Introducing the Moral of the Story

Transnationalities of Migrant Moral Economies in Betwixt and Between

Vytis Čiubrinskas and Nina Glick Schiller

By developing the concept and ethnography of migrants' moral economy, this book seeks to provide a conceptual framework with which to analyse the conflicting values, norms and expectations that frame the betwixt and betweenness of transnational lives. To do this, we place the concept of a 'transnational framework' (Glick Schiller et al. 1992a: 10) for the study of migration and the term 'moral economy' within an ongoing analysis of migration regimes and their power dynamics as they are transformed within changing historical conjunctures. That is, the topic of the moral economy of transnational migration must address the 'temporal dimensions of mobility regimes' (Glick Schiller 2018: 201). These temporal dimensions include the changing configurations of home, as state territories and homelands are imbricated by both the cross-border and diasporic practices and the politics of migrants, as well as by the extra-territorial reach of states and governments. Configurations of political power, bordering and struggles over global morality, truth and human possibilities are being transformed in a rapidly changing world of environmental crisis and the restructuring of capital accumulation and its dispossessive and displacing processes.

The concept of moral economy continues a Polanyian approach to the social embeddedness of all economic behaviour that contests approaching relationalities as only constituted by market rules or utilitarian calculation (Yalçın-Heckmann 2022). Various social theorists from Marx (1976) to Mauss (2002) and Hall (1979) have noted that economic relations are always infused with values and moral relations. Often the utilitarian value

of things is deployed to gain status though ceremonial valuations that transcend their economic counterparts. Those who stay 'behind', and those who move within or across borders, live within shared networks of connection that embody sets of values. Moral values, or 'value introjections' (Portes 1998), interpenetrate these social relations, including the 'transnational social fields' (Glick Schiller et al. 1992b xii) within which so many people around the world live their lives. These values can be shared or conflicting and are often both shared and contradictory. Thus, migrants must be understood as moral actors who deploy their values along with their human resources, mindsets and practices as they move, settle and build social relations here, there and elsewhere.

As an aspect of the transnational negotiation of human dignity (Horolets, this volume), moral values require the attention of researchers. These values are foundational to maintaining old social ties and building new ones. While only a fraction of the world's population manages to move across an international border, many more individuals are linked to these migrants through families and other ties – cultural, economic, religious and political. The moral economy provides the infrastructure of commonalities with which those who leave and those they leave behind confront the stigmatization and subjectivization that are often encountered within the nationalist politics of migrant-receiving countries. Moreover, the current global moment of heightened precarity, violent conflicts, and uncertainty, based on a reorganization of modes of capital accumulation and migration regimes that categorize and control labour, intensifies these struggles to maintain a sense of common humanity (Redeker Hepner and Treiber 2021).

In this volume, we demonstrate that the multiple moral orders and migration regimes, including racialized nationalist revivals and their constituent policies and discourses, are in many ways resisted, subverted or simply sidestepped as migrants live across state borders. In these encounters, people's transnational social networks and relationalities supersede nation-state forms of belonging. Careful ethnographic observations trace the affective dimensions of relationality among both mobile and immobile kin and communities, and migrant and non-migrant enactments of dignity, pride, responsibility and reciprocity. Thus, migrants' practices and values contribute to the changing political and economic landscapes within which people migrate, settle and build the personal, familial, social, religious, economic, cultural and political networks that span national borders.

Several decades of transnational migration researchers have documented the moral dilemmas of people who, as they live their lives across borders, struggle to balance family, community, and religious and political responsibilities. Migrants strive to balance the obligations of reciprocity, debt and personal ambition for social mobility, economic prosperity

and a secure future. However, there has been too little analysis of the ways in which these struggles are constituted by and continually reconstitute a moral economy of transnational migration. Yet, as decades of research have intimated, moral economies and their continuities and transformations are both part and parcel and the human face of the political economy of migration regimes. The quest to live as a human being, personally, politically and economically, cannot be studied separately. However, the long history of debates about moral economies makes the concept challenging to deploy (Thompson 1971; Scott 1976; Gilroy 2010; Edelman 2012; Fassin 2012).

For the purposes of this book, moral economy can be defined as 'the critical study of the ethical character of economic activities and relationships, and of how this shape and are shaped by other dimensions of social and political life . . . . All economic activities and relationships depend on moral norms and ethical dispositions' (Manchester Political Economy Centre 2024). We apply a moral economy approach in order to bring together values, structures and political economy in ways that provide researchers with a helpful framing of their observations. Seminal work in this direction has been done by Jaime Palomera and Theodora Vetta, who have reinfused an understanding of political economy into the discussion of moral social fields.

Palomera and Vetta (2016: 415) assert that:

> moral economy is simultaneously an approach that integrates the traditional objects of political economy (relations between capital, class and state) but goes further by anthropologically scrutinizing the particular ways in which they are always embedded. In other words, the moral economic approach has a double 'mission': on the one hand, it advocates a grounded understanding of the more abstract and global political-economy processes; on the other, it historicizes the everyday realm of observation by accounting for class-informed dispositions in a particular time and space. Moral economy is particularly well suited to analyse the political culture, norms and expectations of the various groups of people involved in social reproduction, broadly speaking; the power relations between the governed and the elites; and the articulation of such dispositions and relations with capitalist processes of continuity and change. The strength of this perspective lies in its capacity to highlight the ambiguous logics and values that guide and sustain livelihood practices, by looking at the dynamic fields of struggle around the boundaries of what is good and acceptable, their power hierarchies and the political projects they might inform.

In a transnational framework, the affective ties of kin (real or fictive) and a sense of (be)longing and indebtedness to 'home' (whether as household, kin, local community, neighbourhood or nation-state) engender feelings of ongoing responsibility, reciprocity and participation that even migrants

confront and contest and that are remade within processes of capital accumulation (Redeker Hepner, this volume). Such moral orders and the affective ties within which they are constituted may occur within, outside and sometimes despite official state-led projects to engage diasporic groups. To speak of a moral economy and spell out the multiple multiscalar relationalities within which it is generated requires moving beyond a concept of the body politic and setting aside state-generated categories of migrant and non-migrant (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2016). Therefore, in migration studies the moral economy perspective is also powerful analytically because it directs our analytical attention towards the relationality of migrants. It thus goes 'beyond normativism' by unpacking affective ties of kin, a sense of belonging and indebtedness to 'home', and feelings of ongoing responsibility, reciprocity and engagement in transnational networking within multiscalar structures of political and economic power.

Moral Economy and the Sociabilities of Emplacement

Embeddedness in particular sociabilities is at the core of migrants' simultaneous practices of emplacement in two or more nation-states at the same time. Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2018) employ the term 'sociabilities of emplacement' in their efforts to highlight the social relations that migrants build with non-migrants as part of their process of settling and joining in the process of city-making. The actors in these social relations recognize 'domains of commonality': shared values, desires and aspirations (Glick Schiller 2015, 2022). However, because migrants form 'simultaneous' multistranded transnational social relations with people located elsewhere, emplacement is multisited (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Basch et al. 1994). Migrants feel obliged emotionally and, in many ways, morally to their families and multiple others in the sending countries. Therefore, they forge sociabilities through transnational reciprocities that are enacted as moral responsibilities.

Thus, sociabilities of emplacement are moral economy-fuelled stances that may become an alternative to the normativism imposed by states (Hill and Rodríguez, this volume). Such alternatives may emerge when migrants build relations of trust by evoking social and linguistic intimacy realized through social networks, organizations and public campaigns, as migrants actuate the social capital and moral values that they transfer from their countries of origin. These alternative sources of valuation can provide a moral foundation from which migrants find the integrity and dignity to confront the uncertainty of belonging, racialization, stigmatization and liminality at work and in the public sphere.

When we scrutinize the literature on transnational relations from a moral economy perspective, we find a multitude of examples of migrants searching for support within a transnational social field and building sociabilities of emplacement with both migrants and non-migrants. For example, according to Kindler (this volume), Ukrainian migrants in Poland tend to have very low self-esteem and feel insecure during employment interviews. Courage is typically provided by a social network of friends from the country of origin and co-ethnic immigrants in the host country. Such networking as familiarization is an example of the mutual exchange of favours rather than patron–client relationships.

White et al. (2018: 173) provide the example of Eliza, a Polish migrant in Italy, who confronted racism in multiple spheres by building sociabilities of emplacement.:

> If you live in the south of Italy, there's racism. There is racism . . . That racism was the worst thing: in offices, if a Polish woman showed up, they treated her differently, could you wait because this man has come in – but I came first! . . . Why did they treat me like that? How am I worse? A person doesn't feel that they are worse! Just because they don't know the language. ... Even though it's supposed to be such a civilized country, the West, it's not true. They don't like us, or Arabs, or Turks, Albanians, Ukrainians, no one! Only themselves! . . . I had different friends, Italian, Albanian, Ukrainian – that was the only way. I lived there a long time, so knew everyone local . . .

Transfers of the sociabilities of emplacement could be perceived as modes of trust that take multiple forms, including 'cosmopolitan sociabilities' (Glick Schiller 2015), the moral economy of humanitarianism and the philanthropic practices of classic diasporic communities and their trust-based diasporic networks (Eriksen 2007). These multiple forms of support allow migrants to cope with the challenges of precarity, subjectification and social mistrust, and the racism that is extended to contemporary migrants.

Understood from this perspective, a concept of moral economy sustained within cross border social networks (Basch et al. 1994; Rouse 1992; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001; Čiubrinskas 2020) is central to understanding transnational migration. It is in fact the underlying dynamic of family connections. As Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001: 79) noted in their exploration of the underlying dynamics of Haitian transnational family networks: 'You assert your humanity by fulfilling your family responsibilities. To neglect this obligation is an indicator of bad faith, a violation of trust.' Therefore, it is important to view transnational mobility practices, including strivings for social and economic mobility, through the prism of the economy of moral norms.

Migrants' relationships are transfused not only with their need to succeed economically but also with their obligations to fulfil their responsibilities elsewhere, such as to family, community and homeland, often portrayed (at least in diasporas) as a moral destination (Lofgren 2018; Safran 1991; Cohen 1997; Glick Schiller et al. 2012; Čiubrinskas 2023). When migrants talk about 'bills here and there' (Fouron and Glick Schiller 1997: 146), their anxieties about their 'commonplace livelihoods' are infused with values, and their drive for economic success is often marked by the moral obligation to sustain others located elsewhere (White 2016, 2017).

Across the generations, migrants embedded in a transnational social field and participating in its moral economy (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001; Čiubrinskas 2020) have asserted that their ultimate goal is returning home. Yet often migrants do not voluntarily return permanently; when a permanent return has occurred, it is often after retirement or for burial. Only in the current conjuncture, in which migrants' right to settle is being challenged by migration regimes forbidding family reunification and enforcing short-term labour contracts, is return or circular migration without the possibility of permanent settlement abroad becoming widespread (Baas and Glick Schiller 2024; Teo 2018; Thiollet 2019).

A moral economy perspective makes it possible to make sense of the persistent contradiction that most migrants fail to 'return home', despite persistent intentions to return. Within the moral order of transnational social fields, for migrants to repudiate their commitment to returning home is seen as abandoning their commitments to home, family and perhaps nation, and is therefore a shameful, amoral transgression of fundamental values. These values are sustained and reiterated by those 'back home', who may have invested in the migrant by contributing funds or selling land to make the migration possible. With or without such material investments, migrants carry others' collective hopes for a brighter future on their backs when they travel. Through the same logic, those deported back to their countries of origin and other returnees who were unable to obtain the right to settle may be shunned or disrespected because they are seen as failures who betrayed the trust and hope invested in them by those they left behind (Safran 1991; Drotbohm and Hasselberg 2015).

In this value system, continuing responses to the obligations to family, relatives and friends are necessary so as 'not to lose face' (Cîrstea 2020, 177; Cîrstea, this volume). If members of diasporas return, home-country policies supported by international development agencies and banks expect them not only to support local development programmes and non-governmental organizations, but also to become agents of economic and institutional development. Returnees are expected to make an impact by not only sharing their resources but also developing the homeland (Kovács, this volume). The expectations are that this giving back to the homeland

and to those who remain includes taking on a moral responsibility for the family, village, parish, homeland or nation (Čiubrinskas 2013). Consequently, in the framework of moral relationality, diasporic migrants are expected to be responsive, resourceful and responsible. Their responsiveness comes through networking within family networks and with their significant others by providing remittances, both economic and social, whatever the personal burden. This means that migrants are expected to share resources responsibly through their transnational networks when abroad and personally upon their return. Those who left are understood to have a moral obligation to share their resources with those who stayed behind by paying for their absence in the form of remittances. The return of migrants is therefore often expected to be a 'gift of communality' (Hage 2002: 201), with migrants giving back to their patrimonial trust-based immediate family and its extension, namely the broader society in the migrant's country of origin (Čiubrinskas 2023: 149).

If from the non-migrant perspective of the homeland a return migrant is expected to return with resources and to have some form of moral obligation to give, upon their return, migrants expect to receive recognition from those who have not left and from their homeland. In both cases, migrant–non-migrant linkages are morally charged with reciprocity (Čiubrinskas 2023: 148). Yet in another of the contradictions that are embedded in transnational relationalities, members of diasporas who visit or return and enter the daily routines and political life of the homeland are often seen as threatening the interests of those who never left. Those threatened are often the local leaderships of the household, family, village or state (Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001). Returning migrants may be distrusted or portrayed as failures. To circumvent this stigmatization, migrants, whether visiting family or returning home – often especially those with low wages and status abroad – typically resort to conspicuous consumption, gift-giving and feasts or other gatherings in order to display their wealth (Čiubrinskas 2023: 148–49; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001). Yet in many instances, those in the homeland, from family to political leaders, seem to prefer migrants to stay away and serve as a diasporic 'bank' from which there is an eternal line of credit (Richman 1992). Remittances, however infused with moral values, seem to be foundational in sustaining transnational relationships.

Home and Nation

Moreover, the ways in which, in many instances, the senses of self, kinship and nation are intertwined with nationalist ideologies of who is deserving of rights and respect, pose challenges to researchers bent on untangling moral economies of transnational migration from the politics of the nation. For

example, Glick Schiller and Fouron (1999: 352–53) found that many Haitian migrants interviewed in New York City asserted that 'There are those who . . . [migrate] and naturalize themselves and become citizens of the country which they are living in, but they never forget their country . . . [they are] always a Haitian, the blood remains Haitian.' In those instances, the morality of relationships of kin was intertwined with ideologies of blood and belonging to the Haitian nation and practised as a form of 'long-distance nationalism' (Anderson 1992; Glick Schiller and Fouron 2001). For many migrants, long-distance nationalism reflects their sense of an obligation to do public good by giving back to their people and their nation as part of their continuing belonging to the body politic that produced them (Čiubrinskas 2013, 2020).

Framed by emotion and morality, long-distance nationalism can become a platform of engagement in the homeland for the second and subsequent generations (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2001). Multiple diasporas in past centuries have engaged in their homeland politics by sending funds, or even military supplies, to assist in struggles for democracy or to aid ultra-nationalist causes, including ethnic cleansing (Anderson 1992; Asia Report 2022). The moral imperatives of transmigrants work not only to realize a developmental impact on countries of origin, but also to demonstrate how transnational relationalities can become politicized and promote an ideological change (Kovács, this volume) or exclusionary religious nationalism (Jaffrelot and Therwath 2007). Long-distance nationalism can stimulate the sending of weapons to support militant fascistic movements, while national struggles can create solidarities that motivate citizens to stand up against all forms of oppression, wherever they occur.

That is to say, this sense of obligatory belonging can produce vastly different politics. The identity politics of each state's power hierarchy can assume the voice of authoritative subjects and proclaim moral standards of national allegiance (Kovács, and Barrios and Rivera, this volume). Alternatively, the moral economies of the racialized and oppressed, even when expressed through the idiom of national identity, may evoke a common humanity, rather than an assertion of hierarchical difference. Hence, when scrutinizing the moral economies of transmigrants, it is important to examine the social, economic, religious, political and cultural relations people build with those around them – migrants and non-migrants – in multiple geographies, ranging from one's household and neighbours to the planet and 'the human race'. Here our call builds on Stuart Hall's (1990) and Paul Gilroy's (2000) arguments that diaspora is a positionality of dispossession rather than a bounded cultural community. As such it can include migrants and non-migrants in a liberatory politics of 'planetary humanism' (Gilroy 2000: 270). Or as Gilroy says, 'It ain't where you're from, it's where you're at' (1991: 3).

Remittances

Transnational migration studies are providing extensive evidence that migrants feel morally obliged to share resources, which leads them to become involved in the transfer of material and immaterial remittances (Basch et al. 1994; Fouron and Glick Schiller 2001; Levitt 2001, 2016; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011; Boccagni and Decimo 2013). The global remittance economy that is fuelled by migrants around the world is routinely tracked by the World Bank (2023). For example, in 2022 the Bank reported that, even after two years of the global COVID-19 pandemic, personal remittances amounted to 22.4 per cent of GDP in Haiti, 26.8 per cent in Honduras, 11.1 per cent in the Pacific Island small states, 17.1 per cent in Kosovo, 9 per cent in Senegal and 50.9 per cent in Tajikistan. Migrants' remittances have morphed into a source of financialization, as states receiving remittances found that projections of these funds could be used as security on loans from international lenders (Guarnizo 2003).

Besides financial or economic resources transferred as monetary remittances, non-material capital transfers of social remittances are also significant aspects of transnational social fields. Migrants acquire and transmit new ideas, values, beliefs, practices and social capital, including knowledge, experience, skills and international contacts, as they build lives in new lands (Levitt 2001: 59–63; White and Grabowska 2019). These social skills are transmitted and disseminated back to their societies of origin. In considering moral economies, social and economic remittances are both important in understanding the phenomenon of migration, as both types of remittance bind those who move and those who remain through multiple exchanges. Even financial remittances are enacted in emotional and moral terms (Richman 2008). For instance, in the context of Ukrainians, Vianello (2013, cited in White et al. 2018: 59) argues that 'as many studies have shown, the act of remitting money is often represented by migrant women as a symbol of love and faithfulness toward their families left behind'. On the other hand, women left behind may find remittances being used as a moral lever by their husbands, who demand sexual fidelity in exchange for support (Mahler 2001).

Focusing on the moral economy and social network perspective, this volume also unpacks other mediums of morally charged and socially obliged communication, such as the transnational negotiation of human dignity (Horolets, this volume) or the informal economy-embedded exchange of favours (Ledeneva 1998; Čiubrinskas 2018) communicated through trust-based networks (Eriksen 2007) in the host countries and transnationally. Parutis and Buler and Čiubrinskas (this volume) reveal how the social remittances that were transferred by post-socialist (re)migrants back to Eastern Europe embody a moral imperative of fair conduct or zero tolerance of corruption, nepotism and clientelism.

Temporality and Values

The first three decades of the twenty-first century have been marked by chronic underemployment in multiple locations in the Global South, environmental change, political and economic restructuring and austerity, hyper-nationalism, war and state and criminal violence. All that, along with the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, have produced shifting patterns of transnational mobility (Baas and Glick Schiller 2024). These include an increasing scale of migration, the growth of transborder labour precarities and mobilities among even skilled migrants, and the revival of forms of contract or unfree labour. These have been combined with ever-increasing migrant deaths, deportations and overflowing detention centres. Family reunion policies are being questioned, severely limited or halted in multiple migrant-receiving countries from the Netherlands to Australia (Phillimore et al. 2023), while long-term permanent legal residents are being deported from historic migration-receiving states such as the United States and the United Kingdom.

Despite the need to bolster and implement international conventions on the right to asylum, many nation-states appear to be retreating from international cooperation in and protection of human rights, while installing their own normativism, border regimes and globe-spanning surveillance industries, replete with strengthened regulations and restrictions. Some observers have highlighted the development of a globe-spanning migration industry organized to accumulate capital from migration flows, while migration regimes increasingly deny the possibility of permanent settlement to most migrants, whether they are classified as skilled professionals or asylum-seekers (Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2012; Hernández-León 2012; Xiang and Lindquist 2014; Baas and Glick Schiller 2024). Responding to this trajectory, the clear restructuring of the global economy and the ways in which modes of extraction, labour flows and social reproduction have been organized within it, researchers have begun to question whether migrants' transnational strategies will or can persist, or whether we have to confront 'the end of migration as we know it' (Baas and Glick Schiller 2024; see also Glick Schiller 2018). They warn that it is disingenuous to approach the current world situation without acknowledging that it differs in significant ways from the mobility regimes that constituted the setting within which so much of the transnational migration scholarship was conducted. The conjunctural transformations that increasingly dispossess migrants and non-migrants alike require an analysis and a politics that can speak to the situation of displacement that is facing increasing numbers of people around the world (Glick Schiller 2021).

Yet contradictions have begun to appear in the international profile of migration restrictions, as European states with labour shortages and ageing populations are meeting their needs for labour not only by increasing contract labour, but also by legislative initiatives to attract experienced workers by offering possibilities of permanent settlement (Radziemski 2022; Symons 2023). In addition, despite changing migration policies, large-scale deportations and growing anti-immigrant, anti-refugee rhetoric on the part of multiple nation-states, global financial actors and migration and development agencies, including those fostered by the United Nations, continue to see migrant remittances as powerful agents in the development of impoverished states and communities. International financial institutions continue to position 'the migrant at the centre of attention, identifying him or her as the development agent par excellence' (Faist and Fauser 2011: 7). The 'migration and development mantra' (Castles and Delgado Wise 2008; see also de Haas 2007) continues unabated. This mantra takes it for granted that migrants will carry with them a morality that will channel remittances into hometown organizations, diasporic communities and networks, and transnational nation-state building projects.

For example, even after the major economic downturn of 2007 and the austerity measures that ensued, as well as the 'tighter immigration controls and unpredictable exchange rate movements' that were experienced in many locations around the world, a World Bank 'Development Brief' looked to remittance flows through transnational migration networks as a way of sustaining migrant-sending countries (Ratha et al. 2009). Despite growing anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric, in 2024 Iffath Sharif, Global Director of the Social Protection and Jobs Global Practice at the World Bank, restated the message. 'Migration and resulting remittances are essential drivers of economic and human development' (World Bank Group 2024).

In the current conjuncture of increased dispossession and displacement instead of development, we can no longer take for granted the moral underpinnings that have prompted the sending of remittances in migration, nor the assumption that migrants will, through 'their life ways and daily practices, reconfigure space so that their lives are lived simultaneously within two or more nation-states'. (Basch et al. 1994: 28)

Migration Regimes and Changing Moralities

To develop a vocabulary that can concretize and theorize the power dynamics of these transformations, various scholars have begun to speak of changes in migration regimes (Baker 2016; Glick Schiller and Salazar 2012).

Migration regimes can be defined as 'networks of states, institutions, organizations, officials, and individual actors that connect and govern people engaged in mobility within and beyond specific states' (Glick Schiller 2021). Migration regimes are not fixed; they are constantly reconfigured and then transformed when a new historical conjuncture emerges. Within these transformations, new patterns of governance and networks of human connection develop.

These changes in turn transform the ways in which human mobility is organized, conceptualized, categorized and valued. 'The concept of migration regimes helps researchers highlight the many ways, past and present, that states and empires have organized and regulated human migration' (Glick Schiller, this volume). Baker (2016: 167) adds that such regimes 'encompass both infrastructural and discursive technologies . . . and they produce . . . the values and ideas that justify and legitimize distinctions between . . . kinds of people who are accorded differential rights to mobility'. As a result, migrants' efforts to validate moralities of mobility, settlement and connection interact with the corporate and political 'simultaneous production of immobility and inequality'.

Migrants not only live within the pluralism of the legal norms of more than one country, including different definitions of the family, but also find themselves caught up in multiple moral orders (Horolets, this volume). During the Cold War, Western nations tried to preserve an image of their states as constituting a moral regime that protected human rights. Beginning in the 1970s, migration advocates struggled with some success to extend this rights regime to include asylum-seekers and migrants. However, by the twenty-first century, the restructuring of the global economy within neoliberal forms of governance produced migration regimes of dispossession and hyper-nationalist ideologies that delegitimated migrants' rights and the morality that sustained them (Fassin 2012; Baas and Glick Schiller 2024).

The moral economy of the betwixt and between approach appears to be meaningful for understanding the migratory cases scrutinized in this volume. It proves to be important politically, as this approach unpacks migration regimes that are eager to label immigration as a crisis (Barrios and Rivera, this volume), while concealing practices of subjectivization, denationalization, criminalization, dehumanization, capital accumulation and the denial of the right to have rights. Migrants struggle to survive racialization and precarity by pushing back against displacement, dispossession and authoritarian normativism, as they create countervailing strategies of multiple transnational moral economies.

Hence we must continually unpack the underlying moral assumptions and understandings that confront migrants as they seek safety, security and prosperity within transformations of the global political economy and its

bordering processes. The challenge taken up in this book is to draw attention to the literature on the neoliberal restructuring of selves and the contradictory social forces that form more communal sets of values, even as contemporary economic and political uncertainties accelerate. Only when we address this contemporary processual and multiscalar context can we understand the moral worlds of migrants who strive to live within networks connecting here and there, within ever more restricted possibilities of building a future anywhere. Within the research on changing configurations of transnational networks, the authors in this volume speak to the values, goals and moral judgements with which people form, maintain or abandon their home ties.

In this moment of conjunctural change, the migration scholars brought together here face a twofold task, which the contributors of this book take on. First, of course, from an anthropological perspective it is important to understand the migrants themselves: their thoughts, feelings and actions. Here we focus on the intensified south-to-north migration in the Americas and the ongoing Central and East European transmigration in the face of new barriers to mobility. Secondly, it is necessary to situate the contours and dynamics of these migrations, as well as those from Africa, Asia and the Pacific, within the trajectories of the restructuring of processes of capital accumulation, concomitant neoliberal precarity and intensified displacement and dispossession (Glick Schiller 2021). These processes are producing the growth of hyper-nationalist policies and practices, including ethnic nationalism and nativist ideologies (Fassin 2012; De Genova 2013), globally. Sectors of a state's population, whether new arrivals, native-born citizens or legal permanent residents, are suddenly categorized as not truly part of the nation.

In summary, migration scholars who seek to understand what motivates those who leave in order to support those who stay behind find that respondents reference ethical as well as practical concerns when they 'hedge their bets' within transfiguring migration regimes (Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999: 347). It is at this juncture between the individual and their social ties, embedded in lives lived across borders and within changing migration regimes and dramatically restructured political economies, that the concept of a moral economy provides insights into the dynamics of transnational migration.

Book Outline

The contributors to *Transnationalities of Migrant Moral Economies in a Transforming World* approach the moral economy of transnational migration through five different perspectives: (1) Reframing Concepts of Time, Space and

Capital; (2) Embedding Reciprocity; (3) Migrating Women and Social Positioning; (4) Return and Remittances; and (5) Crisis, Power and Meaning. These perspectives are bookended by an introduction and afterword that frame the discussion.

First in the introduction by Vytis Čiubrinskas and Nina Glick Schiller and then in the afterword by Tricia Redeker Hepner, the book's approach to transnational moral economies is situated within broader discussions of migration scholarship and global transformations.

In the first part of the book, 'Reframing Concepts of Time, Space and Capital', Nina Glick Schiller expands on the book's introductory chapter by focusing on the increasingly widespread processes of dispossession. In Chapter 1, 'The Twilight of Transnational Migration Studies: Reframing Concepts of Time, Space and Dispossession', Glick Schiller situates the transformation of moral economies of migration within the restructuring of processes of global capital accumulation and the concomitant reconfigurations of globe-spanning social relationships of differential power. She offers a multiscalar analysis linking individuals, households, neighbourhoods, localities, nation-states and globe-spanning institutions of financial and political power. Offering an epistemological approach to migration, the chapter deploys this stance to examine the processes of displacement, multiple physical and social mobilities, and transnational connection and to highlight sociabilities that emerge between those who are categorized as migrants and non-migrants.

Glick Schiller builds on research that she and Ayşe Çağlar conducted in two disempowered cities, one in eastern Germany, the other in New England, USA (Çağlar and Glick Schiller 2018). Positioned as a 'dispossariat', that is, people facing ongoing processes of dispossession and struggling for social and economic justice, migrants and non-migrants were struggling to create a moral politics. Glick Schiller argues that, in the face of a global capitalism that profits from dehumanization, migrants forged moral economies with non-migrants in order to build meaningful lives, maintain sociabilities and preserve human dignity. Acknowledging the growing threat of powerful racialized authoritarian social movements, which are bolstered by anti-immigrant narratives and policies that deny rights to those defined as different, Glick Schiller stresses that social and economic justice and planetary humanism can emerge from migrants' sociabilities of multiscalar emplacement.

'Embedding Reciprocity', Part II of this book, explores the reciprocal contradictory relations that underlie transnational moral economies. In Chapter 2, 'The Moral Economy of Transnational Reciprocity: Lithuanian Return Migrants in between North America and Europe', Vytis Čiubrinskas focuses on the ties of 'trust-based networks' (Eriksen 2007) and reciprocity

maintained by Lithuanian immigrants in the USA and after their return to their homeland. The chapter deals with the first and second generations of migrants returning. Čiubrinskas's transnational perspective encompasses those who return permanently or temporarily, as well as those who shift back and forth. He claims that both return migrants from the Lithuanian diaspora in the USA (the descendants of forced migration) and highly skilled returnees of the post-communist migration become 'agents of change' (Grabowska et al. 2017). They deploy their social capital and provide social remittances in efforts to combat the challenges of post-socialist hypernationalism and the informal economy in Lithuania.

By creating moral economy-based ties of trust and reciprocity through intra- and inter-ethnic networking that include the sedentary population back home, they forge alternatives to domestic institutional policies and migration regimes. Relationality and moral economy ties of responsibility to and reciprocity with those who stay behind in the homeland influence their transfers of social remittances, as they give away non-material capital in the public sphere. In return, migrants expect to receive prestige and avenues of advancement through merit. Čiubrinskas argues that, by deploying trust in their transfers of social remittances within their moral economy practices, return migrants challenge the distrust they encounter in the form of ethnic nationalism, red-tape bureaucracy, clientelism, nepotism, subjectivization and other practices in their home country.

Chapter 3, 'Life "Here" and "There" during COVID-19: (Im)mobilities and Transnational Social Ties for Romanians in London' by Ana-Maria Cîrstea, addresses the moralities of reciprocity by exploring the emotions and values of migrants who hurried home to Romania during the COVID-19 pandemic. Cîrstea traces the affective spheres of relationality between migrants and non-migrants to showcase how exploring the economies of life – 'making a living' – both 'here' and 'there' can foster a political and critical understanding of migration. Cîrstea unpacks the moral decision to circumvent pandemic regulations in order to celebrate certain family milestones, such as weddings, anniversaries and funerals. Such decisions prioritized ties with family and friends in Romania over the responsibility to safeguard public health.

She examines the familism and notions of duty as a moral-economy framework permeating social networks as part of 'making a living' during the pandemic. Deciding whom to visit, engaging in new forms of reciprocity and maintaining relationships while avoiding physical contact significantly altered the connectedness between migrants and non-migrants. Cîrstea argues that the pandemic injected both traditional and contemporary values into the dynamic landscape of transnational belonging. By focusing on temporal return, Cîrstea outlines how mobility during the COVID-19 pan-

demic illustrates the shifting patterns of sociality and moral relatedness for Romanian migrants in London. Her perspectives bring together the moral and the economic as she demonstrates that transnational social ties and the contested norms of the moral economy that underpin them were indispensable in surviving the economic downturn and the insecurity of the pandemic.

Part III, 'Migrating Women and Social Positioning', focuses on the unsettled social positioning of migrant women and their efforts to maintain their social status within the transnational dynamics of class, gender and power. In Chapter 4, 'Transnational Negotiation of Human Dignity: The Case of Polish Migrant Women Working as Cleaners and Care Givers in Chicago', Anna Horolets approaches the transnational agency and belonging of Polish immigrants in the USA. She focuses on labour migrants portrayed as both essential workers and an expendable labour force during the COVID-19 pandemic. Horolets examines the way in which these women's lives were strongly influenced by multiple and conflicting moral regimes. These regimes position migrants as moral actors and provide contrasting scenarios for the achievement of a good life and personhood.

In their transnationally embodied livelihoods, migrants navigate these moral regimes by adapting to, avoiding or resisting their influence. This transnational negotiation of human dignity is neither understandable through assumptions of an unsituated ahistorical universalism nor reducible to the particularities of isolated or local lifeworlds. Instead, migrants' moral stances reflect their multiple and changeable belongings and loyalties, which are characteristic of the transnational experience. By focusing on Polish women migrants in Chicago and their engagement in advocacy for domestic workers' rights during the COVID-19 pandemic, Horolets thoroughly scrutinizes how transnational migrant women navigate the moral regimes of the neoliberal constitutions of gender, nation-state, civic activism, ethnicity, race, class and age. Here, the moral category of dignity is central, as these women negotiate projections of their migrant selves as dignified or as stripped of dignity.

Next, in Chapter 5, 'Beyond the "Strong" and "Weak" Ties Divide: Ukrainian Women's Networks in Transnational Moral Economies', Marta Kindler tackles the role of social networks and the morality of affect in the economic practices of Ukrainian immigrant women in Poland, in a period when the context for interaction shifted significantly. The change began with the post-2014 increase in the number of Ukrainians living in Poland following Russia's annexation of Crimea and became dramatic after Russia's war against Ukraine, with over two million refugee arrivals beginning in July 2022. Kindler assumes that social ties are generally formed along the homophily principle, that is, the principle of similarity of three types:

communality of ethnicity, nationality and gender. Her specific focus is not abstract categories but situational similarity and similarity in structural positions within particular social networks. Within social networks, migrant emotions are interlinked with employment activities to create a transnational, gender-imbued moral economy. A morality of obligation is forged within these transnational networks, connecting those 'left behind' in the home country to these women's efforts to maintain their dignity in the face of a loss of social status after migration.

Kindler analyses network resources by focusing on the explicit linkages between emotions and economies and the role of emotionally supportive networks of migrant woman searching for jobs in gendered labour markets with gender-segregated sectors, combined with an uneven distribution of household and family care. Her chapter emphasizes that transnational networks allowed Ukrainian migrants to enter the Polish labour market by exchanging job-related favours with the moral obligations underlying these exchanges.

Part IV, 'Return and Remittances', speaks to the question of what kind of impact return migrants have as they negotiate their positions and seek to obtain a political voice and a social position within their transnational social fields. In Chapter 6, 'Social and Moral Remittances of Diaspora in Homelands Politics: Two Cases from Hungary', Nóra Kovács unpacks diasporic engagement in homeland politics through the transmission of political remittances by the Hungarian diaspora who have settled in Argentina and Venezuela. The chapter outlines the way that state officials in Hungary encouraged diaspora returnees to serve a right-wing conservative political agenda both nationally and internationally. Kovács demonstrates that the Hungarian government's shift towards policies paving the way for the 're-turn' of the third and fourth generation of diaspora descendants is inseparable from their efforts to confront the intensified influx of refugees from the Global South with anti-immigration strategies.

From this perspective, Kovács delineates two cases of diasporic political remittances that enable the Hungarian government to see return migrants through the moral-economy framework and to expect from them political remittances: (i) the deliberate dissemination of the subversive and highly questionable Hungarian ethnohistory developed by a lay historian returnee from Argentina, which contributed to the right-wing populist shift in official Hungarian cultural politics and the discrediting of the independent academic elite; and (ii) the government's immigration programme for Venezuelans of Hungarian descent, which fulfils Hungary's official European quota of refugees.

Violetta Parutis and Marta Buler continue the discussion of political remittances in Chapter 7, 'Are Transnationals "Real" Agents of Change? An

Exploration of How Returnees' Transnationalism Relates to Their Social Remitting'. By examining the experience of skilled Lithuanian and Polish migrants returning from the US and other countries of the Western hemisphere, they deploy a notion of social remittances to explore migrants' agency in relation to the developmental expectations of the home countries. Parutis and Buler explore the link between the transnational sense of belonging and the social remittances that returnees bring to their countries of origin. They argue that returnees they categorize as 'World Citizens', as well as those they label 'Innovators', are dedicated to social remittances, but for different reasons. These two types of returnees also differ in the impact of their remittances. Some extend their influence into political domains, reaching beyond family and friends with the intention of contributing to significant social, institutional and cultural change by imparting innovative ideas and progressive attitudes. The chapter contributes to a better understanding of how the different involvement of migrants' pre- and post-return transnationalism might be linked to different experiences of the moral economy of social remitting and how these dynamics stretch across generations.

Innovators feel a strong sense of belonging to their country of origin. As opposed to actively seeking to maintain transnational ties and activities with their former host country, they develop social ties with other returnees, including those who have lived in other host countries. In contrast, for the World Citizens, transnational belonging is largely based on notions of being at home that traverse state borders and provide them with a sense of security in their mobility. With this orientation and set of values, World Citizens more effectively manage the implementation of innovative ideas. Because they have secured senior positions in their own organizations or the broader society, they secure a social 'mandate' that enables them to promote progressive attitudes in their country of origin.

Finally, in Part V, 'Crisis, Power and Meaning', the authors focus on the ways in which people experience migration at moments narrated as crises. The contributors address the restructuring of moral economies in situations of unequal power, both political-economic and narrative.

In Chapter 8, 'Building Transnational Social Networks in the Aftermath of the Crisis of the Venezuelan Nation-state', Jonathan D. Hill and Juan Luis Rodríguez are concerned with the current Venezuelan crisis, which they define as a moment of intense political confrontations accompanied by dramatic economic deterioration. They make it clear that this national situation, which is experienced as crisis, must be understood in terms of the structural history of Venezuela within broader structures of power. In the twentieth century, Venezuelan leaders built a petro-economy dependent on their oil reserves to provide various social welfare provisions and to sustain the ruling elite. Having functioned as a 'magical state' producing wealth not

from economic development but from its oil reserves, Venezuela found itself completely dependent on the global political economy of oil and vulnerable to states sanctioning its oil revenues. After the death of President Chavez in 2013 and the consolidation of the Maduro regime, and within the context of volatile oil prices, the US intensified its efforts to overthrow the Venezuelan government. The severe US-led economic sanctions on Venezuela's oil sales and industry imposed in 2017 produced the experience of crisis and precipitated mass migration. Beginning in 2017, eight million people left home and tried to negotiate a new life. Global pandemic conditions in 2020 intensified both the crisis and the pressures to migrate and led to migrants facing stigma and discrimination both abroad and at home if they returned.

Having described the conditions of crisis, Hill and Rodríguez provide a semiotic analysis of migrants' responses. Suddenly finding themselves pursuing livelihoods in an array of receiving states in which they uniformly feel unwelcome and denigrated, Venezuelans of various regional and class backgrounds have been creating transnational diasporic spaces of belonging that extend throughout the Americas. They have turned to social media to construct new linguistic and cultural forms on which to forge common ground and constitute new moralities of connection. Within mediated spaces such as YouTube, these migrants form systems of meaning, which they deploy to create imagined Venezuelan intimacy and sociality in a transnational space that connects the multiple countries in which they are striving to establish their values and their selves.

In the final chapter, Chapter 9, Roberto E. Barrios and Alfredo Danilo Rivera address USA-dominant discourses of crisis that seek to categorize transnational migration from Mexico and elsewhere in Central America as a crisis. US political leaders across the political spectrum frame transnational migration within a discourse of threat and without reference to the US past and its continuing record of political and economic interventions in the region. The chapter relies on the discourse analysis of mainstream media sources and examines how such migration-crisis discourses effectively erase the history of American foreign and economic policy, as well as the clandestine military interventions that created the conditions that compelled ordinary people to flee untenable conditions.

Additionally, this analysis highlights how US policymakers construct migration-crisis narratives that situate the USA as a morally authoritative subject. Having made legal entry inaccessible, they have built a moral regime that represents migrants as morally dubious people who do not 'play by the rules' but are canny, indebted and potentially criminal. Latin American immigrants are constituted as requiring proper instruction in the appropriate civic virtues. By offering a specific usage of the migration crisis, US authori-

ties commandeer the moral and affective elements of their migration regime so as to narrow the possibilities of what can be said, thought and felt about immigrants. Barrios and Rivera also examine how Latin American migrants narrate their own moral-economy regime and the ethical principles that guide their navigation of the challenges of migration and the labour market. The chapter concludes by proposing an alternative means of imagining today's migration patterns. Barrios and Rivera reimagine the migration crisis as a debt owed by the USA to Latin Americans displaced by military and economic violence, which must be repaid in the form of a general immigration amnesty.

In her 'Afterword: Changing Migration Regimes and Challenges to Migrants' Moral Economies', Tricia Redeker Hepner argues that when approached through a moral economy perspective grounded in 'transforming political economies, and the mutual constitution of political economy and moral values' 'the transnational paradigm remains highly generative, versatile, dynamic and adaptable'. Building on those scholars who argue that we must 'move beyond the migration non migration divide' (Redeker Hepner and Treiber [2021] 2022: 175; Glick Schiller this volume), she highlights this volume's focus on the betwixt and between and its 'analysis of kaleidoscopic conditions occurring on multiple scales through space and time.' Redeker Hepner emphasizes the 'affective ties of kin (real or fictive), a sense of (be)longing and indebtedness to "home", and feelings of ongoing responsibility, reciprocity, and participation, occur outside of, and sometimes despite, official state-led projects', even as these sentiments are constituted and contribute to constituting the global political economy. Her succent summation of the themes of the book connect the maintenance of class, racial, and gendered hierarchies with labor exploitation. Speaking to the current moment, Redeker Hepner's 'Afterword' situates the ongoing transnational reconstitution of migrants' moral economies within an understanding that it is the 'fundamental immorality and brutality of global capitalist forces' that continue to produce migration 'much of it under the "crisis" conditions' of reconfigured imperial wars of dispossession.

Vytis Čiubrinskas is Professor of Social Anthropology at Vytautas Magnus University (Lithuania) and visiting Associate Professor at the School of Anthropology, Political Science and Sociology, Southern Illinois University (USA). He has written a book on anthropological theory and co-authored a book on globalization and transnationalism from ethnic minority, borderland and diasporic perspectives. In addition to this, he has co-edited a book on return migration and social remittances to Central Eastern Europe (2023), edited a volume on comparative identity politics, citizenship and

transnationalism of East European immigrants in the USA, UK, Ireland, Spain and Norway, and guest-edited a special issue of *Ethnologie Francaise* (2018).

Nina Glick Schiller is a visiting scholar at the New School, an Emeritus Professor at the University of Manchester and University of New Hampshire, the founding editor of *Identities* and a co-editor of *Anthropological Theory*. Her research spans Haitian, US, UK and German cities. Her eleven books and more than one hundred articles and chapters provide comparative and historical perspectives on migration and city making, transnational processes and social relations, diasporic cosmopolitanism, long-distance nationalism, urban regeneration, and processes of dispossession and displacement. Her co-authored books include *Migrants and City Making* (Duke University Press, 2019); *Nations Unbound* (Routledge, 1994); and *Georges Woke Up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home* (Duke University Press, 2001).

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