazia, but these people are all recorded as 'returnees', which gives them special rights if they decide to settle in their ancestral homeland. This increases the official number of returnees, though it creates a problem in understanding the real scale of ancestral return migration. I have suggested that we should differentiate between the settlers and returnees but, as most of the documentation has already been archived, it does not seem possible to retrieve any data for earlier years of return. In the future, they have decided to record the relevant statistical data in detail.

Besides providing useful typologies and reviews of relevant literature in both his publications (King 1978, 2000), an important point that Russell King states in the earlier one is that return cannot be attributed to a 'single causal factor', but is a combination of many circumstances (1978: 176). In the later article, he further argues that 'Studies of return [should] not be isolated around the return decision or event, but be built around a more holistic and theoretically informed appreciation of the nature of migration and mobility in this globalised era' (2000: 45). There is a need here to understand that, as the mobility of people is becoming easier and cheaper, as people start to live lives beyond national borders, settling in multiple places and moving between these places, not only through what can be defined as 'circular' or 'seasonal' migration but by becoming transnational migrants, they very much challenge all the standard definitions and make it even harder to collect comparative national statistics. King argues that 'Transnationality replaces the fixedness of emigration and return' (2000: 45). Small-scale research can define its own terminology and focus on one or selected aspects of return. But there is still a need to understand what relates the second-generation return migration of Greek-Americans to ancestral return migration to Abkhazia and Adygeya, how this relationship also connects to Japanese-Brazilians' experiences in their homeland and those of Caribbean return migrants, and how these can still be useful in understanding the return of German-Turks. Russell King's various publications, sometimes co-authored with scholars from a variety of disciplines, the books and special issues that he edited (one of which I had the opportunity to be part of), and the PhD dissertations that he supervised are all

well-informed about such case studies from around the world and reflect upon the multidimensionality of Migration Studies as a discipline. For this reason, Russell King's personality and works will always be an inspiration for scholars of Migration Studies.

Notes

- [1] Forced Migration List, <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/discussion>.
- [2] PREMIG (2015) About PREMIG, <http://www.prio.org/Projects/Extensions/Possibilities-and-realities-of-return-migration-PREMIG/About/?xitem=920&handler=Project>.
- [3] MIREM (2015) Statistical Data, <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research/analyses/statistics/>.
- [4] CRIS: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/cris/>.

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AGEING, GENERATIONS AND MIGRATION

The Age Extremes: Theorising Age in Migration Research

Zana Vathi

Migration research has traditionally been concerned with the study of young adults based on a simple and, to a large extent, valid assumption – that the young, the more agentic and the well-resourced are the ones who migrate. This focus on the young adult age-band has also been influenced by policy-making in the field; receiving countries have traditionally been interested in the ways in which migrants could become a contributing element of their labour markets and who would exert little pressure on the countries' welfare systems. However, by focusing on the young and the economically productive, though implicitly and unintentionally, migration research has left unchallenged neo-liberal assumptions at a macro level, and power asymmetries at a micro-level. There are very few academics, if any, who have conducted research with migrants throughout the life-course spectrum; Russell King leads the way. Some early traces of his research date to the late 1970s, with a study (King 1977) on children's return visits to their country of origin – Italy – and, later, with his research on retirement migration and ageing more broadly (King *et al.* 2014) – a body of work of age extremes and timeless contributions.

This legacy inspired my research with the young descendants of Albanian migrants in Europe, which I carried out under Russell's supervision (2007–11). While other researchers were priding themselves on their work on child migration and/or the study of the 'second-generation', the intersection of age and generation had already received Russell's intellectual signature, and abundant academic capital was there for new research to thrive. For example, in 'Return visits of the young Albanian second generation in Europe: contrasting themes and comparative host-country perspectives' (Vathi and King 2011), these academic developments were naturally embedded, though with the subtlety that writings on some of the most personal and transformative experiences of people on the move require. Furthering scholarship on transnationalism and migration, this piece of work highlights the role of return visits as important corporal mobilities that define transnational ties more broadly. It equally analyses the positioning of children in transnational social fields and their role in the maintenance of affective ties and the continuation of the corporal mobilities of adult migrants to the homeland. In the context of such intellectual abundance, the strict application of theories on such very complex human experiences could even be considered as 'intellectual vulgarity', despite recognition of the well-intended scope possessed by other academics who endorse highly theoretical approaches. It is not that theory and theorisation are not part of the tapestry of Russell's work; it is that it is difficult to interweave these important ingredients of academic creation with research on the ground as masterfully as he does!

And I am one of Russell King's 'intellectual offspring'. Concerned for a long time with migration academically and experientially, I am inspired to further understanding of the meaning *age* takes due to movements across borders. In the migration context, age may consist of a socially constructed variable and, at the same time, be an important variable from a legal-anthropological perspective. While ageing is a process attracting the attention of migration researchers, age is an overlooked and under-theorised construct in migration and social-science research. Research at the age extremities and migration that has emerged in the last decade – e.g. the burgeoning research on child migration and the more recent research on elderly and ageing migrants – is making the theorisation of age at the intersection of migration and mobility a necessity. In most of the migration literature, however, with few exceptions (Fincher 1997), age is simply mentioned in passing.

Yet, empirical results and policy documents make reference to age as an important, sometimes determining, factor for migration and the mobility of individuals. At best, migration research has included age as part of the intersectionality reasoning (e.g. Shah 2007) or a possible variable for future research (Carling 2002). Similarly, research that has looked at age in the

framework of Mobility Studies has paid little attention to age in the context of tourism – Urry and Larsen (2011) mention it in the revised version of *The Tourist Gaze*. However, the focus of Tourism Studies on the resource-privileged groups or class has been subject to scrutiny; but far less is written about the constructions of age in the context of mobility. In fact, the two variables – age and mobility – have mostly been treated from a deficit perspective. Age also makes an appearance in the conceptualisation of superdiversity (Vertovec 2011: 13), but this is not picked up by empirical work; it is, therefore, unclear how age relates to superdiversity.

Age has concerned demographers and geographers for years (e.g. Gregory 2000), but social scientists in general need to look more carefully at the age hierarchies in the context of migration and the cultural politics of age, implications for the migration process, politics and migration policies. Research would then only follow what White and Jackson (1995) noted – that an integrated approach to geography and social theory is needed to understand the complexity of human mobilities. Age is not only culturally defined; it has strong institutional implications. A few examples would include the UK point-based system, age assessment in the detention centre of young asylum-seekers and the implications for humanitarian action on the part of the state for their protection and granting of asylum (Crawley 2010), and marriage migration, etc. In other contexts, age defines who is eligible for child protection (e.g. the Mario Project: <http://marioproject.org/>).

In the future, my research agenda will look at age from an intersectionality perspective. Indeed, this particular theoretical framework has survived for too long without incorporating age as a constructed and politicised variable which largely determines individuals' positioning in society and migrants' trajectories across borders. And perhaps this stream of thought would not have happened without inspiration from an academic – Russell King – who has subtly dismissed socio-cultural and academic conventions and politics that rely on and reproduce age-related inequalities.

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Sunset Lives: Research at the Interface of Migration, Tourism and Social Gerontology

Allan Williams

The Sunset Lives project was born on a warm evening in Bristol in 1994. Talking to Russell over a drink at a workshop on islands – another of our shared interests – we discussed the overlaps between migration and tourism research, and more specifically the significant research gaps in the literature on later-life migration or international retirement migration. Unlike many late-evening research ideas, which lose their urgency or conviction in the cold light of day, our enthusiasm for this research took root and assumed a concrete form. Together with Tony Warnes, who was then a professor of social gerontology at the Northern General Hospital, we were successful in obtaining an Economic and Social Research Council grant to undertake a three-year research project that proved to be one of the most fruitful and enjoyable projects of our careers.

Intellectually, the project was positioned at the interface of migration, social gerontology and tourism. With hindsight it is clear that it was also well timed, given the increasing public, policy and research awareness of the significance of later-life migration. Even at that date, there were 1 million UK pensions paid to recipients living outside the UK (Williams *et al.* 1997), and a substantial proportion of these were resident in Southern Europe, mostly constituting what came to be termed ‘lifestyle migrants’. Although there was a small but significant literature on intra-national retirement migration, there were very few studies at the international scale, the most notable European exception being Myklebost’s (1989) research on Norwegian seasonal snowbirds to Spain. Relatively little was known about the trajectories and experiences of these and of other types of later-life migrants, despite the social, economic and political implications for both the sending and the destination countries.

The selection of comparative case studies was determined in part by our conceptual framework and in part by our individual research expertise. Russell assumed overall responsibility for the case study of Tuscany and Tony for Malta, and I took the lead in the Algarve. In the fourth case study, the Costa del Sol, we jointly shared the research leadership. Guy Patterson, who had recently completed his PhD under Russell’s supervision, was the project research fellow and he spent more than a year in the field implementing our mixed-methods research design. Other than in Malta and, to a limited extent, the Algarve, the lack of accurate data for our target populations meant that sampling was purposive and, in reality, involved persistent networking, giving talks to associations and driving long distances for interviews. Guy did most of the hard work, but Russell also made a substantial input in Tuscany, given that this was the most spatially diffused and, in some senses, ‘invisible’ of the four case-study populations. They spent many a long day in the gathering autumn gloom, driving great distances to search out our interviewees.

After assembling a remarkably rich, inter-disciplinary and comparative international dataset, we set about writing up our findings. Working in different institutions in the UK, and concerned to make sure that our writing was genuinely a joint enterprise, we took off on two occasions for ‘writing weeks’. Unsurprisingly, they were located in intellectually stimulating, but always Mediterranean locations. The most memorable was in the Spanish island of Gomera, where I have strong memories of Russell sitting at a table in the villa, with chickens wandering past and sometimes through the open door in our villa. In the evenings, our discussions of social integration issues were often drowned out by a deafening chorus from the frogs in nearby ponds.

The project produced a number of papers, a special themed issue of the *International Journal of Population Geography* (King *et al.* 1998), and a book entitled *Sunset Lives* (King *et al.* 2000). Our findings on motivations and decision-making emphasised the expected importance of climate and lifestyle, costs and culture, together with the importance of notions of new beginnings, especially after significant life-course events such as divorce or ill-health. A second strand of the work looked at their social integration, which varied strongly across the four case studies, but generally demonstrated stronger integration with other in-migrants than with local residents. The case-study differences were underpinned by significant variations in language ability, networks and previous experience of living outside the UK. A third theme examined the health and welfare challenges faced by a population that, having mostly arrived in the early and active elderly life-cycle stage, was ageing *in situ* and increasingly facing the challenges of the frail elderly life-stage. Some of the most poignant interview material addressed the question of how individuals had responded or would respond to critical moments such as the loss of mobility or the death of a partner. There was also evidence of contrasting individual strategies for engaging with health-care risks (Warnes *et al.* 2000). Finally, we also explored the relationships between tourism and retirement migration, in terms of defining the search spaces of potential migrants, relationships with visiting friends and family, and the negotiation of relationships with co-present tourists from Northern Europe (Williams *et al.* 2000). Perhaps the central message from the research was the existence not of one, but of many, stories and trajectories of later-life migration, which were shaped by past experiences, the timing of migration and the economic and social structures and institutions in the destination regions.

The project, of course, left many questions unanswered, such as how the experiences of these lifestyle later-life migrants compared with those of other types of later-life migrants in other European contexts. The process of return also remained significantly under-researched, as did the analysis of economic impacts, and engagement in local politics and interest-group activities. Under Tony's leadership, we addressed some of these questions through two European Science Foundation-funded research networks. Over the next four years, these brought a strong and much needed comparative international dimension to this research area. However, this was a rapidly changing field and, as these networks came to a formal end in the early 2000s, it was already evident that new research questions were emerging about the increasingly globalised nature of later-life migration. There were also emerging issues relating to the engagement of later-life migrants in local politics and interest groups. A few years later, the 2008+ economic crisis would add a further series of challenges for the migrants, the host communities and researchers.

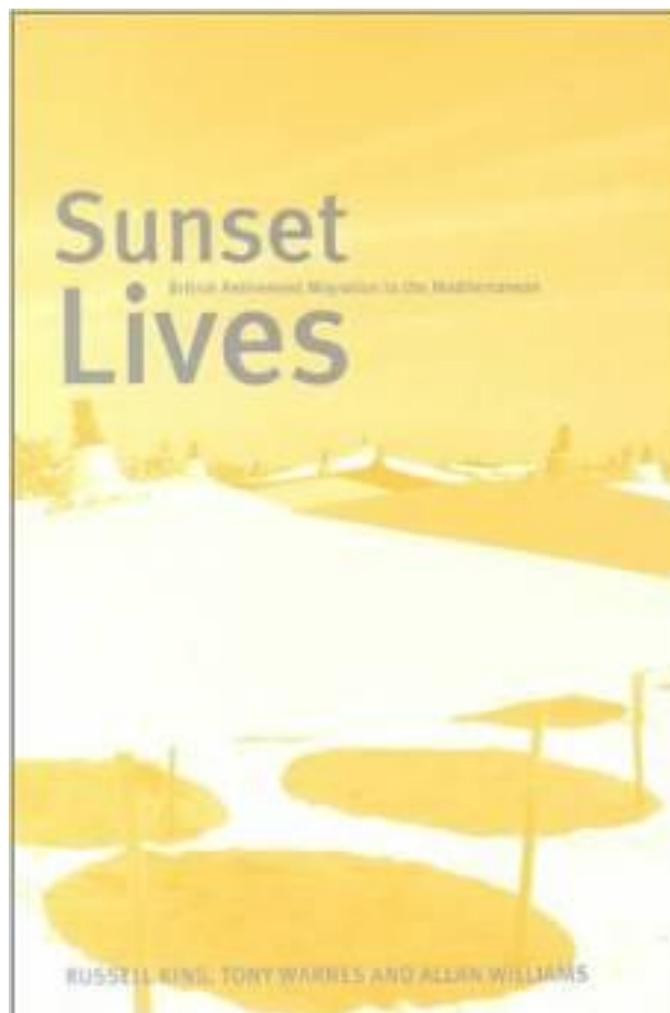
By then, all three of us had, to varying extents, moved on from this research area to new and different projects. Looking back over more than a decade to the *Sunset Lives* project, hopefully it has stood the test of time and provided a significant platform for advancing research in this field: but that is for others to decide, rather than for the authors. However, what I can say without reservation is that this was one of the most rewarding and enjoyable projects that I have ever participated in. It was a team effort, of course, but I still have strong memories of Russell's contribution to our work: his almost unrivalled migration fieldwork experience in Mediterranean Europe, his passion for quality data collection, and his unfailing energy and positive outlook that drove us along at key moments.

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The Entwined Processes of Human Experience: Russell King's Approach to Ageing and Migration

Aija Lulle

The prolific research of Russell King is based on close scrutiny of the geographic realities of the life course of an individual as it unfolds *in places* and *on the move*. Migration research has been dominated by assumptions that migration, especially labour migration, is all about young people; here I would like to acknowledge the important contribution that Professor King's long-time passion – migration and ageing – has made to our field. Russell King has an encyclopaedic knowledge of Migration Studies and a sharp eye for links missing in the existing scholarship. Moreover, he has a truly admirable talent for beautiful writing. King's latest perspective on ageing and migration as entwined processes can be characterised by three words: clarity, necessity and eloquence. Let me take these one by one.

First, his encompassing academic gaze has made him a master of the building skills of typology. Starting with his earlier work on retirement as lifestyle migration, Russell King has provided remarkably clear and useful typologies that both novice and experienced researchers need in order to understand the field. I particularly want to highlight the work he has done over the past few years (King 2014; King *et al.* 2014) in clearly structuring the various emerging strands of migration research into typologies that allow us to distinguish important differences. Significant types include the ageing relatives of migrants who did not move to change their circumstances, yet were significantly affected by migration realities when younger family members chose to migrate, those who migrate themselves in later life, migrants who elect to experience ageing in their current places of residence, as well as those who migrate on retirement.

King's typologies are clear, but never simplistic. Building them requires a broad intergenerational and intersectional analysis as a prerequisite for his serendipitously brilliant inquiry. The concepts of ageing and migration as such are negotiable and contested; seeing them as entwined processes results in convincingly grounded and much-needed explanations about how these processes are specifically socially constructed.

So we can see that his contribution to ageing and migration stems from his very approach to research – an imperative to unpack 'deep history' and, as King has demonstrated already in his many other works (e.g. on patriarchy in Albanian migration), this approach has led to the necessity to question the *vulnerability* trope. King's research reveals how objectified and vulnerable figures appear in research and in the public understanding. He interlinks the realities of migration with his broad knowledge of the social sciences and the larger structures that fundamentally organise our lives, such as the tyranny of chronological age, for example, in many principles for retirement or informal social conceptions of labour recruitment. This must also be why King is so successful in collaborative and comparative work, where he has the opportunity to investigate the ways in which these structures reveal themselves geographically, and how entwined ageing and migration intersects distinctively with ethnicity, 'race', class, religion, gender and sexuality (King *et al.* 2015). When supervising my PhD thesis on Latvians in Guernsey he immediately spotted and drew my attention to the intersections and differences that reveal themselves when Latvian women, who felt old at home, hit the road and discovered that they are strong, capable and desired outside their previous social settings in Latvia (Lulle 2014). This work lays the necessary foundation that can make larger current realities visible: knots in industries of care where ageing migrant women take on the duties of care for other ageing people around them, a dire

lack of policy responses, the precariousness of the lives of ageing migrants, as well as the archaeology of ageism across time and space.

Finally, as I said at the beginning, Russell King's approach to studying the ways in which migrants manage their lives is as eloquent as it is academically sound. He sees a 'fertile soil' of necessary research, which is fast emerging in the early twenty-first century. A functional systemic approach perceives ageing people as gradually declining *bodies*, while ageing migrants, especially if they are labour migrants, are often left off the research radar. King's interest in the lived migration experiences of migrants gives dignity not only to his informants, but to all of us who read his texts. Providing a readership for these voices in his eloquent writing, King seeks to understand how the people themselves formulate their well-being needs and he urges us to fill the gaps in our understanding (King 2015). In so doing, he opens up a field of study beyond the limited objectification of the 'ageing migrant' and pays tribute to the human meaning of lives on the move, refusing to diminish human experience to health and care. His contribution clearly underlines a need for useful research and powerful writing on migration settings and the wide range of realities that older age may bring. Each of our stories can develop as deeply satisfactory, intimate, and fulfilling lives.

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Gender, Age and Generations: A State-of-the-Art Report

Naluwembe Binaisa

I came to this country when I was nine years old, dreaming of snow... behind me was Uganda, a temperate land replete with warm, bright smiles and legendary hospitality, overshadowed by rumours of disappearances, classmates crying and one uncle dead, apparently fed to the crocodiles – the Idi Amin legacy. Ahead of me was excitement and England – a land known only from story books, the classics and *Oliver Twist* – which, unbeknownst to us, was to become our most permanent home in a lifetime of migration, exile, return and just living. Years later, as an MA in Migration Studies student, I was to sit in Russell's class 'Theories and Typologies of Migration' and receive my first exposure to scholars who tried to make sense of lives such as the ones my family and I continued to lead. It was Russell's exposition in one of his lectures on the theme of time, gender and generations that crystallised my interest and ultimately my vocation as a Migration Studies scholar. A few years later, as head of the IMISCOE research cluster Gender, Age and Generations, he published a state-of-the-art paper on this same theme. This is a paper to which I have returned time and again for inspiration and with new questions.

Gender, Age and Generations is a wide-ranging and deep critical evaluation, mapping and proposing an exciting research agenda that had previously been approached in disparate yet important ways. Russell and his colleagues make the case for an intersectional approach to the themes of gender, age and generations. The theoretical overview presented in this paper draws on cross-cultural examples from across the globe and gives a platform to both recent and more obscure articles, stimulating the reader to approach their research practice holistically. Russell is an advocate of interdisciplinarity, a lesson first encountered in the comprehensive reading lists he produced for his MA class. The analytical approach and theoretical arguments for the gender, age and generations research agenda that Russell and his colleagues present in this paper demonstrate clearly the value of drawing from different academic disciplines. Key highlights that remain provocative include the juxtaposition of Cwerner's evocative 'Times of migration' (2001) with issues of 'life course', to propose a nuanced interpretation and emphasise the heterogeneity within these often taken-for-granted concepts. The critical approach encapsulated in this paper invites us to ask: What do age and the passing of time mean? Why do gender dynamics remain such a challenge for migration theory and analysis? What does a term like 'generations' mean beyond the typologies of 1.5, second and third generations?

These are all questions that cannot be ignored and one is left – on reading this ground-breaking paper – with a hunger to tackle and contribute to the challenges that an intersectional approach demands. Furthermore the paper couples these theoretical insights with a migrant-centred perspective that reveals the messiness of everyday life; where questions of identity and belonging are impinged and impacted upon across the fluid spectrum of these inter-related dynamics. The duality of theoretical concepts such as structure and agency receives new impetus under the gender, age and generations research agenda. For example, the very real legal challenges of obtaining citizenship and the right to work, and the acquisition of citizenship in new lands that the second and subsequent generations enjoy, all play out in unexpected ways when one adopts this approach. As Russell and his colleagues demonstrate, the conjoined gender, age and generations analytical lens exposes the linearity assumed within some theories of migration. Instead, what emerges from this approach is the nuanced positionality within migrants' itineraries across the life course in different spaces, places and

times of migration. In this paper, the allure and promise of intersectionality is given grist and solidity away from the ephemerality that it often evokes.

The gauntlet thrown down by this paper remains with us today, as can be seen in the many academic papers that attempt an intersectional analytical approach, but remain skewed towards one or other of the vectors of gender, age or generations. To this end, this paper remains fresh and pertinent. The IMISCOE cluster that this paper foreshadowed contributed many thought-provoking special issues and books that took on this research agenda. Ones that remain in mind, not least because of my personal involvement as the Research Officer under Russell's stewardship, are: 'Love, sexuality and migration' (King and Mai 2009) and 'Links to the diasporic homeland' (King *et al.* 2011). This was a prolific and productive research cluster filled with hard work and a lot of fun! The many young and not-so-young scholars who were part of this cluster remain indebted to the intellectual vigour of the gender, age and generations research agenda. As the young girl who landed on England's shores and who did not understand the new terms that were to define her reality – such as refugee, migrant, stranger – I was to make a life quite dissimilar to my parents' generation. The 'I' that emerged is now an African, British, Black woman, mother of a mixed-parentage 'true' second-generation child. In that mode, I still return to this paper because it charts a thought-provoking, unfulfilled research challenge that inspires me to continue as a Migration Studies scholar.

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Gender, Age and Generations. State of the art report Cluster C8

To provide comprehensive theoretical and empirical knowledge that can form a reliable basis for policy, IMISCOE brings together some 400 selected, highly qualified researchers from more than 22 European institutes. Based on their wide-ranging skills and experience in international comparative research, the institutes implement an integrated, multidisciplinary, rigorously comparative research programme with Europe as its central focus. A first step in implementing this programme has been to develop so-called State-of-the-Art reports that take stock of research in the nine thematic 'research clusters' that IMISCOE is build around and that cross-cut personnel and activities throughout the 22 institutes. 'Gender, Age and Generations' represents one of these research clusters.

The Innovation and Interdisciplinarity of Russell King

Lena Näre and Janine Teerling

As two former PhD students of Russell King, we would like to take this opportunity to highlight two central elements in his vast corpus of scholarly work that characterise both his contribution to the field of Migration Studies and him as a person: interdisciplinarity and innovation.

Russell has always been excellent at bringing together people from different backgrounds, and what made the SCMR such a vibrant space in which to conduct PhD research was its truly interdisciplinary nature. Russell has not limited his own thinking to fit strict disciplinary boundaries, paradigms or theoretical and empirical approaches which, we believe, is key to innovation. What we both learned from Russell is to conduct research by being sensitive to the data first and foremost, rather than trying to fit a specific theoretical framework to a set of data. This has meant reflecting deeply on the world out there and, only then, thinking about how to conceptualise the reality. And if no theoretical concepts were useful to describe that reality, Russell was the first to push us to come up with our own conceptualisations. Russell has the quality of appreciating what is actually being said, rather than the position in the academic hierarchy from which it is said. Therefore, he has always given equal space to the development of younger scholars' ideas and been very supportive, even to the most unconventional thoughts.

One article that particularly captures his innovative and interdisciplinary quality is 'Towards a new map of European migration', first published in 2002 by the *International Journal of Population Geography* (King 2002). In the article, Russell stresses the need to move away from the narrow disciplinary boundaries and traditional dichotomies that have shaped the study of migration in the past and continue to do so today. He problematises the taken-for-granted use of dichotomies such as internal vs international, forced vs voluntary, temporary vs permanent and, finally, legal vs illegal, and discusses new forms of mobility such as student migration, love migration and hybrid tourism migration. By thinking outside the box of classifications, Russell urged both of us to respect the multiplicities of the empirical world that we were going to study for our doctoral research, rather than trying to fit the empirical world into the tight categories so often used by migration scholars. It forced us to realise that many of these categories mirror administrative classifications used in governmental practices, and that the labels, starting from the term 'migrant', which we attach to those we study, very seldom reflect the lived experiences of these people.

Russell's article was a true eye-opener for Lena when she reflected on her fieldwork on migrant domestic and care work in Naples, Italy. The rather fictitious nature of social and administrative categories was exemplified in 2004, when Lena interviewed Sri Lankan migrants in Naples. Many of the Sinhalese and Tamil migrants had arrived in Italy clandestinely by boat. When they were caught, the Tamil migrants were able to make believable asylum claims and many were granted refugee status due to their ethnic background, while the Sinhalese – who were literally in the same boat – many of whom had experienced political persecution for their anti-government views, were not recognised by the authorities as legitimate claimants for asylum due to their ethnic background. In the eyes of the migration scholar, the Sinhalese would most probably be categorised as irregular migrants (and later possibly receive a stay permit as labour migrants), while the Tamils would be classified as refugees – although the motivations for migration, the actual migration process, the following precarious position in the local labour markets in Italy, and the migration project in terms of permanence/temporarily, would be very similar, if not identical. Ever

since, Lena has been more interested in deconstructing and destabilising the notion of a 'migrant' and thinking about how it is brought into being through legislative and border practices, rather than focusing on migrants as individuals. Lena has argued for the importance of approaching migrancy as a social category – rather than an identity or mindset – with classificatory effects related to citizenship practices as well as racial, ethnic, religious and social-class inscriptions (Näre 2012, 2013).

It is only now, after revisiting this particular article for a contribution in honour of his 70th birthday, that Janine has truly realised how her study of second-generation 'return' migration to Cyprus had indeed materialised into a portrayal of 'new European migration', as encouraged by Russell in his 2002 paper. Russell's advocacy that migration research does not have to be conducted within narrow disciplinary boundaries, and that a particular migration phenomenon does not have to be 'either/or', gave Janine the confidence and sense of freedom to explore the phenomenon of second-generation 'return' migration through the actual lived experiences of the research participants, without attempting to model or explain them through predefined concepts or categories. Starting from the life-worlds and experiences of her participants as individuals – rather than from their (presumed) shared characteristics as return migrants – allowed Janine to look beyond the simple dichotomy of 'home' versus 'away' and 'indigenous' versus 'migrant', and reveal new, contemporary ways and spaces of belonging. One striking element in their narratives was the unique spaces of belonging which the participants created *beyond* national, ethnic and fixed cultural boundaries, shared with individuals and groups whose backgrounds vary greatly. While feelings of familiarity and comfort *are* key, these spaces draw upon a variety of sources – beyond the 'migrant label' – such as the same generational, age and life-cycle cohort, common interests in music, films, art, travel etc. and shared personal life histories and struggles. The privileging of such experiences of belonging over 'traditional' classifications of identity brings about a sense of unity defined by one's relations to (both actual and metaphorical) spaces, beyond the traditional 'here and there' and 'them and us' dichotomies (Teerling 2011, 2013).

In terms of reasons for migration, there was a clear difference between the traditional economic motivation that brought many Cypriots to the UK in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and the motivations of their British-born children to 'return' to Cyprus. For the latter this was often a 'lifestyle choice', a desire for a better (or different) quality of life, in terms of climate, safety, and pace of life. Although more practical reasons, such as a job offer, business plan or property opportunity, often prompted the actual move, in most cases the underlying motives were driven by the wish to improve their overall 'lifestyle package'. So here the (imagined) distinction between 'migrant worker' and migration for other purposes starts to break down. Furthermore, for a number of female participants, the search for a better way of life was linked to a desire for more freedom and autonomy. For others the move was motivated by a desire to join their partner or spouse in Cyprus. These forms – 'lifestyle migration', 'independent female migration' and 'love migration' respectively – are all examples of Russell's 'new European migrations'. Hence, other rationales are added to the traditional economic motivation of migration – excitement, experience, change of lifestyle, desire for independence – transforming the act of migration into a 'projection of an individual's identificatory experience beyond what are perceived as the restricting confines of his or her own country' (King 2002: 95).

Finally, one other thing that struck both of us when re-reading Russell's article was his observation that migrations tend to be regarded as either spectacular or mundane, problematic or non-problematic and that, by and large, the mundane, unproblematic forms of movement are left unrecorded and often unstudied. Indeed, when reviewing the literature on 'return' migration for her research, Janine found that they mainly talked about the (important!) problems and difficulties involved with the process of return. While Janine's study was

certainly not devoid of references to struggles and problems settling in, what was particularly striking was what the participants *gained* (rather than what they *lost*) as a result of their return – in other words, the data revealed that Cyprus was often experienced as a positive space in which ‘good’ and ‘successful’ return migration can be enacted. Not particularly spectacular? Perhaps. But worth documenting? Definitely. Despite the fact that the field of Migration Studies often mirrors the problems portrayed in the media and on political agendas, topics which (perhaps unsurprisingly) also attract the most research funding, Russell has been innovative in staying away from the lure of these bright lights, steadily focusing on issues that do not necessarily make the news headlines, from love, retirement and student migration to stories of everyday life in communist Albania. And this is exactly where, in our opinion, Russell’s strength lies: his recognition that spectacle can be found in the mundane, and that the mundane can, indeed, be spectacular.

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Life Has Come Full Circle: Leicester to Dublin and Back, *Not* by Way of New York!

Henrietta O'Connor

Over 25 years ago, as an undergraduate at Queen Mary College, University of London, I developed an interest in Migration Studies, urban geography and the development of US cities, and specifically the idea of New York City as a 'melting pot'. These early interests led me to cobble together a one-page PhD proposal based around the idea of researching Irish migration to New York City. My original plan, if I remember correctly, was to compare the lived experiences of Irish women who had migrated to NYC with those who had never left Ireland. Part of the motivation for this was that I had glamorous ideas in my head of being a research student living a cosmopolitan lifestyle in New York (with little idea of how this would be funded!). I sent a speculative letter to Russell King, then Head of Department at Trinity College Dublin, along with a very under-developed research proposal (although I do remember that it was typed on an early-version Apple computer...).

Knowing what I now know about the vagaries of postgraduate funding, I was extremely lucky in receiving a positive reply from Russell. While I cannot remember the full details and no longer have the paperwork, what I do know is that, somehow, Russell helped me to secure a prestigious Trinity College scholarship and a PhD place in the Department of Geography. I arrived in Dublin in April 1991 and my realistic and pragmatic supervisor immediately and wisely suggested that I drop the NYC element of the research and, instead, use Leicester as my fieldwork site. This turned out to set the course of the next twenty-five years, as I came to Leicester (as an Erasmus student, exchanging places with a Leicester student who went to TCD in my place) where I ended up staying and developing a career at the university where Russell had started his own career.

As my thesis developed under Russell's guidance, I began to develop an interest in the unique, yet under-explored, history of migration to the city of Leicester. This interest has led much of my subsequent research and, although I have since moved away from the field of migration, the Leicester perspective on my research has continued and Russell's early influence can be seen in much of my subsequent work. My thesis, which was ultimately submitted for the degree of MLitt., focused on the migration of Irish women to Leicester. It explored different facets of the women's lives in what was largely a postwar migration flow. With the notable exception of Walter's work (1989, 1991), Irish women's migration to the UK had been largely neglected in the literature, despite the numerical dominance of Irish women in the migration flow. Much of the work on Irish migration to the UK had, until then, been concerned with the history of Irish men (see, for example, Jackson, 1963). As with much empirical work in the social sciences, women had been largely ignored or, at best, neglected in Migration Studies more widely which, in the case of Irish migration, was all the more surprising given the evidence that they migrated in larger numbers than their male counterparts! Such gender-bias led to women being considered in the literature 'in relation to men: as wives, daughters, mothers; virtually always as followers, rarely as independent beings making their own decisions' (King and O'Connor 1996: 311). This theme has gone on to inform much of my later work. For example, my more recent work on youth employment has been concerned with the omission of women from much of the 1960s literature on school-to-work transitions and the lack of consideration of women's careers in the postwar decades (O'Connor and Goodwin 2004) and, more recently, with the invisibility of the work of academic women in the same period (Goodwin and O'Connor 2015).

The publication of the article ‘Migration and gender: Irish women in Leicester’ in the journal *Geography* (King and O’Connor 1996) was a significant milestone in my own career. Without Russell’s input, it is likely that the research would not have seen the light of day and my own academic career may not have commenced. Revisiting this article almost twenty years later, I can clearly see how carefully I was guided and supervised by Russell and how this informed the progress of my research – yet how he also gave me the independence to develop as a professional researcher. The article was positioned as a response to Findlay and Graham’s (1991) appeal for more research into the lived experience of migration. As such, the paper, and indeed, the thesis itself, was concerned with exploring the lives of fifty Irish-born women who had migrated to Leicester in the postwar years, when the city had a significant Irish population. Although the population was small, numbering just under 5,000 at its peak in 1971, the Irish community in Leicester was, until then, the most numerically significant minority group in the city. The majority of the women interviewed for the study had arrived in the 1950s and 1960s in Leicester, a city with a thriving labour market where there were plentiful opportunities for women, in particular.

This theme, women’s labour market participation and the wider employment trends in Leicester during the 1960s, has also become a defining feature of my later academic work. In the early 2000s, the discovery of a ‘lost’ research project in an attic office at the University of Leicester led to what has become a central part of my academic career and has many parallels with the work supervised by Russell. The Young Worker Project (see O’Connor and Goodwin 2004, 2010, 2012 and Goodwin and O’Connor 2005) was a large-scale study of young people leaving school and starting work in Leicester in the early 1960s, a time period which coincided with the inward migration of many of the Irish women interviewed for my thesis. Although the Young Worker Project included a small number of Irish and Polish families, it pre-dated the migration from India and East Africa that has come to characterise Leicester’s ethnic profile. In the 1960s data we found some evidence of anti-Irish attitudes that fit with the Irish women’s descriptions of the ‘no Irish’ signs they discovered in Leicester on their arrival.

Russell’s influence defined the course of my career in many ways, not least because it led me to Leicester and precipitated what has become a long-term interest in the postwar evolution of the city. Now, twenty-five years on from my first meeting with Russell, my eldest daughter is applying to study human geography at university. As part of her ‘A’-level studies, she is carrying out a research project on ethnic diversity in the city of Leicester. She is revisiting much of the same literature that I was introduced to by Russell and using the Census to map population change across a city that continues to evolve, having now become one of the UK’s first plural cities. Life has come full circle and Russell’s influence endures.

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Why Studying Transient Invisible Migrants is Important

Allan Findlay

My research was first influenced by Russell King's work in 1975, when I was interested in drawing parallels between the need for land reform in Highland Scotland (Findlay 1976) and the lessons to be learnt from land reform in Italy (King 1973). While this claim might stake my place as the earliest contributor to an academic collection in honour of Russell King's impressive academic footprint (at least if this were organised chronologically), I will not reminisce on the early years, but focus instead on Russell's much later ground-breaking work on the topic of student mobility.

As editor of the journal *Population, Space and Place*, I remember having my intellectual curiosity aroused when I first looked at a manuscript co-authored by Russell and one of his PhD students, Enric Ruiz-Gelices. The paper that crossed my editorial desk was concerned with the analysis of students who spent a year abroad. Later published as King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003), the paper initially faced the dismissive thought that this might not be a significant topic. At the time few people were researching international student mobility. Even if one were to admit that the almost invisible transient movement of students could be important because it involves large numbers of people, why give time to this? One could be studying the humanitarian tragedies associated with trafficked asylum-seekers, or the political challenges, for a country like the UK, of contemplating the acceptance of mass labour migration from the East and Central European economies. Given that the paper by King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003) went on to become one of King's three most-cited papers (over 300 citations by 2015, at least according to Google Scholar), I am very glad that a careful reading of the paper convinced me (and obviously it convinced a large number of other people) of the very great significance of researching international student mobility. At a personal level I was fortunate that, in the decade that was to follow, I was to undertake three very enjoyable collaborative research projects with Russell on diverse aspects of British international student mobility, but it was Russell and Enric's paper that first scoped the potential of the wider research topic.

The first contention of the 2003 paper was that far too few researchers had paid any attention to student mobility. 'The standard academic literature on migration pays virtually no attention to students as migrants' (King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003: 230). At the time, this claim could easily be justified. By contrast a decade later, and partly due to the paper, Bailey and Yeoh (2014) were complaining of the 'glut' of research publications on student migration! The empirical context of King and Ruiz-Gelices' work was analysis of the Erasmus and Socrates programmes that were part of the emergent new map of intra-European migration (King 2002). The paper tested two very specific ideas: first, that 'year abroad' students had a stronger European identity as a result of their student mobility and, second, that 'year abroad' students were more likely to expect, on their return, to plan to move to Europe after graduation for career reasons. A questionnaire survey was used to collect evidence about the nature of student mobility involving Sussex undergraduates, the experience of students while away and their expectations on return about their future mobility. These transient movers were compared with a control sample of students who had not studied abroad.

A quick examination of the citations of the King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003) paper reveals the surprising scale and diversity of the impact of their work. Here I list three types of researcher who have cited the original paper: a) education policy-makers and those who have sought to modify the Socrates–Erasmus student mobility scheme, b) academics interested in student mobility as a strategy for building cultural capital, and c) migration researchers

arguing for recognition that migration, however transient, is something embedded in wider lifecourse mobility trajectories.

Education policy-makers: perhaps the least surprising is that the paper became a classic study for those who were arguing for changes to the Erasmus and Socrates programmes (Sigalas 2010; Wilson 2011). This group of researchers included a range of policy-makers concerned with the asymmetry between the large number of European students coming into UK universities under the scheme, in contrast with the much lower number of UK students taking advantage of the opportunity to study in Europe. Ultimately this concern led to a larger research project (involving Russell, myself and, of course, Enric, not to mention Sussex's redoubtable Jenny Money, as well as a very resourceful Swiss research fellow, Alexandra Stam) commissioned by the UK Erasmus Council and funded by HEFCE, SHEFC, DEL, DfES, BUTEX and the British Council (HEFCE 2004). The original Sussex study was widened to enable the collection of data from students across the UK as well as with key stakeholders in the education sector. This second study found that, although there was robust evidence of a reduction in UK students moving to Europe within the Socrates–Erasmus scheme, this was more than compensated for by rising flows to North America, Australia and other destinations (Findlay *et al.* 2006). The research identified the barriers (gender, class, language) to UK students going abroad and fed policy recommendations to government that may have contributed to changes in the scheme. Socrates–Erasmus was widened to include non-study opportunities, as recommended by King *et al.* (2004). Even more important was recognition of the need to research the ‘almost invisible’ mobility of students because of the intellectual, economic and policy significance of these transient moves (King *et al.* 2010).

Student mobility as a strategy to build up cultural capital: King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003: 231) very succinctly summarised what they thought were the main reasons why researchers should see student mobility as being of theoretical interest. First, they suggested that, in an era of mass education, international students were distinguishing themselves from other students by seeking to identify as an educational elite in a social context where simply holding a university degree would be seen as ‘normal’. This laid the basis for a cultural capital view of student mobility that was to prove very powerful in subsequent analysis of the meanings attributed to why students engage so readily with diverse practices involved in the globalisation of higher education (Waters 2006; Waters and Brooks 2011; Waters and Leung 2013). Second, they argued that student mobility was part of an individualising world (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), with international mobility being seen as a cultural practice that some young people could engage in as a ‘first step in constructing an intercultural lifeworld which becomes more intense if the foreign residence is prolonged after graduation’ (King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003: 232).

Student migration as part of a lifecourse mobility trajectory: as noted above, student mobility may increase the propensity for later migration. In the years that have followed, this suggestion has been shown to be supported by a wide range of other studies (Faggian and Franklin 2014; Findlay *et al.* 2012; Frandberg 2010). Its significance lies in the recognition that one kind of mobility (whether it be categorised as motivated by study, or by personal or work goals) cannot be meaningfully separated from other mobilities within the same lifecourse, since the values and social practices of one move link very closely to those of later moves. Reading the same point in a different way, others have gone on to link student mobilities to the wider circulation of knowledge. Ironically, many of those who took up Russell's challenge to research student mobility in more detail, failed to heed this point and have begun to institutionalise student migration as a fixed and separate category in the literature.

In summary, King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003) is, like so many of Russell's papers, a landmark publication. I am sure that his interest in transient and almost invisible migrants was

curiosity-driven, but look where it led! None of us, as academics, have control over how others read our work, but few can have the satisfaction that Russell must have in seeing a research agenda that he identified being taken up and within a short period of time shaping both the academic landscape and the policy arena (King and Raghuram 2013).

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Understanding European Onward Migration

Jill Ahrens

Since coming to Sussex I have immensely appreciated collaborating with Russell as both a student and a colleague. As for other generations of students on the MA in Migration Studies, Russell's Theories and Typologies core course was my foundation to this interdisciplinary research field. During his seminars, Russell encouraged lively discussions through which we became familiar with key migration scholars and the breadth of his own research. Later I started working together with Russell, Allan Findlay and others on two research projects on international student mobility. Conducting fieldwork with Russell in Dublin and Leicester, I was fascinated to see how his interest in migration went beyond the realm of our research, guiding his conversations with the people we encountered and the observations he made about the changes in these cities. These experiences greatly contributed to me eventually pursuing doctoral research.

Many of Russell's publications have been relevant for my PhD topic, but when pushed to name one publication, I would select his article 'Towards a new map of European migration' in the *International Journal of Population Geography*. In this widely cited paper, Russell argues that the simplistic dichotomies, which came to dominate research on previous European migrations, fail to capture the more complicated and nuanced lived experiences of more-recent migrant types. This overarching argument has influenced how I approached my own research with Nigerian onward migrants in Germany, the UK and Spain. On the whole, previous research conducted on the topic of onward migration within Europe tended to be situated at binary extremes, focusing either on the 'illegal' moves of transit migrants or secondary movers, the 'legal' onward migration of naturalised refugees or the mobility of native Europeans. However, this appeared to contrast with the various types of semi-legal mobility and status I encountered amongst Nigerian migrants (Ahrens 2013). Considering onward migration along the life course, as Russell advocates in this paper, also enabled me to see how migration trajectories evolved over time and space. Some onward migrants went through extended periods of temporary relocation involving various degrees of transnational mobility and livelihood. Meanwhile, other onward migrants who appeared permanently settled often visited or even decided to 'return' to their previous European country of residence (Ahrens *et al.* 2014). As my supervisor, Russell encouraged me to question existing categorisations and make sense of these complex lived realities.

In his role as the co-founder of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, Russell has made a lasting impact on Migration Studies more widely. He was instrumental in bringing together this large interdisciplinary group of migration researchers, who all contribute to the SCMR being such an exciting place to work and study in. Yet another reason why many migrationists fondly regard Sussex as our *alma mater* is the many potluck dinners we shared together in Russell's house and garden over the years. Here's to many more celebrations of migration in Lewes!

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GEOGRAPHY, PLACE, SPACE AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

The Three Faces of Social Inequality: State Domination, Economic Exploitation, Cultural Binaries

A Short Essay in Honour of Russell King

Thomas Faist

In ‘Producing transnational space: international migration and the extra-territorial reach of state power’ (2014), Russell King and his co-author, Michael Collyer, argue that transnational social spaces are produced at the intersection of state control and migrant practices. They claim that ‘... transnational space is produced through the interplay of the activities of international migrants and state action’ (2014: 8), in light of ‘the hegemonic “mastery of space” of state institutions’ (2014: 14). As an example, Russell King focuses on how ‘European border control regimes produce inequalities’ (2014: 3)¹ through ‘... direct control of physical space, discursive control of imaginative space, lined by a symbolic control of transnational spaces invested with a particular value’ (2014: 9).

To my own thinking, this way of conceptualising the production of inequalities is truly inspiring. Not only is the article a fine example of how Russell King is able to think synthetically, integrating geographical notions of space with insights from political science on state control, from the pioneers in anthropology on transnationalism and from sociology on the importance of the social construction of binaries for the (re)production of inequalities. As to the latter, King observes that Migration Studies abounds with binaries: ‘... sending/receiving, home/host, emigration/immigration ... forced/voluntary, internal/international, refugee/economic migrant, permanent/temporary’ (2014: 7). Russell King’s work on transnationalism goes beyond the meaning of ‘trans’ as connecting across national borders and moves towards a wider understanding which refers not only to ties (material, symbolic etc.) across borders but to a new way of thinking conceptually.

Russell King and his co-author see in state control a main source producing inequalities in Europe, in particular in border controls along the Mediterranean. In the words of Featherstone and others, ‘By spatialities we mean the diverse ongoing connections and networks that bind different parts of the world together and that are constituted through (and in fact constitute) particular sites and places’ (2007: 383–4). In my own work, I use transnational space – a third space – as a notion which helps to capture the very different worlds between which international migration and other forms of spatial mobility usually occur. In this work I am interested in what I call the socio-cultural question, which emphasises both control and contestation of power in the constitution of inequalities.

Russell King’s approach to migration and state control as a particular form of power can be expanded. There are three forms of meta-mechanisms of power and inequality in a transnational world: state authority and domination, exploitation and oppression. The first, on *state authority*, refers to the claim of mostly nation-states to exercise the monopoly of power of a territory and a corresponding population. Border control at physical check points along a borderline, but also within the territory and abroad – “remote control” in Aristide Zolberg’s felicitous phrase (Zolberg 2003) – constitutes an integral part of state domination. The state control of borders has expanded and tightened; the main examples are the spread of the passport to perform acts of identity after World War One, or the linkage of border control with the development cooperation of adjoining countries by the European Union in the past twenty years. The second mechanism is *exploitation*. It has been well described by Karl Marx as the appropriation of the value added by the worker through the capitalist. In a nutshell,

exploitation is the use of an economic resource, in this case labour power, for ethically unacceptable purposes. This mechanism has remained in place ever since the advent of industrialisation and has not lost significance with the growing contestation of a third meta-mechanism, *oppression*. Conflicts around oppression refer to heterogeneities, such as ethnicity, gender and religion. It is often that such heterogeneities are used in a binary sense to create and maintain inequalities: black/white, man/woman, citizen/alien, etc. (Tilly 1998) – subsequently, contestation of such exclusionary labels revolves around binary cultural heterogeneities.

Migration often connects very unequal parts of the world, notably certain destinations in the global South with selected ones in the global North. Migration and, more generally, various forms of mobility, are crucial research sites not only for understanding the interdependence of various parts of the world – examples include the transfer of jobs from high-wage to low-wage regions in the garment industry, or the social consequences of climate change and international migration – but also for analysing how agents in very concrete ways straddle various locations and deal with social inequalities. From a transnational perspective it is not only the transnationality of migrants and non-migrants which is at stake but the broader context in which the inequalities of resources, status and power underlie and (indirectly) cause migration and the ways in which inequalities are (re)produced during migration and settlement processes. To the extent that the inequalities involved become a matter of public dispute and political contention, we can speak of a global socio-cultural question – a combination of that global socio-cultural question which focuses on exploitation and the cultural question emphasising the deleterious effects of oppression. This socio-cultural question pertains to the perception and interpretation of social inequalities as, first, illegitimate and, second, politicised. Both conditions are necessary in order to speak of a (global) socio-cultural question. The transnational character of migration is one of the strategic research sites for the study of the global socio-cultural question; other possibilities include, for example, campaigns for social standards and social labels.

The three meta-mechanisms or faces of inequality have come to form an assemblage in a cumulative way: exploitation has been a hallmark of control and contestation of and by workers since the industrialisation which has spread unequally around the world since the nineteenth century. And, with World War One, passports as a shorthand for the state control of cross-border mobility have come to characterise population movements ever since. With the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, sometimes called ‘new’ social movements, various aspects of oppression, going beyond exploitation, have been visible in public contestation; the civil rights and women’s movements are only the most prominent, with the movements of migrants claiming rights (e.g. the irregular status of migrants) being among them.

In the nineteenth century, the ‘social question’ was the central subject of extremely volatile political conflicts between the ruling classes and the working-class movements in various parts of the world. In the twenty-first century, the social question is different from that of the nineteenth and most of the twentieth.

First, state control and national statehood have spread across the globe. The nation-state is considered as the legitimate form of political organisation. Very fundamentally, states have sought to discredit or co-opt other agents of border control, such as brokers (Faist 2014a). Moreover, at least in Europe, there is the welfare state, which moderated social conflicts around (re)distribution quite successfully in the first thirty years after World War Two. Although there has been a transformation of the welfare state since the 1980s, with first the neo-conservative and then the neo-liberal revolutions, which have resulted in a restriction of rights and benefits, the middle classes have not entered into open revolt but have been engaged in a politics of fear or anxiety over the national. The welfare state has caged in social

conflicts on a national scale, and still seems able to do so. Thus, there is a dichotomisation of internal and external, with the welfare state as a main mechanism of social closure toward the outside.

The importance of statehood and attendant membership status can be seen globally. In the nineteenth century, class was determining life chances, though location mattered. In 1870, about 50 per cent of income differences were attributable to class position, about 10 per cent to location. The picture looks very different in the year 2000: class still matters, but location has gained in prominence: some 50 to 60 per cent of income differences between individuals in the world is due simply to the mean income differences between the countries where people live; about 20 to 30 per cent is made up of the class position. The increasing importance of location has been called 'citizenship rent' (Milanovic 2011).

Second, there is the politicisation of multiple heterogeneities around processes of oppression. In the nineteenth century, the conflict between capital and labour, in class terms, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, at times subsumed most other socio-economic and political struggles. Nowadays, public debates and conflicts revolve around multiple heterogeneities, of which gender, ethnicity, and race are only the most prominent. The latter are not new heterogeneities but have gained more momentum in the wake of the new social movements of the 1970s and other processes, such as international migration. Some of these heterogeneities, such as gender, ethnicity and race, have also risen to prominence in public policies aimed at addressing inequalities such as affirmative action, thus connecting to the first face of inequality, state domination.

Third, exploitation has not simply lost its importance in determining life chances, especially when viewed within national states. Yet, nowadays, we focus much more on how class intersects with heterogeneities such as gender, ethnicity or age – often such heterogeneities are socially constructed as binaries, and consider gender or race (Faist 2014b). Cultural binaries interplay with statehood in ambiguous ways. In the twenty-first century, nation-states are 'competition states' (Cerny 1997) concerned not only about gaining brains from abroad but also about the emigration of their own so-called highly qualified citizen-workers. While the term 'brain drain' in the 1970s denoted the exodus of highly skilled labour from so-called developing to economically developed countries, it has now entered the discussions of OECD countries with regard to its geographically mobile citizens. As to heterogeneities, 'migration background' – as the family experience is called in Germany – is considered by some companies as a boon to boost 'diversity' and conduct business across the globe, drawing on the cultural competencies of their employees. Once-considered private skills, such as language, become economic insider advantages in the realm of companies. At the same time, ethnicity or gender are still connected to disadvantages in income or status.

Inspired by King's and Collyer's idea that transnational spaces are produced at the intersection of state control and migratory practices, I include state control in addition to economic exploitation and cultural oppression to paint a broad picture of global inequalities. Migration is thus an ideal field in which to probe into the production of social inequalities around the globe. In this context, transnational space is a conceptual tool to probe beyond container units such as national states or national societies. It is a 'thirdspace' much needed to obtain a distanced view of concepts which are too often treated as if they were self-understood. The same applies to the use of binaries. Not only are they politically unsustainable, as Bel hooks (1990) and Homi Bhabha (1994), among others, have prominently pointed out. We also need to go beyond for the sake of working with social scientific concepts that critically reflect notions of political conflict.

Note

- [1] King also speaks of ‘the power geometries of inequality’ (Collyer and King 2012: 5), in a Working Paper which is a sort of precursor to the article mentioned here.

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Mobile People Looking for a Place to Stop: Geography and Migration Studies

Stephen Castles

Throughout his long and distinguished career, Russell King has helped generations of migration scholars to understand existing patterns and emerging trends in human mobility. Russell has always held fast to the idea that there is something special about migration that distinguishes it from other aspects of human mobility. Reprising the words of a novel by Gabriel Josipovici (1977), Russell writes that ‘...(M)igrants are not constantly on the move, but what defines them as migrants is that they are ... looking for a place to stop and settle down, at least for a while’ (King 2012: 136). This means that it is essential to look not only at movement, but also at the effects it has on the migrants themselves and the societies from which they come, those they pass through in transit and those where they stop.

As a geographer, Russell addresses questions of space and place, and how these are made and re-made by migrants in interaction with non-migrants, but he is always also concerned with the human side of migration: the ways in which individual biographies are shaped by their mobility paths. Russell’s work is interdisciplinary in both methodology and analysis – based on the understanding that migration affects every aspect of human existence, and therefore can only be understood through the joint efforts of all the social sciences. That is why his contributions have been so important to migration scholars across the disciplinary spectrum. Russell has played a major role in creating a climate in which meticulous empirical work forms the basis for broad understanding and theorisation of both long-enduring patterns and dynamic trends. This influence is not always obvious; rather it often works behind the scenes, in challenging long-held ideas and showing social scientists and the public new paths towards understanding.

For example, Russell’s work on the rapid transition in Southern European migration patterns from the 1970s onwards, and on the complex relationship between migration and development, was highly influential in helping Mark Miller and myself (and, more recently, Hein de Haas) to reshape the various editions of *The Age of Migration* (5th edition 2014). We have also learnt a lot from Russell’s contributions on the links between internal and international migration, on mobilities and on gender issues in migration – not to speak of many other topics.

It was, therefore, with great interest that I read Russell’s (2012) article in *Population, Space and Place* – ‘Geography and Migration Studies: retrospect and prospect’. This was an agenda-setter, written originally for the geographers who came together for the Re-Making Migration Theory conference in Brighton in 2009. However, it also helps non-geographers to understand the importance and potential – but also the dilemmas and limitations – of geographical approaches to migration. The article starts with a call (following Adrian Favell 2008) for ‘interdisciplinarity and a multi-methods approach’. There follows the observation that ‘The academic and institutional landscape remains dominated by single-discipline departments’ (King 2012: 135). Russell then argues that ‘(human) geography – surely the most open and interdisciplinary of the social sciences – is best placed to appreciate and advance interdisciplinary thinking about migration’ (2012: 135).

Certainly Russell’s definition of Migration Studies as ‘the description, analysis and theorisation of the movement of people from one place or country to another (2012: 136)’ applies just as much to my own discipline, sociology, as it does to geography. But has geography really shown the way in transcending boundaries? The theorists that Russell discusses in his ‘retrospect’ section – Ravenstein, Zelinsky, Mabogunje and Hägerstrand – all

seem to have understood their reconceptualisations of migration as advances in geography, without much reference to other disciplines. Yet their work has certainly been influential for other migration scholars. For example, Mabogunje's (1970) systems approach resonated with the functionalist sociology of the time and was widely used, although, as Russell points out, it was criticised for its mechanistic character.

What about more recent theorisation of migration in geography? Russell sees the central trend in the 'cultural turn': a move away from population geography (a search for patterns, regularities and causal factors based on measurement and statistics), and the emergence of cultural geography as a central part of the discipline. Russell discusses this development with special reference to the mobilities paradigm, transnationalism, diaspora studies, and gender and migration.

All these themes do, indeed, show the growing significance of interdisciplinarity and of collaboration between geographers and other social scientists. The mobilities concept goes back to the work of a sociologist, John Urry, but geographers like Tim Cresswell played a major role in its further development. Transnational theory originated in the work of anthropologists, with sociologists playing a major part in its further development. As Russell says, 'Geographers arrived a little late at the party' (King 2012: 144) but they then helped to develop both empirical and theoretical work on the theme. The diaspora concept was first applied to contemporary migratory groups by sociologists like Robin Cohen and Nick Van Hear, and political scientists like Milton Esman, but geographers have played a major part in developing knowledge and analysis in this area, too. Finally, as Russell points out, the growing understanding of the role of gender in migration goes back to the work of sociologists Anna Phizacklea and Mirjana Morokvasic in the 1980s, but has been taken up by many geographers since.

What we see in the 'cultural turn' is the growing willingness and ability of geographers to take up empirical observations and conceptual trends wherever they originate, and to develop new ways of studying and understanding them. Geographers are no longer hemmed in by artificial boundaries – but then, by the same token, this applies to many social scientists from other disciplines who work on migration. What remains specific about geography, as Russell points out, is the way in which it continues to insist on the importance of space and place in understanding migration.

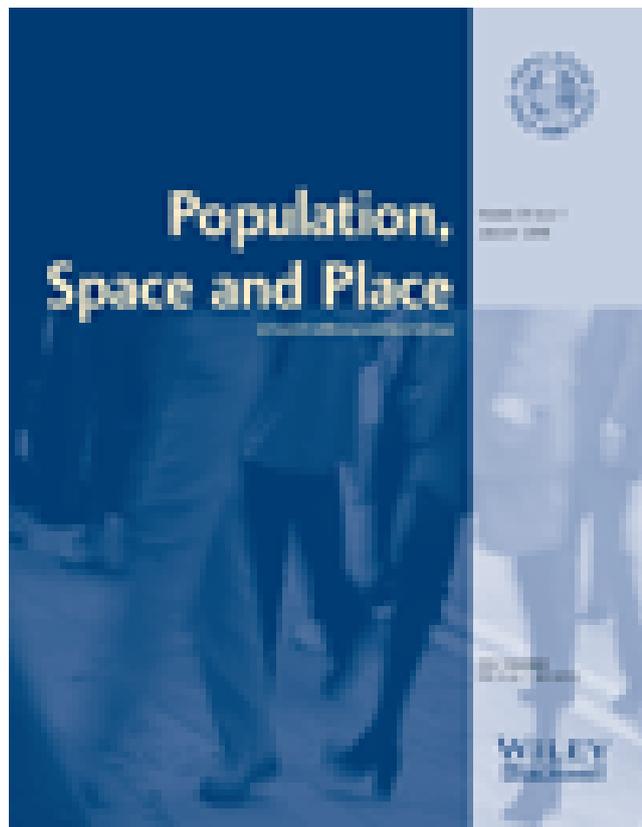
Perhaps the role of geography as an integrative social science is still a project in the making – and Russell has certainly contributed to this in his own wide-ranging work. Russell modestly omits to mention that migration research centres have almost always – by necessity – been interdisciplinary and that this has applied especially to the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, which he founded, led and inspired for so many years. The article in *Population, Space and Place*, 'Geography and Migration Studies', concludes with some cautious observations on the future both of Migration Studies and of migration itself. His emphasis on the role of structural, macro-economic factors in shaping migration patterns and experiences is important. It remains vital to study the cultural dimensions of migration, but the cultural turn should not obscure the 'materiality' of migration – the way it is driven by growing inequalities in power and wealth. In research practice, it is hard to constantly examine both structure and human agency. Russell shows us the way by conceptualising human mobility as always both a part of individual biographies and a factor shaping places and spaces. Migrants looking for a place to stop have always been part of human history and will continue to be so.

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Tribute to Russell King on *The Atlas of Human Migration*

Özge Aktaş

I feel very lucky that, at a certain point, Russell King's wide range of interests intersected with 'internal migration in Turkey', giving me the opportunity to work with him during my PhD studies at the University of Sussex. It is perhaps needless to talk about how excellent a doctoral supervisor Russell King has been among an audience who is paying tribute to him. However, I am sure all colleagues who had him as a PhD supervisor will share my enthusiasm in saying this once more: that during those grim and long PhD years, where one often loses direction, Russell has been a perfect supervisor, with his sophisticated clarity and simple, but not simplistic, approach. Every time I left a meeting with him, the chaos in my mind transformed into a certain pattern, well at least for a while...! Thanks to his patience and support, this process went on until all the underlying patterns were unpacked and a thesis emerged at the end.

Having learned that complexity and what seems like chaos might indeed hide valuable information, I undertook the mission, during my post-doctoral studies, of identifying latent patterns in large migration datasets in order to explore migration flows and migrant profiles in Turkey. This funded research was to be the first of its kind in Turkey that aimed to explore these migratory patterns and visualise them. It was at this point, in 2010, that Russell and his colleagues' *The Atlas of Human Migration: Global Patterns of People on the Move* was published and, once again, Russell was implicitly shedding light on my research, which similarly aimed to produce *The Atlas of Turkish Migration Flows and Migrant Profiles* (Aktaş-Mazman and Guvenc 2015). I thought this was a clear sign that I was on the right track.

Producing an atlas of anything is an extremely challenging task, as an atlas not only promises to display and communicate data visually, but is also assumed to cover the main pillars of the relevant topic. It is no coincidence that the mythical figure of Atlas, to whom the word can be traced back, is referred to by Homer as 'one who knows the depths of the whole sea'. Producing an atlas of human migration is doubly challenging, as anyone who has tried to visualise migration will know; it is simply very difficult to show 'mobility' on maps. There are only a few scholars in the world who could undertake this tough task of 'diving into the depths of migration', as comprehensively and efficiently as Russell King and his colleagues did. *The Atlas of Human Migration: Global Patterns of People on the Move* has therefore the utmost importance in the migration literature thanks to Russell and his colleagues' extensive background on migration.

The Atlas, besides being a very informative teaching material, is a great resource for anyone who is interested in historical and current migration patterns, as well as the main issues surrounding migration. The collection of maps and informative – yet critical – plots display the *essence* extracted from years of migration research. For those who are not so familiar with Migration Studies, it can easily be read as an introductory list of key topics covering historical migration flows such as early, slave, colonial migrations; contemporary global migration flows such as worker migrations, internal migration and regional migrations; and hybrid identities of mobility such as refugees, irregular migrants, student migration, women migrants and return migration. Migration scholars will equally benefit – if not more so – from its concisely written themes on each topic, as well as its beautifully simple maps.

After five years of hard work, my colleagues and I have just sent in the final draft of *The Atlas of Turkish Migration* to the publishing house. I would like to thank Russell King once again, with all my heart, for continuing to pave the way for the journey of my migration

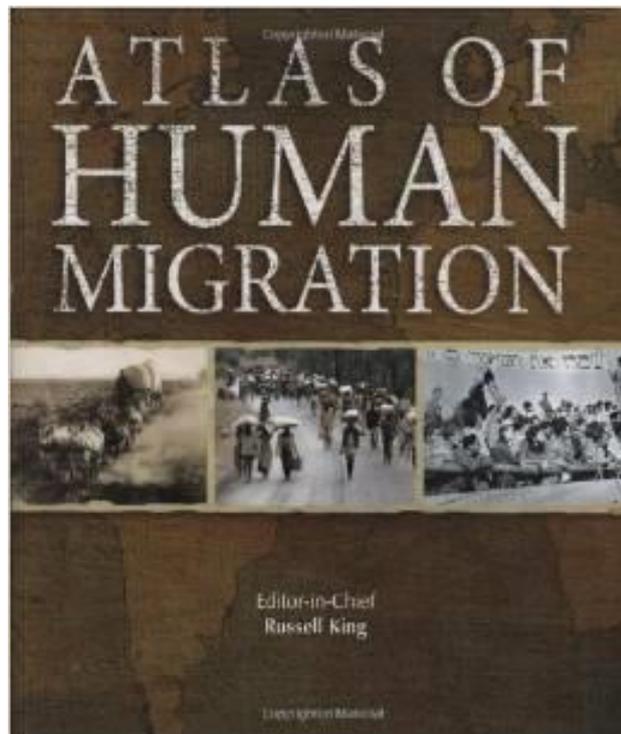
research. I am looking forward to collaborating with him on Turkish migration issues in the future.

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Migration as Engagement with Place

Jørgen Carling

It is wonderful, I think, that Migration Studies has become such a well-established interdisciplinary field. Many factors have contributed to this development, but central among them are the handful of high-quality journals devoted to migration research across the social sciences. And central among those journals, of course, is the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. The journal's remarkable development under Russell's editorship makes him a key protagonist in the story of Migration Studies as an interdisciplinary field.

But when I select *one* of Russell's literally hundreds of publications to reflect on and write about, I am drawn to one that is explicitly geographical. As a Geography student, I first encountered migration as a sub-theme of population geography, tucked in between population age composition and population policies. This framing made it a lacklustre subject.

Russell's (1995) book chapter 'Migration, globalization and place' gave migration a different, refreshing frame. It appeared in a five-volume series of geography textbooks, not in the volume on population and resources, but in a volume entitled *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*. And, within Russell's chapter, one sub-heading intrigued me: 'Migration: an engagement with place'. Twenty years later, I still find this an inspiring and thought-provoking formulation. It represents a perspective on migration that is explicitly rooted in geography and reflects the potential contribution of geographical theory to understanding migration. As a student, it convinced me that I could be a geographer and study migration in ways that were truly exciting.

The chapter exemplifies a key quality of Russell's writing: it is simultaneously lively and thoughtful. The liveliness comes from the perspectives, from the examples and from the language itself. Not surprisingly, many of the examples have a Mediterranean connection. In fact, through Russell's work I came to think of the Mediterranean region as the cradle of modern Migration Studies. By examining differentials across a few decades of history, between rural and urban areas, between islands and the mainland, between the two shores, and across the various Mediterranean diasporas, all the core themes of Migration Studies seemed to come alive. The chapter opens with a dramatic and emotional poem, translated by Russell from Gallego, a poem chiselled into the base of the 'emigrants' monument' overlooking the Atlantic at La Coruña. It describes the anguish of leaving 'the village I know so well' and the prospect of dying 'of solitude, so many leagues across the ocean' (King 1995: 6). Russell uses the poem as an entry-point to discussing the existential aspects of migration, pointing out that this perspective is often lost in social-science analysis.

The chapter emphasises that migration often involves *ambivalent* engagement with place, especially one's place of origin. Russell writes about the idealisation of the home village, and the irony of overlooking both the hardship that spurred migration in the first place and the transformation that resulted from the migrants' departure. Many sorely missed areas of out-migration have become, in his words, 'places of abandonment' (King 1995: 28).

Re-reading this discussion of ambivalence and obliviousness to irony made me think of my favourite *New Yorker* cartoon, drawn by David Sipress and originally published in January 2000. It shows an old man looking out to sea, accompanied by two children. 'The country grandpa came from', he says, 'was a stinking hellhole of unspeakable poverty where everyone was always happy'

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Moving out of Geography or Practising it in a Contemporary Way?

Russell King's Perspectives on Society and Space

Pierre Sintès

From among the huge corpus of work which Russell King has authored, I decided to introduce two articles written almost twenty years apart. My goal is to illustrate what can be called a 'creative contrast', which encompasses a large number of texts produced by this author in the last few decades. Beyond my personal curiosity and the joy I have felt in writing this presentation, comparing and thinking about (and with my reading of) these two articles, I will try to stress in the following pages how this work has brought together different perspectives on society and space, using sometimes very different methodologies to analyse/testify to the diversity of social processes. To illustrate this, the comparison of these two chosen texts sheds light on the variety of backgrounds and influences that further enlarge the original scope of a classical geographer, Russell, developing broader perspectives on social space.

The first text is about a small village in Southern Italy called Aliano. It was published in 1988, in the *Journal of Rural Studies*, written when Russell King was a member of Trinity College Dublin and specialising in Rural Geography and Italy, as shown by his previously published books about these subjects: land reform (King 1973a, 1977), Sicily (King 1973b) and Sardinia (King 1975). The article 'Carlo Levi, Aliano and the rural Mezzogiorno in the 1930s: an interpretative essay' (King 1988) is about a famous Italian novel – *Il Cristo si ha Fermato a Eboli*, by Carlo Levi and published in 1945 – which describes the novelist's experience of being sent into exile in a remote village of Lucania – Aliano – by the fascist regime. This book is very famous in the Italian literature because, for the first time, it provided a wider audience in Italy with a sharp picture of the situation in the Southern rural areas. Russell's article provides a geographer's viewpoint on this book by addressing the 'meridional' question – i.e. the hypothesis that Southern Italy, as a poorer and more isolated region, has to be differentiated from the North of the country. In so doing, he develops his analysis using six themes: the South's dissymmetric relation to Rome, rural and village landscapes, economic life, social structures, social conditions (of life) and emigration and return migration. With this choice, Russell's academic field appears in a very clear manner in the text: as a geographer, he emphasises the using of places by the different social actors presented by Levi (the villagers, the landlords and the gentry). The majority of the text also describes the appearance and the composition of the landscapes in which the action takes place. On this point, the article is consistent with positivist geographical approaches in that it presents factual and statistical data, describes history, localisations, livestock, agricultural yields ... and even the geologic substrate of this region, in order to support the validity of the analysis and give to this article a 'scientifically proven' aspect. By demonstrating the impact of the economic structures on space, it also fits perfectly with his materialist perspective as the editor of *Geography and Marxism* (1982), even if a Pavlovian reference to Gramsci, surprisingly, does not appear in the bibliography.

But further on, Russell also, and at the same time, discretely uses Levi's literary discourse as a tool to introduce the debates which were then at stake among academic geographers. He shows here that he can also be an open-minded academic who dares to adopt a contemporary perspective influenced by radical and humanistic geography. For example, studying 'distance' on p. 310 is a clear evocation of how places are also produced by a set of practices, values and political relations and representations (Allen 2000). The importance of

meanings, mental representations and ideology is clearly suggested, especially when Levi's narrative is presented as an ethnographic resource about local beliefs and traditions (pp. 311–17) or as a depiction of the fascist poor management of Southern Italy's economy. Most parts of this text are clearly influenced by the rise of new conceptions in social geography, with the adoption in the late 1970s of an innovative humanistic perspective on space (Thuan 1974). Lastly, mention should be made of the fact that the issue of migration is raised at the end of this text (pp. 317–18). Even if he had already written papers about return migration, targeting, especially, the rural regions of Southern Italy, Russell's expertise in what would later become his main area of practice was 'under construction', with his achievement of important fieldwork about retirement migration (King 1986) and return migration (King 1986) in Italy and the Mediterranean. In evoking these issues, using here both Levi's experience and Russell's own knowledge of the region, this first text bears witness to how the observation of Italian society, together with the location of his first academic position in Dublin – i.e. the centre of a significant region of out-migration (King 1991) – seem to have strongly impacted on Russell's work after the 1980s, moving him towards Migration Studies.

The reading of the second text, 'Italophilia meets albanophobia: paradoxes of asymmetric assimilation and identity processes among Albanian immigrants in Italy', is quite surprising when one considers that it was written by the same author, even though it was some twenty years later. It was published (as were some ten other texts in the 2000s) in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* in 2009, co-authored with Nicola Mai. This co-writing seems to have firmly oriented the theoretical and methodological framework, as well as the purpose of this text, which does not directly deal with such geographical issues as space and place. Neither does the text present the depiction of a limited and well-defined territory, as in the example of Aliano twenty-two years earlier. Instead, it analyses the social practices of a group of people, Albanian migrants in Italy, through various sources: testimonies of migrants' daily lives (more precisely in Rome, Modena and Lecce) are massively used to develop an 'emic perspective', as explicitly stated on p. 131. Even if presented at the beginning of the text as a discussion of Gordon's hypothesis about the duality of processes of assimilation (both structural and identificational), this question is slowly transmuted, in the following pages, into a narrative built from interview extracts. The latter are the main primary sources exploited to present the shift from a positive to a negative representation of Albanian migrants in the Italian gaze in the early 1990s (p. 122) and the permanency of a positive image of Italy for the Albanian migrants as the main way to fuel their own identification processes in their host country of migration. This discrepancy can be understood in this text as an opportunity to question the issue of the symbolic domination of migrants in a post-Marxist perspective – but in focusing on topics such as acculturation and identificational assimilation, the main conclusions do not rely on statistical or legal facts, as a materialist or positivist approach would have needed, but more on an accurate analysis of discourses. The authors paid great attention to the social construction of migrants' otherness, a fact that shows the influence of the cultural studies' hypothesis on the scope of this text.

Even if the general context of the migration is presented using economic and demographic data (pp. 120–2; 129–30), most of the text seems to downplay economic ties, social structure and the economic exploitation of migrant manpower; focusing on identification, it mainly addresses the questions 'Who are the Albanians for the Italians?' after the 1990s and 'Who do they think they are?'. What happened between the two texts to explain this new perspective? Did the author lose interest in the examination of spatial dynamics? Different points should be underlined here to give a (hypothetical) answer to this question, as they have definitively had an impact on academic work over the years. First, the rising injunction (or necessity) to deal with very contemporary processes to secure the position of the academy in the public debate encouraged more social-science researchers to use an

ethnographic methodology by default because of the lack of reliable information on the very present. Does it avoid following on the study of social space as a geographer? Does it place part of Russell's work outside a geographic frame? Of course not, and we should also notice that the methodology used in this second text fits perfectly with the discrete trend perceived in the first one – i.e. the attention paid to discourses and values in explaining spatial organisation. Even if not explicitly explained, this last text can also be thought of as a contribution to a socio-geographical reflection on space by showing how, for these Albanian migrants in Italy, practices and locations in the space can be understood through discourses of identification analysis, revealing the logics of a social network, which is a topological space.

Actually, the comparison between the two texts presented above makes more visible the plurality of approaches used in Russell's work, as well as in the whole field of academic geography. Beyond their scientific and geographic relevance or representativeness, these two texts give a (partial) idea of Russell King's take on geographical methodologies. But I use it in my own way to also illustrate two qualities of his personality which I thought I perceived in my only physical meeting with him: firstly, his fidelity to traditional approaches when displaying a rigorous demonstration relying on proven methodologies (among them, an attention given to innovative French geographers in Italy, such as Le Lannou (1941) can be mentioned, bringing to mind a stimulating comment made to me one day in late 2004 in Brighton). Secondly, Russell's interest in innovation, a deep openness to other researchers, especially slightly more junior academics (here I am thinking of Nicola Mai), enabling him to introduce new perspectives in his own research, which always links, even discretely, the complexity of social processes to the transformation of space... as any geographer aims to do.

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Out of Albania

Nick Mai

When I first met Russell in his office at the University of Sussex back in 1997, I had no idea that it was going to be the beginning of an important scholarly and personal trajectory. I had just started a PhD in the field of Media and Cultural Studies on the role played by Italian TV in attracting Albanian migrants to Italy. It was on the basis of my interest in migration that Nancy Wood, a cultural studies scholar who had, until then, been my only supervisor, suggested that Russell and I should meet. She was right. Russell's insightful knowledge of the complexity of migration processes encouraged me to contextualise the role of the Italian media in the wider social transformations framing Albanian people's desire to move 'out of Albania'. Later in our collaboration, his experienced guidance provided me with a solid basis from which to start exploring new aspects of the development of migration phenomena, such as the role of love and sexuality, which are still part of my current research interests. It is his caring and insightful generosity as a teacher and mentor, as well as his scholarly insight, that I would particularly like to celebrate here, as it is the unique combination of these qualities that I feel best distinguishes the outstanding contribution that Russell has made to Migration Studies and Human Geography, both alone and with the many scholars he formed, supervised and worked with.

Although my doctoral research between 1998 and 2001 remained focused on the emergence of individualised and commoditised subjectivities and migratory projects through media consumption, thanks to our scholarly exchange I had the chance to understand these processes in more systemic and socio-economically grounded terms. Russell's suggestion to include the interplay between internal and international migration allowed me to situate the emergence of late-modern migratory identities in continuity with, as well as in rupture from, very 'modern' dynamics of urbanisation which, in the case of Albania, had remained peri-urban because of the anti-urbanisation policies of the Hoxha regime. In a parallel fashion, Russell's suggestion to look into the key issue and role of remittances in people's experiences of migration encouraged me to understand how Albanian young men's and women's desire to migrate responds to their traditional roles of sons and daughters, as well as their aspiration to more individualised and commodified lifestyles.

Later, thanks to a Leverhulme Trust research grant, Russell and I were able to cross together the narrow Otranto Strait separating Albania and Italy to look at the powerful impact of media stigmatisation on Albanian migrants' paradoxical experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Between 2001 and 2003 we researched the working and private lives of Albanian individuals and families in three different settings of Italian society – Modena, Rome and Lecce – representing respectively the Italian North, the capital and the South. In all settings, we discovered that the stigmatisation of Albanian migrants was a powerful vector of social marginalisation, exerting a strong impact on their access to work, housing and social life. At the same time, we were able to notice the asymmetric nature of Albanians' experiences of assimilation, which was characterised by a very successful integration within Italian society notwithstanding the media demonisation they had to endure. It is this complex and evolving experience of emergence and transformation of the Albanian migratory phenomenon that we were able to explore and analyse together in our book *Out of Albania* (King and Mai 2008).

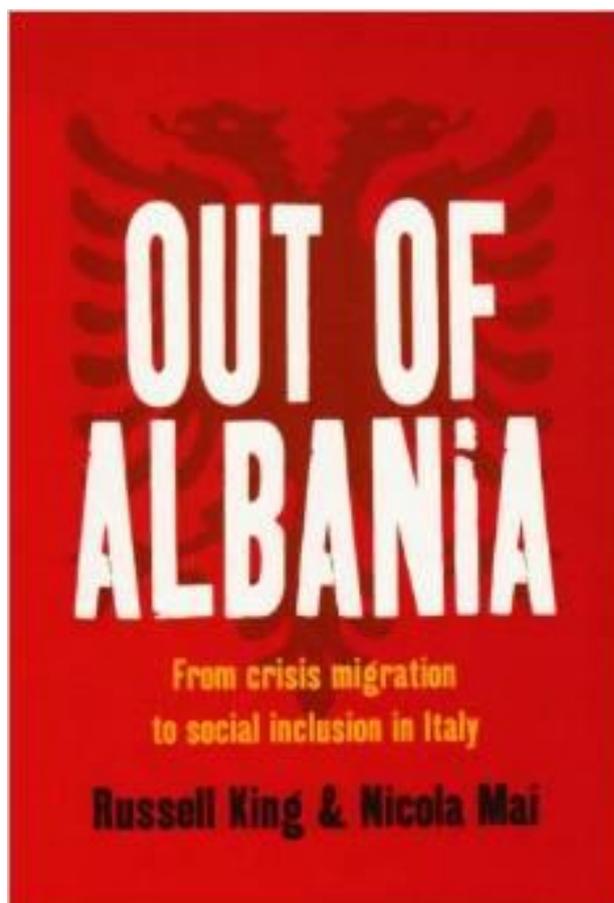
The title of the book, which is a condensation of years of joint and individual research, evokes the complex interplay between individual and social processes that made people feel

that they could only, or mostly, survive or achieve social mobility by leaving their country. It evokes the intensity and urgency of this feeling, which sometimes translated into iconic mass exoduses in order to escape the violent conflicts that characterised the Albanian post-communist transformation. At the same time, by going ‘Out of Albania’, many migrants hoped – and managed – to achieve the material and existential entitlement on which to make their migratory projects come true. Although Albanians are nowadays seen as models of assimilation in Italy and stereotypically championed against new groups of stigmatised newcomers, ‘Out of Albania’ remains a powerful testimony of the prices they were forced to pay in order to be differentially included in Italian society.

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LINKING INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

On Writing with Russell in the Gaps of Migration

Ronald Skeldon

In 2010, Russell and I published the article “‘Mind the gap!’ Integrating approaches to internal and international migration’ in the special issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* on Theories of Migration and Social Change (King and Skeldon 2010). This article has emerged so far as the fourth most-cited paper to be published in *JEMS*, which suggests that it has struck a chord among researchers in the field. Of course, and as was made clear in the article, it was not the first time that attempts had been made to suggest linkages, both theoretical and empirical, between internal and international migration. Antecedents date back at least thirty years before the publication of our article but these had been few and far between and, in the explosion in migration research and literature from the 1970s, we had seen the emergence of two really quite separate fields of study: researchers working on internal and those working on international migrations. Still today, researchers in the one ‘sub-field’ feel uncomfortable dealing with the literature of the other. Yet, not only does theoretical overlap occur to facilitate our understanding of both internal and international migrations; in the real world important linkages between them exist. Internal migrations *can* lead to international migrations but so, too, can international migrations lead to internal migrations and, where international boundaries either cease to be, or never were, effective means of control, any real differences between the two forms of human movement blur.

I had first begun to examine these ideas using examples from Asia in a paper given at a United Nations meeting in Bangkok in 2003, which I then worked up into a publishable article (Skeldon 2006) and asked for Russell’s informal comments. At that time, he was Head of Department at Sussex and, when he found out to which journal I had submitted the article, he insisted it be withdrawn and re-submitted to a more mainstream geography journal. I ended up not just with Russell’s comments but with those of referees from two very different journals, which not only helped to improve the overall quality of the argument but brought the paper, when it was published in *Population, Space and Place* in 2006, to a much wider academic audience than otherwise would have been the case.

Russell was one of the few among the Sussex migration group of the time to realise not just the importance but also the relevance of linking internal and international migration. He had a very able PhD student working on Albania, Juli Vullnetari, who became involved and the result was a paper that was presented to the IMISCOE International Conference on Theories of Migration and Social Change in Oxford in July 2008. This paper incorporated Russell’s vast knowledge of migration in Europe, Juli’s research on Albania and my own experiences from Asia to produce a much broader and more systematic approach to the topic.

The conference paper was reproduced as the very substantial, 49-page Sussex Centre for Migration Research Working Paper No. 52 (King *et al.* 2008). The task was now to reduce a paper, which was in excess of 15,000 words, down to a size that was more acceptable for an academic journal such as *JEMS*. The easy part was to separate out the Albania case study, which Juli later expanded into a book (Vullnetari 2012), but we were still faced with the difficulty of reducing the paper by about one quarter. Russell and I have very different writing styles. He writes fluently and expansively in a readily accessible way while my own style is much denser and perhaps less accessible – ‘intricate’ is the somewhat charitable word of a reviewer of another publication. The task of making the first assault on the manuscript fell to me and I am not sure if Russell, the supreme editor, had ever before been faced with so many tracked changes after I had hacked into his beautiful prose. Nevertheless, he took it all in good heart and with a lot of subsequent smoothing and negotiation, we more or less achieved the

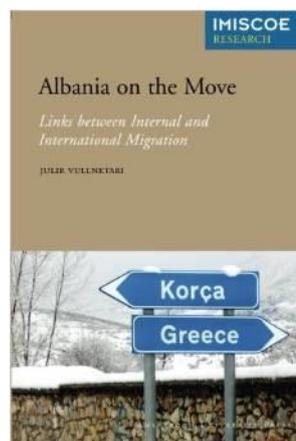
word limit and produced a relatively concise and coherent piece that satisfied us both. The title proved a little problematic. Russell likes catchy titles and the one for the conference and working paper had been quite prosaic. He telephoned me late one evening insisting that we needed to come up with a better title and I had just spent the day in London with the mantra of the tube ‘Mind the gap!’ still ringing in my ears. We had a title!

While it is gratifying that the paper has been cited by so many, much still remains to be done to draw attention to the importance of seeking an integrated approach to migration that incorporates both internal and international migration. This should not imply that a single and simple model exists and, in the article, we tried to show the variants that could emerge. However, perhaps two areas where a greater awareness of such linkages might be particularly important can be identified. First, hometown associations, or groupings of migrants from specific areas of origin, have become a major theme in studies of international migration but almost always without any reference to the long and well-established tradition of studying migrant associations associated with internal flows. Second, internal migrants have been shown to control access to particular sectors of domestic urban labour markets with relatively little work on any parallels for international migrants. Other topics will emerge and other linkages will be established. Russell and I hope, following the ‘Mind the gap!’ analogy, to have provided a solid platform from which future research on the topic can move forward.

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Revisiting ‘Population Movement: Emigration, Return Migration and Internal Migration’, 31 Years Later

Maria Lucinda Fonseca

International migration is one of the main drivers of change in the demographic, economic, political and social structures observed in Southern Europe after the Second World War. Russell King is, undoubtedly, one of the scholars who the most contributed to the understanding of these processes of change. A geographer by training, he fostered an interdisciplinary and multi-scale perspective or approach to the migratory phenomena, analysing the migration dynamics of Southern European countries, framed by the economic and social restructuring processes of these territories and taking into consideration the interaction between internal and international migration. The chapter ‘Population movement: emigration, return migration and internal migration’, published in 1984 in a book edited by Allan Williams, is thus a central piece of twentieth-century research which seeks to understand the relation between migration and the processes of social change in Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece from the 1960s to the end of the 1970s.

On the theoretical level, this study also represents a very important milestone in the scientific debate on the relation between labour migration and development in Southern European countries, critically analysing, as it does, both pro-migration and anti-migration views. Concerning the pro-migration opinions, based on the economic theories that see migration as the result of the mismatch between the labour markets of different countries and consider emigration from Southern Europe a necessary condition for its development, Russell King says that ‘...virtually all the arguments rest on economic theory largely unsupported by empirical data’ (1984: 146). For the anti-migration views of Marxist and neo-marxist inspiration, Southern Europe was the labour pool necessary to the expansion of industry and the growth of Northern European economies. Therefore, migration would be an instrument serving the development of capitalism and representing the growing subjection of labour to the capital. However, again in the words of Russell King, ‘... to see migrants merely as pawns in a game which they neither control nor understand, pushed and pulled by the interests of capital as represented by ruling elites, is an oversimplification’ (1984: 147). Thus, without neglecting the importance of structural forces promoting emigration in areas of origin and enabling immigration in destinations, the author calls attention to the role of migrants’ agency in the configuration of temporal and spatial patterns of international migratory flows in Southern Europe: ‘Not only do migrants make choices, they utilise and manipulate various kinds of networks for their own ends; they are the creators and receivers of well-thought-out rationales for their own behaviour’ (1984: 147).

After the critical review of the theoretical perspectives on labour migration in Southern Europe, Russell King successively examines three fundamental topics. Firstly, he analyses the evolution and composition of emigration patterns from Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece and the impact on sending regions. Then he looks at the return migration, developed during the late 1960s and mid-1970s, and the role of the returnees in the process of socio-economic change in their home areas. Finally, he focuses his attention on internal migration, stressing the diversity of types and scales of geographical patterns of the population flows (rural-urban, rural-rural, inter-urban, intra-urban and urban-rural movements) and its relevance in demographic, economic and social change, in both the origin and the destination areas.

For many workers from the rural peripheries of Southern European countries since the 1950s, emigration or internal migration to the urban-industrial areas and tourist coastal regions were the only alternatives enabling escape from a life of misery. The deprivation and

discrimination they suffered in the host countries are well documented in the literature. Despite this, they were able to save money, which allowed them to improve the living conditions of the relatives left behind, to buy land, to build houses and to show patterns of consumption awarding them prestige and social recognition on the part of their fellow countrymen. On the other hand, as noted by Russell King, emigration led them to escape dictatorship and political persecution in Greece, Spain and Portugal and, in the case of young Portuguese men, to avoid recruitment to fight in the colonial wars in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique (1984: 152).

The economic crisis of the 1970s and the restrictions on the entry of immigrants imposed by the migrant-receiving industrialised countries of Western Europe drastically reduced the flow of labour migration from Southern Europe and caused a mass return to the home regions. Despite the lack of accurate figures on the number of returnees, the author, based on estimates made by Böhning (1979) and the available SOPEMI data, calculated that the real figure of returned migrants could be as high as 2 million, two-thirds of whom would have returned to Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal (1984: 158).

At the same time, Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal became poles of attraction for migrants coming from developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. According to the author, the apparent contradiction between the coexistence of emigration and immigration can easily be explained because '...the wage levels in Southern Europe are significantly below those of Northern Europe, so too are they significantly above those of North Africa and the Third World' (1984: 156).

Emigration from the four Southern European countries, a phenomenon that occurred simultaneously with an intense rural exodus, was visible in high urbanisation growth rates, in the concentration of population in the most important cities (Lisbon and Oporto; Madrid and Barcelona; Milan and Rome; Athens and Thessaloniki) and also in the tourist regions (with a particular focus for the littoral area of the Spanish Mediterranean and the coastal areas of the Algarve in Portugal). There was a simultaneous stronger trend towards population ageing and the demographic decline of the more peripheral rural areas and of those more exposed to the outflow of workers to foreign regions or to other regions in the country.

Russell King calls the reader's attention to the differences in these geographic patterns of emigration and internal migration, given that the more intense emigration areas (Northern Portugal, Western Spain, Southern and North-Eastern Italy, and Northern Greece) were not always coincident with the regions more deeply affected by rural-urban internal migration. The complexity and diversity of the spatial patterns of rural out-migration makes it impossible to generalise on its causes. Supported by the revision of many empirical studies, the author mentions the lack of employment opportunities, the scarcity of services and facilities, the access to land property and the demographic dynamics as certainly being influential factors in the rural exodus, side by side with the migratory tradition of each territory and the aspirations of each individual (1984: 165–6).

Besides the evolution of the patterns of international and internal migrations, at different geographic scales, and that of the main mechanisms that cause them, the author also discusses their effects on the population and migratory dynamics, and in the regional development of Southern European countries, paying particular attention to the rural exodus. The adopted model of analysis reflects a holistic approach that frames both the internal and the international migration in the wider process of social change of the sending and destination areas of the migrants. This can be illustrated by the following quotations: 'Rural-urban migration involves restructuring the whole fabric of society' and 'The problems of rural-urban migration are not limited to the rural areas of migratory loss. Internal migrations have created enormous problems for Southern European cities, especially in the fields of housing and

public services' (1984: 169). The text ends with some conclusive remarks and reflections on possible future trends.

I came across this text, authored by Russell King, soon after its publication. Writing, at the time, my PhD dissertation, which focused on the relation between geographical mobility and the processes of sectorial recomposition of the employment and professional and social mobility of the Portuguese population, it became a key reference for my research. It allowed me to frame the changes observed in the patterns of internal and international migration in Portugal in the European context, and to identify the similarities and specificities of the Portuguese case in comparison to the other Southern European countries.

I met Russell King personally in Lisbon, in February 1991, at a conference organised within the ambit of the European Science Foundation's (ESF) scientific programme on Regional and Urban Restructuring in Europe (RURE). In the same year I was lucky enough to be one of the four young researchers selected by the ESF to take part in the Working Groups of the RURE Programme. I was integrated into Working Group No. 3 (RurePop), with Russell King also a member. This experience, rich in knowledge and contacts, would be a remarkable event in my academic career, allowing me to have closer contact with Russell King, an author who, since my early days as an academic, has been a tutelary reference to me.

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Is Core–Periphery Still a Useful Way to Understand European Migration?

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During the course of his long and productive career, Russell King has influenced the lives of many of his students. In my case, this started early, when I was an undergraduate at the University of Leicester 1982–85 and then his PhD student in Trinity College Dublin from 1987. I still look back on those years fondly. It was because of the move to Dublin that I developed an interest in Irish issues, population migration and mobility. Contrary to expectations drawn from the literature, where migration as a student is related to a greater propensity for movement later in life, I have never moved elsewhere, or become a return migrant. I remain in Ireland, an exile from the English Midlands even now, despite the inauspicious start which began with us being stuck on the ferry when the car-deck doors refused to open after our long journey from Leicester.

As a social scientist in embryo when a Leicester undergraduate, I was aware of Russell's work on land reform and migration and development in Southern Europe. It was the latter theme, in particular, which interested me, with its macro-level overview of the links between the economies of the European core and the periphery, through flows of capital and people. These ideas, drawing on the earlier work of Kindleberger on labour migration plus the descriptive core–periphery model of Friedman and dependency theory, seemed to offer a satisfying account of the forces that directed migration flows but which also integrated them into a wider economic and social context. These concepts are clearly expounded in King (1982), a paper which has not been as heavily cited as some of his publications but in which, nevertheless, there is much of value in the systematic discussion of the social and economic implications of migration, and the costs and benefits for individuals, families and societies. The overall assessment was that, on balance, emigration weakened the situation of peripheral countries and reinforced and deepened the dependent development they already experienced. The more things change, the more they stay the same, and these ideas are still relevant in the new Europe of migration in the twenty-first century, where there is a new periphery, a new core and new migration flows, but still the same questions about the impacts for sending and receiving countries.

King (1982) raised the question of skilled migration and brain drain and it was to this issue that I turned when working, under Russell's supervision, on my PhD on the subject of graduate emigration. The Ireland of the 1980s was a country under economic stress, facing recession and spending cuts, and where emigration, especially that of young people, was seen as a loss economically, socially and politically, and as a challenge to the integrity of the state. This, therefore, seemed a natural and fruitful area for research, and one where some of the earlier ideas on dependency drawn from Southern European examples could be applied to its Western periphery and combined with the growing literature on skilled international migration. The findings of this project are summarised in King and Shuttleworth (1995).

The paper argued that graduate emigration could be understood in terms of core–periphery, where Ireland had a 'truncated labour market' – shorn of higher-level functions – which was unable to provide sufficient graduate-level jobs. One important conclusion was that higher education policies to improve the quality of labour supply in the hope of encouraging economic development were unlikely to succeed on their own in the absence of jobs. However, the research also showed that there were many nuances that shaped graduate migration experiences beyond the broad geography of economic opportunity. Graduates took sophisticated views of opportunities and the construction of labour market and personal

mobility careers, and they looked to social networks for information and guidance. The finding that previous migration, as an undergraduate, increased the chances of migration after graduation looks forward to the influential work that Russell and others later carried out on student migration.

Recent Irish economic history qualifies some of these findings. The core–periphery framework implies that economic differentials are long-lasting and structural, and might easily lead to the pessimistic assumption that, since they are structural, they are hard to change. In the Irish case, this pessimism was given greater strength by the experience of Ireland as an economically dependent country of net out-migration for well over 100 years. In fact, however, its situation changed at the start of the 1990s with the booming economy of the Celtic Tiger and a completely unheralded and unexpected transition from net out-migration to net in-migration. This period of in-migration lasted until 2006–07, with inflows of skilled and educated labour. The Irish economy, however, returned almost to Square One after the international recession which started in 2008 and which led to a slowing in international investment flows to Ireland, the advent of a rigorous austerity in the public finances, and wage and spending cuts. As population inflows slowed, and outflows accelerated, the topic of graduate emigration once more returned to its old salience and some of the earlier arguments from the 1980s regained their explanatory power. This experience challenges the lazy assumption that core and periphery are fixed categories which, if not immutable, are hard to change, and suggests that these two categories might be more critically interrogated. It is therefore instructive, in the light of these changing circumstances, to consider the Irish work that I undertook with Russell in this longer-term perspective.

Clearly, the concepts of core and periphery retain some of their purchase in interpreting and understanding migration flows today but they are not the full story. The impact and significance of longer-term cycles in the global economy, for instance, were not given sufficient weight in the work on Ireland. If I were to undertake similar work on this theme today, I would therefore wish to deal far more thoroughly with global economic inequality and capitalism, the history (and future) of the global economy, and international patterns of investment and disinvestment – in other words, with the wider dimensions of political economy, going beyond core–periphery, that try to show how these categories are constructed, reproduced and destroyed. Russell’s later work also shows that migration must be understood in other terms than merely political economy, since individual behavioural and cultural factors are important not only in understanding why people migrate but also in interpreting the meaning and impacts of their migration. A far more serious engagement with these themes would, therefore, seem to be essential. This runs the risk of researchers falling into the trap of thinking along the lines of a micro/macro dichotomy so, more challengingly, it would be desirable to explore the recursive links between economy, society and culture, and look not only at how political economy shapes cultures of migration but also how cultures of migration, in turn, shape the economic realm.

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CELEBRATING IN THE LABORATORY!

Celebrating in the Laboratory: The Unashamed Use of Ideology in Migration Studies

Michael Collyer

Other than in Departments of Economics, it is difficult to find a social scientist who comes anywhere close to the pretence of objective, dispassionate enquiry that we are all supposed to embody in our professional activities. It is probably a clear majority of social scientists whose engagement in their chosen fields of research may be significantly explained by particular social-justice concerns. This does not (of course) justify the stereotypes of lefty academics acting as lobbying agents for wacky political opinions that are frequently to be picked up from the right-wing press. Evidence must be considered in as balanced a way as possible in order to strengthen any particular argument. Yet, if this assumed objectivity is much more than merely a veneer, it is also far from the whole picture. Ideology inevitably plays an important and largely unacknowledged role, both in the choice of what to study and in the ways in which it is studied. This is largely unacknowledged, since the image of the objective 'scientific' form of enquiry, and the caricature of the irresponsible left-leaning social scientist, are both sufficiently strong to preclude unashamed statements of ideological positions.

How refreshing then, to read a clear statement about migration that deliberately sets out to focus on its positive aspects (King 1996). The title of Russell's Professorial Lecture, 'A Celebration of Migration', was one of the few things I knew about the University of Sussex before arriving, two years after he delivered it, to start my PhD. I had not actually read the lecture at that stage, of course. It was published as a Department of Geography Research Paper (No. 25) and, before it was scanned and posted online at least a decade later, reading it was impossible anywhere outside the University of Sussex, where its limited print run was housed. But I knew of its title. And when I finally saw it, I enjoyed the apparent contradiction between the title and the location of its printing, which was a place called the 'Geography Laboratory' of the University of Sussex. Was 'Celebration' something that went on in the Laboratory? Of course I was sure it did, but I could not imagine anyone formally acknowledging such unscientific behaviour. This contradiction helps to highlight how far ahead of his time Russell was, in this as in many other things. Now that the old 'Geography Laboratory' has been renamed the 'Global Studies Resource Centre', celebrating the behaviour that is being investigated no longer seems quite so odd. But the use of the word 'Laboratory' highlights the broader scientific language that was still so normalised in the social sciences in the mid-1990s. This was a place for serious, evidence-based debate, not for celebration.

This is not to say that 'A Celebration of Migration' is amongst the best things that Russell has ever written. Indeed, judging purely by its Google-listed citations, it is one of the worst, in 196th place in Russell's prolific output. Given the size of that output, this puts it well into the top half of the 457 total publications listed on Google Scholar but, once all the various book reviews and reports have been removed, it falls just into the lower half of Russell's publications, by number of citations. The obscurity of its publication cannot have boosted these citations; indeed, it is surprising that there are any at all. But the fact that not even Russell himself has ever cited it in the 20 years since it was published highlights the fact that this publication largely repeats ideas that figure in publications in higher-profile outlets. This is, of course, what you would expect from a Professorial Lecture. The fact that these ideas were selected by Russell to represent his research on the occasion of such a high-profile professional rite of passage, and that this paper contains ideas that were to appear in a whole

host of publications over the next few years, makes this a particularly indicative piece of writing to select for consideration.

The paper opens with an anecdote about Slovenian migrants arriving in the US that highlights the transformations in gender roles that can result from migration. This is a theme to which Russell has returned again and again, both in the IMISCOE research cluster that he coordinated and in work on gendering remittances, as well as through teaching and doctoral supervision. The paper quickly turns to another theme on which Russell has built his reputation: return migration. Indeed, this paper contains a slight variation of the famous line which states that 'Return migration is the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration'. This quote is tremendously popular, perhaps Russell's most-cited line, and usually attributed to King (2000), though sometimes not attributed at all. Yet it was in the 1996 Professorial Lecture that it first made its impact felt, not only in drawing attention to Russell's already very substantial earlier work on return migration and prefacing this later focus, but also encouraging a historical perspective on migration generally – 'What are the chapters that *have* been written?' we are encouraged to ask, and 'Where can I buy the book?'

Appropriately enough for the wide-reaching discussions of a Professorial Lecture, the paper also sets out a series of objectives on methods. The methodological challenge faced by Migration Studies is to link overarching theoretical perspectives to the plethora of more-detailed case studies. In this, Russell anticipates the current established practice of mixed methods and adds further advice on ways in which to develop comparative methods. He also emphasises a final classic hallmark of his own work in highlighting the turn to as-yet-untapped sources to investigate the experience of migration, as much as the patterns and processes. His focus is literature, first set out in a very well-cited collection – *Writing Across Worlds* – edited with John Connell and Paul White the previous year (Connell *et al.* 1995). This collection has inspired a host of different approaches to the investigation of the experience of migration – whether this be through food, or poetry or architecture – including my own special issue of *JEMS*, with John Bailey, on music and migration.

The paper ends on this note, drawing on rich literary sources to access the complexity of the experiential, rather than the merely statistical, accounts of migration. At this point we seem to have left the Laboratory entirely. At no point has the paper sought to brush over the far harsher history of forced migration, human-rights abuse or extreme marginalisation that also occurs through the migration process. The celebration of the title can be understood more directly from the nature of the experiential material with which it concludes. It is a celebration of the richness and diversity of human experience. This paper not only highlights that, but also helps to signpost the many other ways in which Russell's work has contributed to place commitment, engagement and involvement at the centre of investigations of migration.

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